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NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

THE STUART PAPERS.

The Stuart Papers in the possession of the King, to which his Majesty was graciously pleased to allow access for the use of the present Work, and which reach as far back as the Revolution of 1688, consist of a large mass of important documents illustrative of the efforts of James the Second, and of his son and grandson, to recover the crown which the first had lost by his own obstinacy, or the treachery of his advisers; but as the events of the Rebellion of 1745 formed the only subject of inquiry, the commencement of the investigation was limited to the year 1740. And was carried down to the close of the year 1755, in which period the principal events preceding the Rebellion, those of the Rebellion itself, and the occurrences which followed, are embraced. It is believed that the documents examined, amounting to about 15,000 unedited pieces, convey all the information required to complete the history of one of the most remarkable epochs in the British annals. Copious selections have been made from these papers for the present Work, and many entire documents have been copied, all of which will be either partly incorporated with the Work itself, or given in an Appendix. From the information which these Papers afford, the Publishers have no hesitation in stating, that this Work will contain the most complete and authentic history yet published of the events of 1745. To give some idea of the historical importance of these documents, which, for the first time, are to meet the public eye, or to be referred to, the following general enumeration may suffice:—

1. Eighty-one letters and memorandums written by Charles Edward.
2. Seventy letters of his father, the Chevalier de St George.
3. Two of Cardinal York.
4. Six of Lochiel.
5. Eleven of old and young Glengary.
6. Three of Lochgary.
7. Eight of Lord Marischal.
8. Three of Robertson of Strowan.
9. Eight of Drummond of Bochaldy.
10. Six of Lord George Murray.
11. Two of Lord John Drummond.
12. Three of Lord Strathallan.
13. Three of Dr Cameron, Lochiel's brother.
14. Three of Mr John Graham.

In the selection which has been made are also letters of Lord and Lady Balmerino; the Duchess of Perth; Lords Clancarty, Ogilvy, Nairne, and Elcho; Macdonald of Clanranald; Gordon of Glenbucket;

Sir Hector Maclean; Sir John Wedderburn; Oliphant of Gask; and James Drummond, or Macgregor, the son of Rob Roy, &c. &c. The correspondence throws considerable light on several matters hitherto little understood or imperfectly known. The embezzlement of the money left by the Prince under the charge of Macpherson of Cluny is referred to, and the conduct of the persons who appear to have appropriated it to their own use is freely animadverted on. The correspondence likewise embraces two most interesting letters from the Chevalier to the Prince on the subject of his marriage, and on the promotion of Prince Henry to the dignity of Cardinal.

Besides the correspondence, the selection comprehends a report of Gordon the Jesuit, on the state of affairs in Scotland in 1745; A treaty entered into at Fountainebleau between the King of France and the Chevalier after the battle of Prestonpans; Instructions from the King of France to Lord John Drummond on the conduct of the expedition intrusted to him; Note from Lord George Murray to the Prince, resigning his command after the battle of Culloden, with his reasons for that step; Notice from the Prince to the Chiefs of the Clans after said battle; List of Charges drawn up by the Prince against Macdonald of Barisdale; State of allowances granted by the French Government to the Highland officers; Memoir presented by the Prince to the King of France on his return from Scotland; Commission by Charles to treat for a marriage with the Princess of Hesse Darmstadt; Charles's accounts with Waters, his banker at Paris; Account of the Moidart family, presented to the Chevalier de St George; A curious and interesting Memoir presented to the Prince in 1755 by a deputation of gentlemen, in relation to his conduct during the extraordinary incognito he preserved for several years, with the Prince's answer; Address by the Chevalier de St George to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; Memorandum by the Prince, in which he refers to his visit to England in 1750, &c. &c.

This partial enumeration will serve to convey some idea of the extent of the researches which have been made into this great repository of materials for history, and also of the value of the acquisitions which have been made for the present Work; but it is only from the documents themselves, and the new light which they shed on one of the most interesting and memorable episodes in British history, that their real importance can be fully estimated.

A

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS,

AND OF

The Highland Clans,

By JAMES BROWNE, LL.D., Advocate.

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HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

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THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

BY

JAMES BROWNE, Esq., LL.D., Advocate.

Author of "Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Egypte et les progrès faits jusqu' à présent dans leur Déchiffrement,"
"A Critical Examination of Dr M'Culloch's Book on the Highlands," &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF PORTRAITS AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. I.

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ADDRESS.

The grand object of this work, the merit of the design of which belongs exclusively to my intelligent and enterprising publishers, is to exhibit, in the most attractive form possible, a comprehensive digest of all that is known, or deserving of being recorded, on the interesting subject which it is intended to illustrate. Much has already been written and published on the Highlands generally, as well as on the manners, customs, habits, feelings, superstitions, character, condition, and martial achievements of that people, who, from a period long anterior to the dawn of authentic history, occupied the mountains and the glens of the Alpine region included within the Grampian boundary; and there is scarcely any separate branch of the subject which some one has not appropriated and overlaid with a mass of disproportionate and oppressive details. But of the crowd of writers who, at different times, have expatiated in the various portions of this ample field, many have been actuated by the strongest prejudices of nationality, whilst others, careless of facts, have sought to exhibit the embellishments of romance rather than the truth of history, and a few have laboured with perverse industry, to vilify, misrepresent, and traduce the country and the people which they professed to describe; and, at all events, no work has as yet appeared in which the subject of the Highlands and the Highlanders has been treated of in all its branches, or to which reference may conveniently and safely be made for such information as it must be desirable for the public to have presented to them in an agreeable and accessible form. To supply this desideratum,—to concentrate and combine the knowledge which at present lies scattered over an immense surface, and throughout a vast variety of publications,—to interweave with what is already known and ascertained a large body of information derived from new sources and hitherto inedited documents,—to apply the laws of evidence and the lights of philosophy to the investigation of subjects which have too long been viewed through the exaggerating media of ignorance, prejudice, or national vanity,—and to replace within the pale of history characters and events which have hitherto been claimed by fiction as its own;—these are the views and objects with which the present work has been undertaken,—these, also, are the principles which will be religiously observed in its execution. The author is neither an apologist nor a partisan. What he has undertaken is to write history in the spirit of history; and, independently of all higher considerations, he is too thoroughly convinced that nothing is so really interesting as the truth, ever to deviate from the rule which he has prescribed to himself.

From the title of the work, it will be seen that it naturally resolves itself into two parts, each requiring to be distinctly treated; first, a general history of the Highlands from the earliest to the present times; and, secondly, a detailed account, partly genealogical and partly historical, of each sept or clan into which the aboriginal population was divided, interspersed with such notices of local traditions, usages, peculiarities, and other circumstances, as are necessarily excluded from a general history, yet serve to illustrate those varieties of character and feeling observable amongst the different tribes of a people long subject to a species of government partly feudal and partly patriarchal.

With regard to the History of the Highlands, which comes first in order, it will probably be found to present some peculiar claims to the attention of the public. For, besides dissertations on the origin and migrations of the Celts as deduced from the casual notices of historians and other authors, the affiliation of languages, and the incidental illustrations of monuments,—on the Poetry, the Music, the Superstitions, and the Character and Condition of the Highlanders, both in ancient and in modern times—together with a variety of other subjects,—there will be embodied in the general narrative, an ample account of their military achievements, from the time when they first appear on the theatre of our national history, till their almost entire fusion and amalgamation with the rest of the population of the country in our own times, —of their campaigns under Montrose, Dundee, and others,—of the two rebellions of 1715 and 1745, together with details never before published of the political connexions and intrigues maintained, in the interval, between the great Jacobite families of the North and the Court of the exiled family at St Germain,—and, lastly, of the services of the Highlanders in the regular army, from the battle of Fontenoy and the period when the genius of Chatham first gave to their military virtue a safe direction, till the conclusion of the late war, in the course of which they so honourably and fully sustained their ancient reputation in arms. For all this the materials are ample; and with the new lights which will unquestionably be derived from the Stuart papers, as well as from other documents recently discovered, it is confidently hoped that a fresh interest may be given, even to events which are generally known, by revealing the secret springs in which they originated, detecting the real motives of the principal agents, and removing much of the misconception and error that still prevails respecting some of the most interesting portions of our national annals. In as far, indeed, as regards the two rebellions, the history of these extraordinary occurrences still remains to be written; whilst the political links by which they were connected have never yet been attempted to be supplied by any competent hand. Of the short-lived and ill-conducted insurrection of 1715, there absolutely exists no readable or rational account; for although the leading facts were matter of notoriety, the true character of the whole affair has never been duly appreciated, either as respects its causes or its consequences, nor has any effort worth mentioning been made to search out the truth, or fathom the real views and objects of those who principally figured in this remarkable movement. Nor has the bolder and better sustained effort of 1745 been more fortunate in an historian. Home, with materials in his hands, out of which a noble monument might have been reared, betrayed the trust which the great Jacobite families of the North had reposed in him, and, in a pitiful anxiety to avoid giving offence where none would have been taken, published to the world an account remarkable for nothing but its barrenness and inanity; whilst, from a notion of enhancing the value of what was in itself really worthless, he appears to have sacrilegiously destroyed the invaluable documents which a too confiding generosity had, without condition or stipulation, placed in his hands. Like the well known Frenchman in Greece, he defaced the monuments which he could not appreciate and knew not how to use, and thus created a blank which, to a certain extent, can never be filled up. Nor has any subsequent writer yet executed the task which this timid and time-serving man so cruelly bungled. We have indeed had gossiping and garrulous narratives, manufactured out of scraps, collected from the most impure sources, and replete with the catchpenny trumpery which it is so much the fashion of the day to palm upon the public—but no HISTORY. It remains to be seen whether this may not yet be supplied.

The nature of the second part of the work has already been indicated. It is of a kind to interest deeply the heads of all the great families of the North, in the first instance; and there can be little doubt that, with their usual patriotic liberality, they will be inclined to encourage and promote it by every means in their power. Of this disposition, indeed, many of them have already given ample and honourable evidence, by cordially offering to afford every facility in the execution of his design, and to put him in possession of whatever documents or information they may have it in their power to furnish him withal. He requests nothing but a fair hearing. What he has already written on the subject of the Highlands is a guarantee for the [illegible] with which any information communicated to him will be used; and although the value of the work which he has undertaken will in a great measure depend on the strictly historical character with which he is anxious above all things to impress it, a liberal and candid spirit will, he trusts, ever guide him in the judgments he may be led to pronounce both on individuals and on parties, [illegible] the complexion of the events which it will be his business to describe. On these grounds he [illegible] and as there is no species of information which has been declined, a lively sense of favours to be received [illegible] may, at the same time, express his conviction that the stock of [illegible] will speedily experience a very great and signal increase. In the capacious bosom of the North there is still much which we would be curious to learn, and which it would be highly interesting for the public to be made acquainted withal. J. B.

Prince Charles Edw^d. Stuart.

Engraved by [illegible]
from the celebrated Painting [illegible]
painted at [illegible]

Published August 4 1836 by Arch^{d}. Fullarton & C^{o}. Glasgow.

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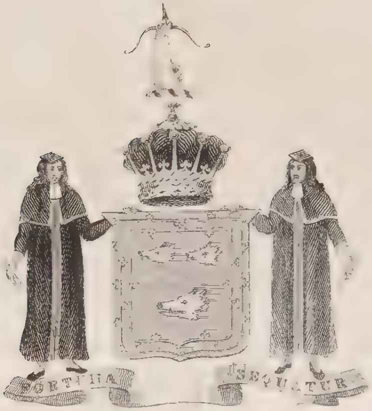

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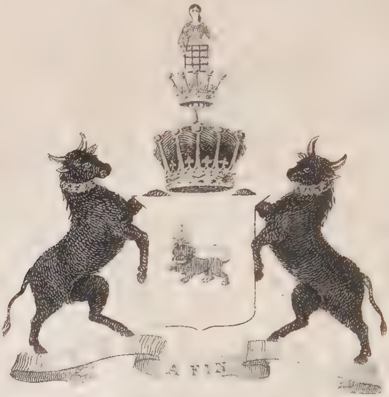

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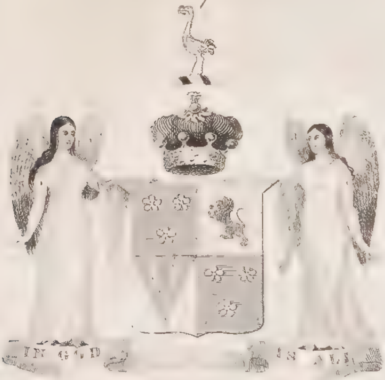

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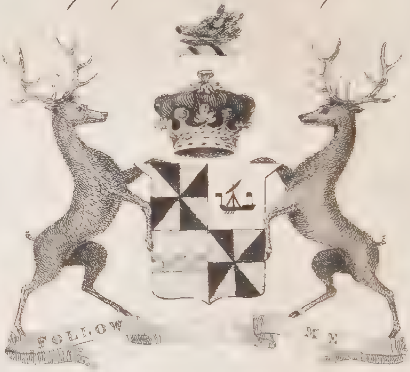

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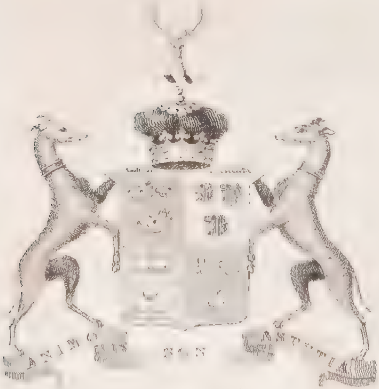

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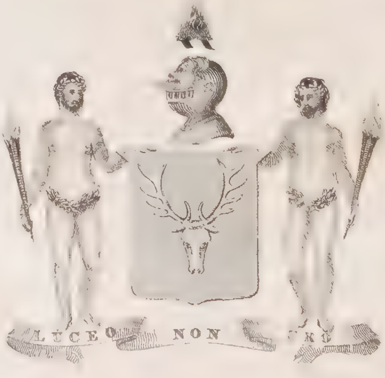

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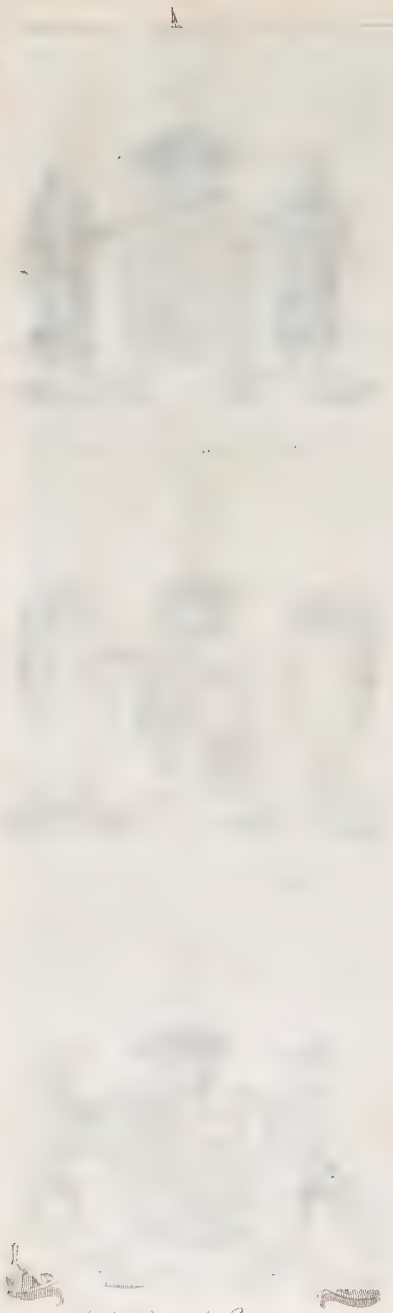

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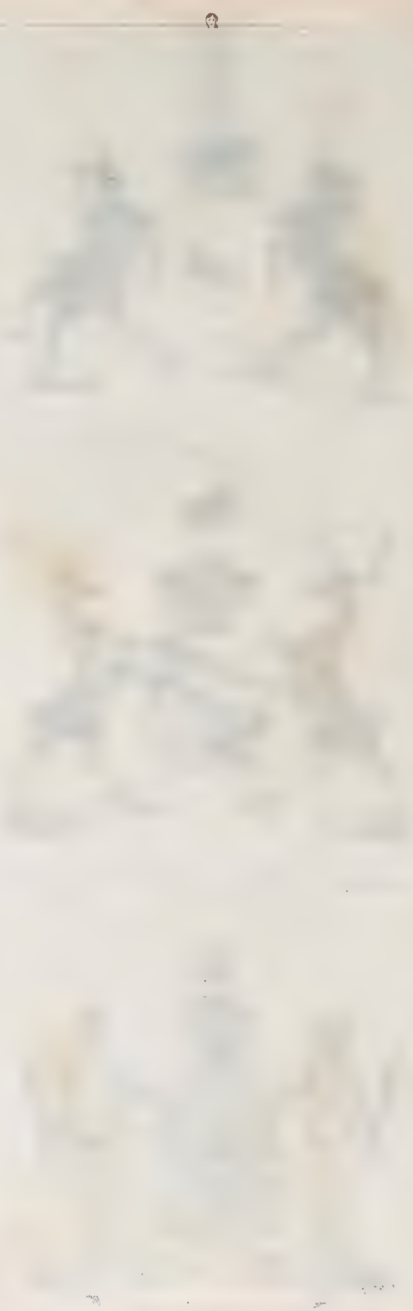

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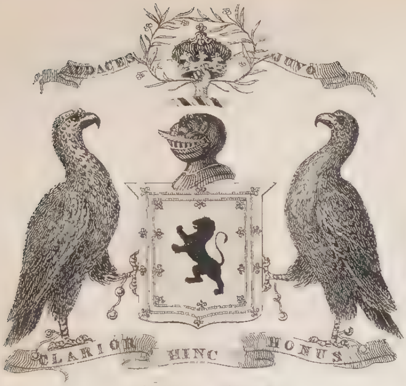

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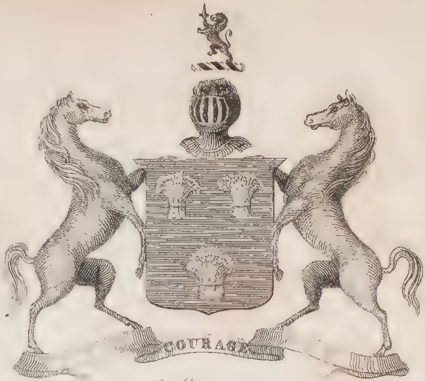

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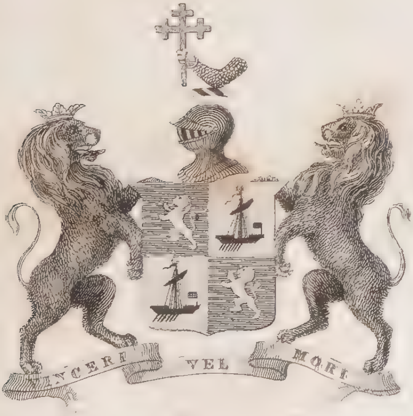

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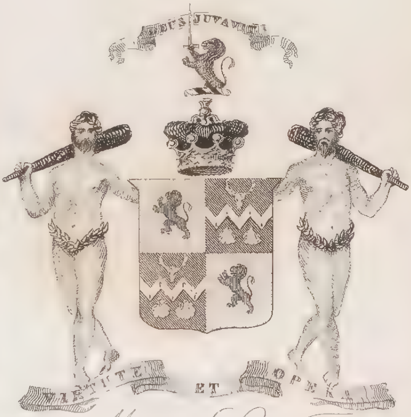

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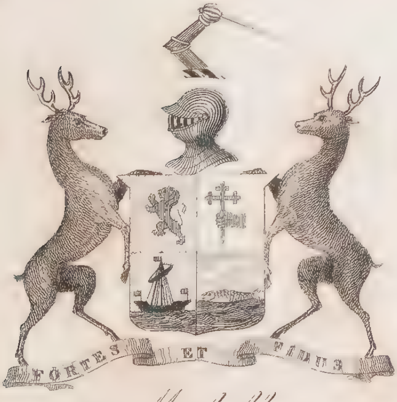

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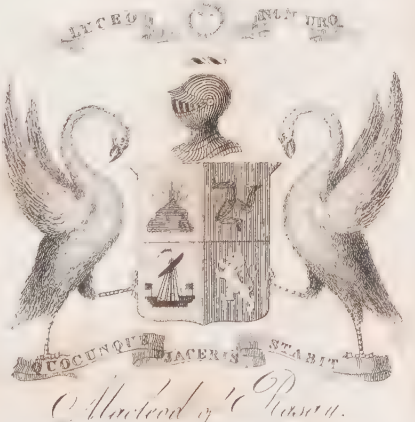

Macleod of Raasay.

Drawn by U. Mac Coinich

Engraved by R. Scott

Published by Arch^{d} Fullarton & C^{o} Glasgow

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the researches of the learned to trace the origin of nations and the descent and progress of the different branches of the great human family, as found at the dawn of history, it must be confessed that the result has been far from satisfactory, and that many of the systems which have been proposed are built upon the most gratuitous and chimerical hypotheses. By a comparison of languages, however, considerable light has been thrown upon the affinities of nations; but beyond these philological investigations, every thing becomes vague and uncertain.

Some modern writers, particularly amongst the Germans, with that unfortunate latitudinarianism of interpretation which distinguishes the disciples of the neologian school, consider the deluge as having been confined to a small portion of the globe; and upon this gratuitous hypothesis they have raised the most incongruous systems. Klaproth, although he very properly disclaims the intention of deriving all languages from one primitive tongue, nevertheless makes the following extraordinary observations: "The wide dispersion of the Indo-Germanic* race took place probably before the flood of Noah: besides, it is the only Asiatic one which appears to have descended, after that event, from two high mountains, namely, from the Himalaya into India and Middle Asia, and on the west from the Kaukasus into Asia Minor and Europe. In India this race mixed itself much with the dark-coloured aborigines, and, though its speech predominated, its physical characteristics were deteriorated, as has ever been the case when a mixture has taken place between a white and black, or brown race; when the physical qualities of the latter, and the moral qualities of each undergo an inevitable change.

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* Indians, Persians, Afghans, Kurds, Medes, Ossetes, Armenians, Sclavonians, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, English, Greeks, Romans, and all the people who speak a language derived from Latin, are reckoned by Klaproth as Indo-Germanic.

The brown or negro-like aborigines of India probably saved themselves during the flood of Noah on the high mountains of Malabar and the Ghauts.* In the dialects of the southern parts of India, there appears to be a number of roots and words received from the aborigines, and some remains of such words may perhaps be found among the wild mountain-people in the northern parts. From the Kaukasus, another branch of this stem seems to have descended upon the banks of the Caspian sea, and proceeded into Media; and thence peopled Persia. Afterwards they probably migrated into Asia Minor, and first into southern, and then into northern Europe."†

In this way does Klaproth, founding upon a series of the merest assumptions, coolly set aside the whole Mosaic account of the deluge;—and we need not therefore wonder the same fate has befallen him with other writers who have departed from the short but distinct narrative of the sacred historian, namely, being obliged to wander in Cimmerian darkness, without even an occasional glimmering of light to direct his steps. For if the Mosaic history be rejected, it is perfectly evident that all speculations respecting the original peopling of the world can rest upon no foundation whatever, as the first dawning of profane tradition and history is scarcely discernible earlier than 1200 or 1300 years before the Christian era.‡ In proportion, therefore, as the Mosaic account is departed from, the more confused and perplexed do all such speculations become; an evident proof indeed of the vanity of human pretensions when opposed to the authority of divine revelation.

From the account given by Moses, we must consider the great plain in the land of Shinar, or Mesopotamia, as the cradle of the human race, whence, as from a common centre, the different streams of population diverged upon the miraculous destruction of the uniformity of speech, and the creation of a variety of languages altogether distinct from one another. Of the number and description of the languages thus miraculously brought into existence, the sacred historian is silent, and, consequently, any inquiries to ascertain, with some degree of certainty, either the one or the other, must, amidst the immense variety of languages and dialects which now exist, be in a great measure indefinite and conjectural. By the aid of philology, however, some approximation has been made towards a solution of these recondite questions, but from the absence of historical detail, they must ever be regarded rather as curious speculations, than as points conclusively settled.

At that era when the dawn of history begins to dispel the dark cloud which had overshadowed the early ages of the world, the western countries of Europe were occupied by tribes differing from each other in manners, customs, and language, and distinguished by varieties in their physical constitution. When the Greek and Roman writers first began to turn their eyes westward, they found Europe, from the banks of the Danube to the remotest shores of Ireland, peopled by a race called Gauls or Celts, or rather Kelts, who, before they had attached themselves to the soil by tillage, had overspread a considerable part of Spain in the course of their armed migrations, and had even poured their predatory bands through the Alpine passes into the great plain of northern Italy. They extended along the Danube as far as the Euxine, and spread themselves till they were met on different sides by the Sarmatians, Thracians, and Illyrians. As their expeditions were in general prior to the period of history, we have but slender means of probable conjecture as to the antiquity, extent, and direction of the great migratory movements of this remarkable race. Their later incursions or establishments in Italy are, however, better known; and even in the oldest memorials we can scarcely discern a trace of those wanderings or migrations of tribes which must, nevertheless, have originally filled this region of the earth with inhabitants.*

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* The Ghauts and the mountains of Malabar are identical.

† Asia, Polyglotta, p. 43, 44.

‡ Kennedy's Researches, p. 218.

From a remote antiquity, the whole of the country between the Euxine and the German ocean appears to have been possessed by the Cimmerii or Cimbri, one of the grand divisions of the Celts; whilst Gaul was occupied by the other division, to which the name of Celtæ was more properly and commonly applied.† Herodotus‡ mentions the Celts and Cynetæ as inhabiting the remotest parts of Europe towards the setting of the sun, near the sources of the Ister or Danube; but it is unknown during how many ages they had occupied this region before the father of history obtained this, which is the earliest, notice of them. Aristotle§ and other ancient writers give us nearly the same information with Herodotus, whom they probably followed. With regard to Britain, it must have been inhabited at a period anterior to the Trojan war, since, from the statement of Herodotus, it appears that tin exported from Britain by Phœnician traders, was at that time in general use; a circumstance which evidently implies, that our island was then peopled by a race who had already explored its metallic treasures; whilst, from other considerations, it has, with much probability, been inferred, that the earliest settlers or inhabitants of Britain were of Celtic origin. But at what precise period of time the Celts found their way into Britain, is a question involved in impenetrable obscurity, nor can it be ascertained in a satisfactory manner whether the original Celtic population of Scotland sprung from the Cimmerii or Cimbri, one of the great divisions of the Celtæ, whose possessions extended from the Bosphorus Cimmerius on the Euxine, to the Cimbric Chersonesus of Denmark, and to the Rhine; or from the Celtæ, properly and peculiarly so called, who inhabited ancient Gaul.

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* Mackintosh, History of England, vol. i. Introduction, p. 2.—Prichard on the Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, p. 14.

† Pinkerton, Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths. Part I. chap. iv.

‡ Lib. ii. and iv.

§ In Meteorol. De Gen. Animæ, lib. ii. c. 18.

Mr Pinkerton, following the authority of Tacitus and the common tradition, is of opinion that as the southern part of Britain was first peopled from Gaul by Gaël, who were afterwards expelled by Cumri from Germany, so there is reason to infer, that the northern part of Britain was first peopled by Cumri from Jutland, the passage from the Cimbric Chersonesus to North Britain through open sea being more easy than that from the south of Britain to the north through vast forests. The sea, so far from hindering, promotes even savage colonization; and late navigators have found islands in the Pacific Ocean, five or six hundred miles distant from each other, all peopled by one race of men. Where men and sea exist, canoes are always found, even in the earliest state of society, and the savage Finns and Greenlanders perform far longer navigations than that from Jutland to Scotland. The length of Britain is so great from south to north, that to people the latter from the former, must have been a work of many ages; whereas, the passage from Germany was open and easy. The Picts, he continues, came from Norway to Scotland, and we may infer from analogy, that the first Celtic inhabitants of the latter country proceeded from the north of Germany; for the Cimbri or Cumri possessed the coast of Germany opposite to North Britain, or the Cimbric Chersonesus, even down to a late period. As it is improbable that the north of Britain remained without Celtic inhabitants, whilst all the opposite country of Germany was held by them, it is reasonable to infer, that the Cimbri were the first inhabitants of Scotland. But when we find Cimbric names of mountains and rivers remaining in the most remote parts of Scotland, the inference acquires as much certainty as the case will admit of. These Cimbri, the supposed first inhabitants of Scotland, were of one and the same great stock with the Cumri or Welsh; the Welsh, however, are not their descendants, but only remains of the Cimbri of South Britain, who passed from the opposite coast of Germany, and drove the Gaël or Gauls, the first inhabitants, into Ireland. In the opinion of Tacitus,* the aboriginal population of Scotland came out of Germany, and, according to a tradition in the time of the Venerable Bede,† the Picts or Caledonians, who were probably the first inhabitants of North Britain, were said to have originally proceeded from *Scythia;* a generic term used by Strabo,‡ Diodorus,§ and Pliny,‖ to denote the northern division of the European continent, in which sense it is adopted by Bede.¶

Father Innes, a more sound and dispassionate inquirer than Pinkerton, supposes, however, that as the Caledonian Britons or Picts were of the same origin as the Britons of the south; and that as the latter unquestionably came into Britain from the nearest coasts of the Gauls, they advanced by degrees, as they multiplied in the island, and peopled the southern parts of it, towards the more northern parts and seated themselves there, carrying along with them the same customs as the Britons of the south, and the same language derived originally from the Celts or Gauls. He observes, that Tacitus himself seems at last to have come into this opinion; for after his conjecture about the origin of the Caledonians and of the Silures, he adds, without exception as to all the Britons, that it was more likely that the Gauls from the neighbouring coast had at first peopled the island.* This was certainly the more natural way, for so the earth was at first peopled. Men, as their numbers increased in their first habitations, were obliged to advance to new ones in their neighbourhood, to transport themselves not only over rivers, but across the narrowest arms of the sea, at first only to the nearest lands, or islands, which they could easily discern from their own coasts, before they durst adventure on sea voyages out of sight of land, especially in those early times when men were ignorant of the compass and art of navigation. Hence, it is much more probable, that the first inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, came rather from the southern parts of the island than from Scandinavia, or from other parts of the northern continent, at the distance of several days' sail from any part of Britain.†

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* Tacit. in Vit. Agric. No. 11.

† Bede, l. i. c. 1.

‡ Strabo, p. 507.

§ Diodor. l. vi. c. 7.

‖ Plin. l. vi. c. 13.

¶ Pinkerton on the earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. Part I. chap. ii.

In support of the hypothesis that the aboriginal inhabitants of North Britain came from Gaul, Mr Innes refers to Herodian, Dio Cassius, and even to Tacitus himself, all of whom ordinarily call the Caledonians Britons, without any other distinction than that of their living in the most northerly part of the island, and of their having maintained their liberty with greater courage and unanimity than the Britons of the south against the Roman power, to which last characteristic allusion is made in the celebrated speech of Galgacus to his army when about to engage with the legions of Agricola. According to Tacitus, this intrepid chief told his countrymen that they were the most noble among the Britons (*nobilissimi totius Britanniæ*), who had never beheld slavery, far less felt it; the only difference which, from the harangue of Galgacus, seems to have then existed between the Caledonians and the Britons of the south.‡

The defiles of the Caucasus, with the Bosphorus and Hellespont, are evidently the channels through which the streams of population flowed into Europe; and Thrace, which received its original population from Asia Minor, was probably the first land in our division of the globe which was trodden by human footsteps, for although the intervening countries of Lesser Asia, by presenting inducements for colonization, might have retarded the progress of emigration, yet, as there was no formidable mountain barrier like the Caucasian chain to stem the current of population, it may fairly be presumed that Thrace was the first European country which received its portion of the human race. But be this as it may, it is quite clear, from a variety of circumstances, that Thrace, and indeed all the countries to the south of the Danube, were originally peopled from Asia Minor.* Adelung,† indeed, supposes that the latter country was originally inhabited by people of the Semitic branch, who were afterwards supplanted in the principal and western division of the country by emigrating colonies of Thracians; but although several tribes of the Semitic family, such as the Cilicians, Cappadocians, and Lydians, who are supposed to have been of Semitic origin, lived in Asia Minor, there seems no sufficient grounds for an opinion, which, besides its inherent improbability, is contrary to history.

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* "In adversum tamen estimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est."—*Tacit. vit. Agric.* No. 11.

† Critical Essay. London, 1729, vol. i. p. 70, 71.

‡ Ibid. p. 71, 72.

In process of time the descendants of the races which had penetrated into Europe through the Caucasus, and by the Bosphorus and Hellespont, converged upon the Danube, whence they spread themselves over the neighbouring countries. Pressed by the influx of population from the north, or desirous of conquest, several tribes of the Thracian race abandoned their possessions in Europe at an early period, and crossed over into Lesser Asia in quest of new settlements. These tribes took possession of the northern and western tracts of that country under the denomination of Phrygians, Bithynians, and Mysians.‡ But notwithstanding this reflux of population, the Thracians in Europe still continued a great and powerful nation, and according to Herodotus, they were the most numerous of all nations, next to the Indians, and would have been invincible had they been united under one chief or head. Of the Thracian race, the people known by the primary or generic denomination of Getæ, formed a considerable branch. In Europe the dominions of the Thracians lay between the Euxine and the Adriatic, and were bordered on the south by the territories of the Pelasgi, the first inhabitants of Greece. The Illyrians also were another branch of the same stem.

From Thrace Greece was first peopled by the Pelasgi, a tribe of Thracian origin, who gave the name of Pelasgia to all Greece. To the Pelasgians, so called from Pelasgus, a fabulous king of Arcadia, and a mixture of other early settlers, the Greek nation is probably indebted for its origin; § for the isolated passage from Herodotus, respecting an alleged difference between the languages of the Pelasgi of Kreston, and of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, and that of the Hellenes, does not, in the opinion of the learned, warrant the conclusion, that the Hellenic people were a different race, a conclusion which would not only be contrary to what the father of history elsewhere states, but also opposed to the authority of other ancient writers. The Greek nation was chiefly distinguished into three races, namely, the Æolians, the Ionians, and the Dorians, each of which spoke a different dialect, of which the Æolic has been considered as the most ancient. The last mentioned branch having acquired an ascendancy in Pelasgia, gave the name of Hellas to ancient Greece, from Hellen the son of Deucalion who reigned in Thessaly, whom fable reports as the father of this race, and from whose name they took the appellation of Hellenes, which they gradually imposed upon the other inhabitants of Pelasgia. According to Thucydides, the Dorians or Hellenes were a clan celebrated for their exploits in the neighbourhood of Phthiotis, and the term Hellenes, by which they were particularly distinguished, was gradually extended to other Grecian tribes, who obtained their military aid, and between whom and their chiefs a sort of feudal association was maintained; but he observes that the name did not prevail generally in Greece till a long period afterwards. "Of this," says Thucydides, "Homer is my chief testimony. For although he lived much later than the Trojan war, he has not by any means given to all the people of Greece the name of Hellenes, nor indeed to any others than those who came with Achilles from Phthiotis, and who were the first Hellenes." * He afterwards observes that Homer distinguishes the other Greeks by the names of Danai, Argivi, and Achæi.†

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* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 52, 251.

† Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 344.

‡ Herodotus, Strabo.

§ Mitford, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 20.

From the great variety and mixture of races of which the ancient population of Italy was composed, the genealogy of its tribes cannot be traced with the same accuracy as that of the races, which at an early period peopled the other regions of Europe. Whilst from its peninsular situation it was of easy access to colonists by sea either from Greece or Asia, it was always liable to the inroads of the migratory hordes which entered western Europe by the route indicated by the course of the Danube; and thus the stream of population poured in from opposite directions, and nations originally distinct became so amalgamated, that their distinctive characteristics were almost either obliterated, or were rendered so confused and perplexed, as to require the utmost stretch of critical acumen to unravel them. It was long before the historical divisions of mankind were restricted to the natural boundaries of nations, and it was not until those boundaries had been often changed, and the great divisions of the human race had been split into numerous subdivisions, and intermingled, by changes in the course of emigration, that these boundaries became fixed in the way that we now behold them.

Long before the dawn of authentic history, the greater part of the Italian peninsula appears to have been occupied and settled by different races of men, as every account which has reached us of the arrival of a new colony, mentions that the *advenæ*, or new comers, found certain tribes which they termed Aborigines, already in possession of the soil. But whence did these *primi cultores Italiæ* proceed? That they were of eastern origin seems to be admitted on all hands, but the course of their migrations has been a subject of dispute among the learned. The Abbate Lanzi* mentions (and he is supported in his opinion by the greater part of the Italian antiquaries and philologists), that the Pelasgi or Hellenes originally peopled Italy, and after having landed on its southern extremity, gradually spread themselves over the country to the northward. But the learned of other countries, particularly Fréret, Heyné, and Adelung, maintain in opposition to Lanzi and his followers, that a portion of the tribes which first peopled Italy, must, in their progress to that peninsula, have traversed the northern regions of Asia and Europe, and have penetrated by the defiles of the Alps into the valley of the Po, and the great plain of Continental Italy, or Cisalpine Gaul.†

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* Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 2.

† Ibid. lib. i. cap. 3.

Of the route followed by the Nomadic tribes, which originally peopled the southern and western countries of Europe, in their migrations from the east, no certain account can be given; but it is well known, that these movements were generally to the westward; and it is highly probable that the great route of these migrations was between the chain of the Alps, which forms the northern boundary of the Italian peninsula, and the Danube. On reaching the Alpine barrier, several of the more enterprising tribes would turn to the left and enter the plains of Italy by the passes of the Tyrol, or by those in the Maritime or Julian Alps. These aborigines would, in process of time, and from various causes, gradually advance to the southward, and as the descendants of these original settlers were never expelled from Italy, the inhabitants of southern Italy may partly be regarded as the offspring of those who first descended into the plains of Lombardy.

As the precise route of the successive hordes of barbarians who invaded and peopled Italy cannot now be determined, neither can the different periods of their emigrations be ascertained. All that we know for certain, is, that at the dawn of history, Italy was occupied by a variety of tribes speaking different languages or dialects, who had arrived at different degrees of civilization. Some writers have divided these tribes into five classes, according to their presumed antiquity, viz. Illyrians, Iberians, Celts, Pelasgians, and Etruscans, whilst others classify them under the denominations of Umbrians, Etruscans, Œnotrians, and Ausonians or Opici.

There are no data by which to ascertain the epochs of the different emigrations of these tribes. The four classes first-mentioned were in possession of Italy before the arrival of the Hellenic colonies in Magna Græcia; but with the exception of the Etruscans, who immediately preceded them, it appears doubtful whether the Illyrians, Iberians, or Celts, have the best title to priority of occupancy. If the Umbrians were of Celtic origin, as there is reason to believe, the north of Italy was probably first peopled by the Celts, as all the ancient writers who allude to the Umbri, represent them as the most ancient people known to have inhabited that region.* The Illyrians, who were of Thracian origin, had from the most remote ages established themselves on the coasts of the Adriatic, between Pannonia, Noricum, and Epirus, and are supposed to have entered Italy about sixteen centuries before the Christian era. They consisted, it is believed, of three tribes, viz. the Liburni, the Siculi, and the Heneti or Veneti. The first settlement of the Liburni, who are supposed by some writers to have been the most ancient inhabitants of Italy, was between the Alps and the Adige. They afterwards crossed the Po, and spread themselves along the western coasts of the Adriatic, but the pressure of new colonies from the north forced them to move further southward to the provinces of Terra di Bari, and Terra di Otranto, where they were subdivided into three branches, the Iapyges, the Peucetii, and the Calabri. The tribe which next followed the Liburni, was the Siculi, originally from the frontiers of Dalmatia. They took possession of middle Italy as far as the Tiber, with the exception of the districts on the Adriatic which the Liburni had previously occupied; but forced from their new possessions, and from the extremity of the peninsula, to which they were driven by new settlers, they crossed the strait of Messina, and colonized the eastern part of Sicily, to which they gave their name. This event, according to Hellanicus, who is cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, took place eighty years before the taking of Troy; but Thucydides fixes it at a later period. The Heneti or Veneti, the last of the Illyrian tribes who entered Italy, settled to the northward of the Po, where they long maintained their independence against the inroads of the Gauls, when the latter over-ran northern Italy, about the close of the sixth century before our era.

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* Saggio di Lingua Etrusca et di Altre Antiche d'Italia.

† Edin. Review, No. LXXX. p. 379.

The Iberians penetrated into Italy after the Illyrians. They are supposed to have proceeded from Aquitania, and to have entered Italy through the country of Nice. The Iberi are reputed by some writers as the oldest inhabitants of the west of Europe. They were certainly the original inhabitants of Spain, a circumstance which gave rise to a tradition mentioned by Strabo, that Pontus was peopled from Spain; but this is contrary to analogy, the course of migration having invariably been from east to west. On entering Italy the Iberians possessed themselves of the district, subsequently termed the Riviera di Genoa, and thereafter gradually spread themselves over the coasts of Tuscany, Latium, and the Campagna, as it is now called. In process of time they were driven by the Ligurians, probably a Celtic tribe, to the extremity of the peninsula, and following the example of the Siculi, they crossed the strait of Messina, and established themselves on the western coast of Sicily, under the denomination of Sicani, which they took from the river Sicanus.

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* Herod. I. cap. 94. Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. v, xiv.

The Etruscans, as forming a powerful and important nation of ancient Italy, come next to be considered. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* they called themselves by the national appellation of Rasenna; but they were generally called Tyrseni or Tyrrheni, by the Greeks, and Tusci or Thusci by the Romans. At the dawn of history, and long before the building of Rome, this remarkable race appears to have possessed a great part of the country originally belonging to the Umbri, whom they drove from the maritime parts of the ancient Umbria into the defiles of the Apennines.

No subject has puzzled ancient and modern writers more than the origin of the Etruscans. According to Herodotus,† they were a colony of Lydians, a Pelasgian tribe, who were compelled by famine to leave their abodes in Asia under the conduct of Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys their king, and who, after visiting many shores, fixed themselves in Umbria under the appellation of Tyrrhenians, from the name of their leader. This tradition, which the father of history obtained from the people of Lydia, has been adopted by almost all the ancient writers, whether poets, historians, or geographers. Though embellished with circumstances of a fabulous nature, the outline of the story is not improbable, and the descent of the Etruscans from the Lydians might have been credited but for the silence of Xanthus the Lydian historian, who lived a short time before Herodotus, and who, in a work of great credit which he compiled on the antiquities of his country, is silent respecting the Etruscans or their origin.

From the Etruscan language having been spoken in the mountainous tracts bordering on the northern Etruria, a conjecture has been hazarded that the Etruscans were descendants of the people who, at the time of their emigration into Etruria, lived among the Rhætian Alps; but in the absence of any data on which to found such an hypothesis, it is more reasonable to suppose that as the Etruscans inhabited the adjacent plains of the Po for many centuries, they gradually propagated their dialect in the adjoining districts as they extended their possessions, than that such a powerful and populous nation should have sprung from the comparatively insignificant stock which inhabited the neighbouring Alps. The opinion maintained by the Senator Buonarotti, by Gorius, Guarnacci, Mazzochi, Maffei, and Lord Monboddo, that the Etruscans were of Egyptian descent, scarcely deserves serious consideration when opposed to the judgment of Bardelli, Pelloutier, Fréret, Funccius, Adelung, Heyné, Niebuhr, and other distinguished Italian, French, and German antiquarians. These writers, though differing from one another in other points, agree in maintaining that the Etruscans were of northern and Celtic origin. But although Etruria may have received a new accession of population by the Rhætian valleys when the Gauls over-ran the Circumpadane Etruria, as mentioned by several historians,* the character and manners of the Etruscan people seem to support the opinion of the ancient writers, that they were originally a maritime colony from the shores of the Tyrrhenian sea. Their high degree of social improvement, their great advancement in the arts, their commercial industry, and, in short, every circumstance in their history distinguish them from the native inhabitants of Europe, and particularly from those who, in these early ages, inhabited mountainous countries. Besides practising the art of writing, which was unknown in their time to the northern and western nations of Europe, their religious doctrines and customs were evidently so connected with the supersitions of the east, as almost to demonstrate their oriental origin.†

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* Antiq. Rom.

† Herod. lib. i. cap. 94.

When the Rasenna entered Umbria, part of that country was already in possession of some Pelasgian tribes from Thessaly and Epirus, who are supposed to have imported into Etruria the first elements of civilization. These tribes having, as is reported, crossed the Adriatic at a period long before the Trojan war, seized part of Umbria, where they settled and built towns, all which, with the exception of Cortona, were afterwards taken by the Etruscans.‡ The latter established themselves at first in the plains on both banks of the Po, even to its embouchure, whence they gradually extended themselves over the greater part of the low country intervening between the Alps and the Apennines. They afterwards pushed their conquests to the mouth of the Tiber, and entered into an alliance with the Latins, but were baffled in their efforts to obtain possession of that corner on the Adriatic, which was occupied by the Veneti. The last settlement of the Etruscans was in Campania, in the plains round Capua and Nola, whence they expelled the former inhabitants, the Osci, who were of the Ausonian or Opic race. The first inhabitants of the south of Italy are supposed to have been the Œnotrii and the Opici or Ausones; at least when the Greek colonies arrived on the coast of Magna Græcia, they found these two races already in possession of southern Italy. The Œnotrii, who were of Arcadian origin, possessed the country between the Scyllacean and Lametine gulfs. From the Arcadian Italus§ they are said by Aristotle and Thucydides to have given the name of Italy to that district. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the authority of Antiochus of Syracuse, says, that the Œnotrii were afterwards divided into three branches, and respectively called Siceli, Morgetes, and Italietes or Italians, after the names of different leaders.‖ From the Œnotrii were descended the Latins, the Peucetii, Chaones, and Iapygians of the eastern coast of Italy.

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* Liv. lib. v. cap. 35. Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 20. Justin, lib. xx. cap. 5.

† In common with several nations of Asia, the Etruscans held the dogmas of cycles and apocatastases, or fated renovations of the world. *Vide* Suidas *voce Nannacos* and Plutarch, *in vita C. Marii.* Prichard's *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, book ii. chap. 2. and Supplement.

‡ Pliny, *ubi supra.* Dionys. Halicarn. lib

§ Aristot. *Politic.* lib. iv. cap. 10. Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2.

‖ Dionys. chap. i. of book i. of Spellman's Translation.

The primitive inhabitants of the central parts of Italy were the Ausones or Opici, a barbaric people, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity. They spoke a language called by the Roman writers Opic or Oscan, and appear to have been an extensive nation. They expelled the greater part of the Siceli from the south of Italy. The latter passed over into Sicily, and the Ausones in their turn were driven from some of their possessions by the Etruscans. The Sabines, Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, who afterwards over-ran Campania and Magna Græcia, were descended from the Ausonian or Opic race. From the identity of some Oscan words, which have been preserved, with the Celtic, the Oscan is supposed to have been originally a Celtic dialect, a conjecture by no means improbable. Indeed, as the original population of Rome consisted of a mixture of Latins and Sabines, and as its language was formed from the dialects of both these nations, there appears to be no other way of accounting for the mixture of Celtic words which is found in the language of ancient Rome, than by supposing the Ausonians or Opici, as well as the Umbrians, to have been of Celtic origin.

With regard to Spain it appears to have been first peopled by the Iberi. The Sicani, a branch of the Iberian race, are supposed to have possessed the whole southern coast of Gaul, from which they were driven by the Ligurians, who, it is believed, were of Celtic origin. The possession of the Ligurians, or Ligyes as they are named by the Greek writers, extended from the Rhone to the confines of Spain, at the period when the Greeks became acquainted with the western countries of Europe;* but in the time of Polybius they had acquired territories on both sides of the Apennines.†

At a period not long subsequent to the age of Herodotus, the Teutonic nations inhabited the north of Europe. Pytheas of Massalia or Massilia, now known by the name of Marseilles, who was contemporary with Aristotle, mentions the Guttones, who inhabited the shores of an estuary, which must have been the mouth of the Vistula, and carried on a traffic in amber with their neighbours the Teutones,‡ then well known under that appellation; and as the Guttones were probably Goths, we thus already discern in the north of Europe two of the most celebrated nations belonging to the Germanic family, in an age when the name of Rome had scarcely become known to the Greeks. The Finns and Sclavonians are supposed to have been the latest of the great nations who formed the population of Europe. Finningia and the Fenni, are mentioned both by Tacitus and by Pliny. In the age of these writers, the Finns were situated near the eastern shores of the Baltic, and had probably extended themselves as far as those districts where their descendants were afterwards known under the name of Beormahs or Biarmiers. The Sclavonians are not early distinguished in Europe under that name; but the appellation of Wends, given to the Sclavonic race by the Germans, seems to identify them with the Venedi, mentioned in the geographical descriptions of Pliny and Tacitus, as also with the Ουενεδαι or Winidæ of Ptolemy and Jornandes, these being terms appropriate to the Sclavonic nations. Besides, it is probable that the Russians were known to Herodotus, and that they are mentioned by him under an appellation differing but little from that which is now applied to them by their Finnish neighbours. The Rhoxolani, first described by Herodotus, are stated by Strabo to have inhabited the plains near the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes; and the Finns still distinguish the Muscovites by the name of Rosso-lainen, or Russian people, a term which, if heard by a Greek, would naturally be written Rhoxolani.*

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* Herod. lib. v.

† Polyb. lib. ii.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. cap. 2.

The German or Teutonic race, though allied in their origin to other races of men, may be considered as one particular division of mankind. Their connexion, however, with other races, is too distant to come within the utmost reach of history, and the limits which distinguish the Germans as a peculiar people are very clearly defined. Ancient Germany was bounded by the Danube and the Rhine on the south; by the Vistula, and the uncertain limits of the Sarmatian tribes and other nations confounded with them,† on the east; and by the Rhine and the German ocean on the west; but towards the north it had no precise limitation, all the countries beyond the Baltic being included in it.‡

According to Tacitus, the Germans considered their nation as consisting of three principal tribes, descended, as they represented, from the three sons of Mannus, the first man. To these tribes they gave the names of Ingævones, Herminones, and Istævones; but some, as he informs us, added four other tribes, which they termed Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, and Vandali. Pliny divides the whole nation into five departments or branches. The first class which he terms Vindili (probably the Vandali of Tacitus,) comprehended the Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, and Guttones. According to Jornandes, they inhabited the southern shores of the Baltic, and the north-eastern parts of Germany. The second tribe were the Ingævones, including the Cimbri, Teutones, and the nations or tribes of Cauchi. Their abode was in the north-western countries, where Tacitus also places them in the vicinity of the ocean. The Istævones, who inhabited the countries adjoining the Rhine, were the third tribe. The Herminones, or fourth class, comprehended the Suevi, Hermonduri, Catti, and Cherusci, and, according to Tacitus and Pliny, were inland nations. The Suevi, who, in the opinion of Tacitus, were a distinct tribe, included several tribes in the eastern part of Germany, as the Marcomanni, Quadi, Semnones, Marsingi, Lugii, Burii.§ The fifth department of nations were the Peucini and Bastarnæ, the most easterly of ancient Germany, who were neighbours of the Daci or Getæ. Dr Prichard considers it as doubtful whether these divisions of Pliny were founded on the history and genealogy of the people, or were simply geographical arrangements.*

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* Prichard, p. 16.

† Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 3

‡ Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 150.

§ Cluverii Germ. p. 702.

In the opinion of the author of the Mithridates, the whole Germanic nation has, from the earliest times, been divided into two great races, whose descendants may be easily distinguished from each other by the difference of language, or rather of dialect, which distinguishes the Teutonic idioms. The Upper German dialect is that harsh and deeply-toned language abounding in gutturals and imperfectly articulated consonants, and in deep diphthongal sounds which stand in the place of the softer dentals and palatines, and of the open vowels of the Lower German languages. The classical German or High Dutch, though a softened and refined idiom, so far partakes of the character of the Upper German, as to be still one of the harshest languages of Europe. This difference of dialect, it has been observed, is so general and so strongly marked, that it cannot be supposed to have originated in Germany, but argues a very ancient separation of the two races before they quitted their abodes in Upper Asia.†

The Suevi, and the tribes allied to them, who inhabited the north-eastern region of ancient Germany, Bohemia, Prussia, and part of Poland, (which countries they have since abandoned to nations of the Slavonic race,) spoke the Upper German dialect, as did the tribes comprehended among the Vandali by Tacitus and Pliny, and a part of the Ingævones. The relative positions of the different branches of the Teutonic race underwent a considerable change, however, by a great movement at an early period. Long before the Christian era they, along with the Cimbri, began to migrate towards Gaul and Italy. Another movement took place during the second century, and they made many distant conquests. The Allemanni fixed themselves in the south of Germany, where they have preserved in Swabia the ancient name of the Suevic race, and from whom are descended the present inhabitants of Switzerland, Alsace, Swabia, the Upper and Middle Rhine. From the Longobardi, who obtained possession of the eastern parts of Germany, came the Bavarians, all the Teutonic people of the Austrian States, and the remains of the Old Lombards in the Vicentine and Veronese. All the tribes in the western parts of ancient Germany belong to the lower or western German race, of which stock the old Franks, the Saxons, and the Frisians, were the three most celebrated. The old Franks have lost their German speech, and have acquired that of the conquered Neustrian Gauls. The descendants of the Saxons, mixed with Angles and Jutes, speak English in the British isles, and in Germany the Lower Saxon, or Platt-Deutsch. The Low Countries and the Seven United Provinces were peopled by the Frisian stock. The first inhabitants of Scandinavia were probably descended from the lower German stock, though the Heruli who penetrated into Norway, and the Gutæ or Goths of Sweden belong undoubtedly to the Teutonic race.*

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* Researches, vol. ii. p. 154.

† Ibid. p. 155.

The first habitation of the Finns appears to have been on the sides of the Table mountains. Certain it is, that as far back as history can trace, the countries to a considerable distance on both sides of the Great Uralian chain, were possessed, in the earliest times of which we have any trace, by a variety of nations connected by marks of a common origin, who regarded their Slavonian neighbours, their earliest invaders and conquerors, as branches of one race. Klaproth has proposed to distinguish this stock of men by the term Uralian : " All," he says, " that we know of them by history and philological researches, indicates their origin from the Uralian chain, whence they descended towards the west and the east." He adds, that before the movements among the northern nations they appear to have been spread, at least in Europe, much further towards the south than in modern times ; and probably reached as far as the Euxine, where they were comprehended with other nations under the vague appellation of Scythians.† Though it appears certain that some tribes of this stock have crossed the Ural into Europe ; yet, as remarked by Dr Prichard, there is no historical ground for supposing that the western branch of the Tschudic race, namely, the Finnish nations, ever inhabited this range of hills.

According to Gatterer, the Finnish nations, whom he looks upon as the remains of the old Scythians, and who all speak only one principal language, though divided into various dialects, include the following tribes :—1. The Finns themselves, properly so called, both of Swedish and Russian Finland, who give themselves the name of *Suoma-lainen*, but are termed by the Russians Tschuchonetz, or Tschuchna : 2. The Laplanders, in the northernmost region of Norway, Sweden, and Russia ; by the Russians they are termed Lopari, but they call themselves *Sabme* and *Almag :* 3. The *Ishores*, in Ingermannland, or Ingria, so named from the Ishora, or river Inger : 4. The Esthonians, in Eastland, who are termed Tschud in the Russian annals, and by the Finns are called *Viro-lainen :* 5. The Livonians near Salis, in the circle of Riga, and in Courland, on the shore of Angern : 6. The *Votes* or *Votiaks* on the river Viatka, in the territory of Kasan and Oremburg, who name themselves *Ud*, or *Mordi*, and are termed by the Tartars *Ar;* they speak a less mixed dialect, approaching very nearly to that of the Tscheremisses, and more closely to that of the Permians : 7. The Tscheremisses, or, as they term themselves, *Mari*, on the left side of the Volga, in the Kasan and Oremburg territory, whose language is much intermixed with that of the Tartars : 8. The Morduines, called by the Russians Mordwa, who term themselves Moksha, dwell in the Oremburg territory ; their language varies greatly from that before mentioned, and a particular tribe of them, termed Erzja, have a dialect somewhat peculiar: 9. The Permians, called in the Icelandic Sagas, Beormahs; and the Syrjanes; both of these nations live upon the rivers Vitchegda and Vim, call themselves Komi, and speak a pure Finnish dialect: 10. The Vogouls, called by the Permians, Vagol, and in the Russian annals Vogulitsch and Ugritsch, are the first people in Siberia, living partly in the mountains of Yugori, and partly along the flat countries on both sides of them; their language corresponds with the Hungarian and proper Finnish, but most nearly with that of the Khondish Ostiaks: 11. The Khondish Ostiaks, or as they name themselves, Chondichui, that is, people of the Khonda, live on the lower Irtish, and lower Obi, near Surgut, Tobolsk, and Beresof; their language is most nearly allied to that of the Permians and Vogouls: 12. The Hungarians, who name themselves Madjar, and speak a Finnish dialect.*

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* Prichard, vol. ii. p. 157.

† Asia Polyglotta, p. 182.

According to Prichard, the Tschudish race may be most conveniently divided into three branches. The first, or Finnish branch, may be considered as comprehending all the tribes of Finnish extraction, whose abodes are to the westward of the White Sea and the great Russian lakes; as the Laplanders, the Finnlanders, Esthonians, Karelians, the Lievi, or Lifi, in Courland, the Finns of Olonetz, and the remains of the same race on the river Inger above mentioned. The second, or Permian branch, may include the people of Permia, the Syrœnians and Votiaks, comprehending the old Beormahs, as well as the nations termed by Klaproth Volgian Finns, namely, the Mordouins, Mokshas, Tscheremisses, and other tribes in the adjoining parts of the Russian empire. The third, or Uralian branch, includes the Vogouls, in the countries near the Uralian chain, the Ostiaks of the Obi, and lastly, the Hungarians, who, notwithstanding their remote separation, are proved, by the affinity of their language, to belong to the Siberian, or Eastern department of the Tschudish race.

Distinct from the Teutonic and Tschudish or Finnish races were the Scythæ, who inhabited the country between the Danube and the Tanais or Don. Some foreign writers of great learning and research, among whom Professor Gatterer stands conspicuous, have attempted to show, but apparently without success, that the remains of the Tschudish race are descended from this celebrated people. Pinkerton and others have endeavoured to derive the Goths and Germans, and even the Greeks, from the Scythians; but although the result of their labours affords abundant proofs of deep reading and patient investigation, they do not seem to have sufficiently established their hypothesis. We are rather disposed to concur in the opinion of a third class of writers who look upon the Russians, Poles, Bohemians, and the other Slavonian nations as the representatives of the ancient Scythians. Dr Prichard, who ranks in the last mentioned class, thinks, notwithstanding, that the Tartars in the countries bordering on the Black Sea, have the best right to be considered as the true descendants of the Scythians, since they inhabit the same limits, and have preserved, from the earliest period of their history, a national character and manners remarkably similar to those of the old Scythians.*

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* Einleitung in die Synchronistische Universalhistorie. Göting. 1771. Gyarmathi, p. 281.

Before the Scythians entered Europe, they appear, according to all the ancient accounts, to have inhabited the country eastward of the Araxes and the Caspian Sea, and probably also the north of Media. From their settlements in the east they were forced, at an early period, into Europe by the Massagetæ, a powerful nation, whose queen, Tomyris, is said to have cut off the head of Cyrus the Great, whom she had vanquished in battle and made prisoner.† "The nomadic Scythians, (says Herodotus), living in Asia, being overmatched in war by the Massagetæ, passing the river Araxes, emigrated into the Cimmerian territory; for that country which the Scythæ now inhabit, is said to have belonged of old to the Cimmerii."‡ As Homer never mentions the Scythians, and speaks of the Cimmerians as a nation existing in his time, it is supposed that this emigration of the Scythians must have taken place subsequently to the Trojan war. But although the Scythians may not have been known under that name to the Greeks in the time of Homer, the descriptive epithets applied in the Iliad to the inhabitants of the countries possessed by the Scythians, seem to indicate that the Scythæ had fixed their abode in Europe before the age of Homer.

Having crossed the great Caucassian chain, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, the Scythians gradually extended themselves over the country described by Herodotus and others, as ancient Scythia, from which they expelled the Cimmerii or ancient Celtic inhabitants. A part, however, of the Cimmerii, protected by the strength of their position, or overlooked by the invaders, long maintained themselves in a corner of the Tauric Chersonesus. They were, however, expelled from this ancient abode by the Scythians about six hundred and forty years before the Christian era, and, crossing the Cimmerian Bosphorus, entered Asia over the mountains of Caucasus.§

Originally the term Scythæ was confined to the people who possessed the country between the Danube and the Don; but in process of time, the name was applied by the Greeks to all the nations which, like the Scythians, properly so called, lived in the Nomadic state. But it is of the Scythæ, as a distinct European nation, that we are now speaking. Major Rennell, who has thrown great light upon the statements of Herodotus, thus explains the opinion of the historian. "The country of Scythia he (Herodotus) places next in order to Thrace, going north-eastward along the shores of the Euxine and Mæotis. *Where Thrace*

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* Researches.

† Herod. Clio. 201, 215, 216.

‡ Melpom. 11. and 12.

§ Herodot. Lib. I. and IV.

ends Scythia begins, says he, Melp. 99. It will appear, however, that the Scythians of Herodotus were the Sarmatæ and Getæ of the Romans; and his Massagetæ the Scythians of the same people, as well as of the Greeks in general, from the date of Alexander's expedition. . . . . The ancients distinguished two countries by the name of Scythia, the one extending along the north of the Euxine, the other beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes. . . . . The western, or Euxine Scythia, was the one invaded by Darius Hystaspes; on which occasion the Ionians, by preserving his bridge of boats on the Danube, secured his retreat; and the eastern Scythia, called also the country of the Massagetæ, was the one invaded by Cyrus, in which, according to our author, he lost his life. . . . . So that the *proper* Scythians of Herodotus were those at the Euxine, and those of succeeding writers at the Caspian (or rather Aral) and Jaxartes."*

From the description of ancient Scythia, as given by Herodotus, it appears that it was bounded on the east by the Tanais or Don, and consequently was confined within the limits of Europe. Scythia proper, as included between the Danube and the Don, comprehended almost the whole of the Ukraine, including the country of the Nogay Tartars and the Don Cossacks; but the course of its northern boundary cannot be traced.† Rennell supposes it to have passed from the southern confines of Polish Prussia eastward, and along the direction of the river Sem, from the Borysthenes to the Tanais.‡

The neighbours of the Scythians were, on the east, the Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ, who are supposed to have been a branch of the same race, as Herodotus says they spoke a dialect of the Scythian language. On the north-west were the Neuri; on the west the Agathyrsi; on the side of Poland northward the Androphagi; and on that of Russia the Melanchlœni. These last mentioned nations were probably distinct from the Scythian stock.

The Scythian nation is divided by Herodotus into three parts: the Scythæ Georgi, or agricultural Scythians; the Scythæ Nomades, or wandering pastoral Scythians; and the Scythæ Basileii, or Royal Scythians. The first portion, from their inhabiting the country near the Borysthenes, were called Borysthenitæ by the Greeks; but they denominated themselves Olbiopolitæ. These possessed the western division of ancient Scythia, and their territory extended about eleven or twelve days' journey up the river. The Scythæ Nomades, whose manners corresponded with those of the modern Tartars of the same region, were to the eastward of the Borysthenitæ, and still further eastward were the Scythæ Basileii, who considered themselves of a nobler extraction than the rest of the Scythian nation.

To the term Scythæ, as denoting the people who possessed the Scithia of Herodotus, succeeded that of Sarmatæ from Sarmatia, a name given by the Romans, and the later Greek writers, to an extensive region, comprehending not only Scythia proper, but also the Trans-Vistular countries, and reaching northward to an undefined extent.* The population of Sarmatia, as thus geographically defined, consisted, it appears, of four distinct families or races: first, the Sarmatæ, who may be considered as the descendants of the more ancient Scythians; secondly, the Peucini or Basternæ, a tribe of Teutonic extraction; thirdly, the Fenni, who possessed the extensive country to the north named Finningia by Pliny; and, lastly, the Venedi, or Venedæ, or Wends, as they were named by the Germans.

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* Rennell's Geographical System of Herodotus, pp. 46, 47.

† Herodot. *Melpom.* 48. *et seq.* Prichard.

‡ Ibid. p. 52.

In the time of Tacitus, the three last mentioned races had become so intermixed with the Sarmatæ, that it appeared doubtful to that discriminating writer, whether they were to be classed among the Germans or the Sarmatæ. His words are: "I am in doubt whether to reckon the Peucini, Venedi, and Fenni, among the Germans or the Sarmatæ, although the Peucini, who are by some called Basternæ, agree with the Germans in language, apparel, and habitations. All of them live in filth and laziness. The intermarriages of their chiefs with the Sarmatians, have debased them by a mixture of the manners of that people. The Venedi have drawn much from this source, for they overrun, in their predatory excursions, all the woody and mountainous tracts between the Peucini and Fenni. Yet, even these are rather to be referred to the Germans, since they build houses, carry shields, and travel with speed on foot; in all which particulars they totally differ from the Sarmatians, who pass their time in waggons and on horseback. The Fenni live in a state of amazing savageness and squalid poverty. They are destitute of arms, horses, and settled abodes; their food is herbs; their clothing skins; their bed the ground. Their only dependance is on their arrows, which, for want of iron, are headed with bone; and the chase is the support of the women as well as the men, who wander with them in the pursuit, and claim a share of the prey. Nor do they provide any other shelter for their infants from wild beasts and storms than a covering of branches twisted together. This is the resort of youth; this is the receptacle of old age."†

But after the Gothic conquests in the east, it was ascertained, that the Venedi or Wends, were neither of German nor Sarmatian extraction, but of Slavonic origin. Jornandes, the bishop of Ravenna, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, divides the Slavonian race, which collectively he calls the Winidæ, into three nations, namely, the Veneti, Antes, and Sclavi;‡ but he afterwards distinguishes them into the Sclavini and Antes. "To the left side of the Alps (says the bishop) surrounding Dacia, through an immense space lying northward of the source of the Vistula, the populous nation of the Winidæ are settled, who, though they have different names in particular tribes and families, are principally distinguished by those of Sclavini and Antes." To the westward, between the Danube and the Dniester, he places the Sclavini, according to Cluverius ; and, to the eastward of these, between the Dniester and the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, he fixes the Antes.* The same distinction is adopted by Procopius, the contemporary of Jornandes.

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* Claud. Ptolem. Geograph. Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*. lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Tacit. *de Mor. Germ.* cap. xlvi. Aitken's translation.

‡ Jornand. *de Rebus Geticis*, cap. xxiii.

The accuracy of this division is fully confirmed by the philological researches of the ex-jesuit Dobrowsky, in his "Geschichte der Bohmischen Sprache und Literatur," or History of the Bohemian Language and Literature, published in the Transactions of the Royal Bohemian Society, and of which the substance is given in the second volume of Adelung's Mithridates. From a critical examination and comparison of the dialects of the Slavonian language, Dobrowsky was induced to divide the Slavonic nation into two principal branches, namely, the Antes or eastern branch, comprehending the Russians and the nations in Illyrium of Slavonic origin; and the Slavi or western branch, comprehending the Poles, Bohemians, and the Serbes or Wends in the north. Though the nations belonging to each branch differ but little in speech from each other; yet the people of one branch are scarcely understood by those of the other.

From specimens of their languages and other historical data, Dr Prichard states, as the results of his inquiries, that of the Antes, the Russians are the first and chief nation ; that the great Russian nation is intermixed with Scandinavians from the Teutonic clan of Rurik, who first gave the name of Russians to the Slaves of Novogorod ; and that the Little, or Southern, or Kiewite Russians, differ very little in language from the Slaves of Illyrium, from whom the ecclesiastical and old literary language of the Russians were derived. About two hundred years before the Slaves of Illyrium, consisting of three tribes, the Servian, Croatian, and the southern or Illyrian Wends, were converted by St Cyril, they made their transit from the countries adjoining Southern or Red Russia, and the Carpathian mountains, into the districts on the Adriatic, which they now occupy. The first tribe amongst these is the Servian, whose dialect is between the Russian and that of the second tribe. To the Servian tribe are referred, 1. The people of Servia ; 2. The Bosnians ; 3. The Bulgarians, intermixed with Tartars from Bolgari in Kasan ; 4. The Morlachians, and the people of Wallachia of Slavonian descent. The Croatian, or second tribe of the Illyrian Slavi, comprehends the Croats, Slavonians proper, and the western Dalmatians. The third tribe is to be found in Carinthia, Carniola, and Steyermark. These three tribes belong to the Antes, or eastern branch.

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* Cluver. *German. Antiq.* p. 677.

Until a recent period, the Sclavini, or western branch, were the most renowned. After the Goths and other Teutonic tribes migrated to the southward, their territories were invaded by the Sclavini from the eastern countries, who took possession of all the north-east of Germany. On the fall of the Thuringian power in the sixth century, they gained all the east of Germany to the Saale, and all the northern parts from the Vistula to Holstein. The descendants of the Sclavini are, 1. The Poles; 2. The Tschechi or Bohemians, including the Moravians and other neighbouring tribes; 3. The Serbes, formerly a numerous people between the Saale and the Oder, of which the Lusatians are the remains, still speaking a Slavonian dialect; 4. The Northern Wends, who formerly inhabited all the northern parts of Germany between Holstein and Kassubon, and were divided into two chief nations, the Obotrites and the Wiltzes. The Wendish language is now retained by only a few scattered tribes of the last mentioned nations. The Cossacks are also of Slavonian origin, it being well known that the Russian Cossacks are the descendants of emigrants from Russia. Of these the Cossacks of Little Russia, who are descendants of emigrants from Red Russia, driven out by the Poles, are generally understood to be the most ancient.*

It thus appears that the European races, in the earliest periods of which we have any information respecting them, occupied nearly the same relative situation as the tribes chiefly descended from them still continue to possess. The few scattered facts or intimations which history furnishes, therefore, afford no evidence against the hypothesis that different parts of the world were originally filled with autochthones or indigenous inhabitants, nor indeed against any other hypothesis or theory whatsoever. Great reliance has been placed by many upon traits of resemblance in customs and superstitions; and from the coincidences of the doctrines of Druidism and the mythology of the Sagas, some have ascribed a common origin to the nations of Europe and those of the East. But opposed as we are upon the authority of sacred history to the opposite theory, we must, nevertheless, observe, that this principle is exceedingly unsafe; for by a similar mode of reasoning we might conclude that the Turks and Tartars came from Arabia, and derive the Buddhists of Northern Asia from India, or perhaps from Ceylon. Nor can historical traditions, however plausible and striking they may, in some instances, appear, fill up the void; because, besides involving every element of error, such traditions are found, when examined and compared, to lead to contradictory and incompatible results. It is, therefore, only by an analysis of languages, which, after all, are in reality the most durable of human monuments, and by detecting in their composition common elements and forms of speech, that we can ever hope to obtain satisfactory evidence of the identity or connexion in point of origin of these races by which they are spoken with ancient nations, whose languages have either in whole or in part been preserved.

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* Prichard, vol. ii. p. 197. *et seq.*

The diversity of opinion which has hitherto prevailed on this subject, proves the uncertainty and insufficiency of the data from which inquirers have hitherto deduced their conclusions. Amongst the ancients, the notion that each particular region of the earth was, from the beginning, supplied by a separate and distinct creation with its peculiar stock of indigenous or native inhabitants, seems to have universally prevailed, and the frequent occurrence of such terms as *autochthones*, *indigenæ*, or *aborigines*, affords undoubted evidence of the fact. The creation of man had indeed been handed down in the Pagan world through an obscure tradition, which assigned the origin of the human race to a primitive pair fashioned out of clay by the hand of Prometheus or Jupiter; but this tradition was considered by the better informed amongst the Pagans as belonging to mythology; which, in its literal sense at least, was with them of little authority.* Unacquainted with the affinity of languages, and puzzled by the varieties of the human species, the ancients adopted an opinion which was quite natural, but which no believer in sacred history can embrace, without repudiating the authority of revelation itself.

Amongst Jews and Christians the prevailing belief founded upon the authority of scripture, has ever been, that all the natives of the earth originated from a common parentage; a belief which it is impossible to reconcile with a different hypothesis. Many learned men of late, chiefly on the continent, particularly among the French naturalists and physiologists, and the writers on history and antiquities in Germany, have, however, ventured to espouse the opinion of the ancient pagans on this subject. Amongst the former there are some who speak of the Adamic race as of one amongst many distinct tribes, and others who broadly controvert its claims to be considered as the primary stock of the human race. On the other hand some of the most learned of the Germans have almost, without reservation, adopted this opinion. Von Humboldt, notwithstanding the indubitable proofs he has collected of intercourse between the inhabitants of the eastern and western continents, appears to regard the primitive population of America as a distinct and peculiar race, and Malte-Brun has plainly taken it for granted, that from the earliest times each part of the earth had indigenous inhabitants, into whose origin it is vain to make inquiries. Even the celebrated Niebuhr, perplexed by his researches into the early history and population of Italy,† is glad to escape from the difficulty of his subject, by adopting a similar opinion. Such an hypothesis is, however, not only at variance with the proofs drawn from the analogy of languages, by the most eminent philologists, amongst whom Sir William Jones stands conspicuous but also with sacred history, which is too clear on this point to admit of a different construction. No doubt the comparison of languages will not, by itself, demonstrate the unity of the human race, or an original sameness of idiom in the whole species, but if properly applied, it will furnish vast assistance in tracing the history and affinity of nations. Perhaps the best illustrations of the utility and security of this mode of investigation are to be found in the history of the Goths who conquered the Roman empire, and in that of the Polynesian races. The Goths were supposed by most of the writers who lived shortly after the era of the Gothic invasion, to be Getæ or Thracians; an opinion which has been adopted by some modern historians: but from an ample specimen of their language in the version of Ulphilas, it has been ascertained, that in conformity with their own traditions, they were not Getæ nor Thracians, but nearly allied in kindred to the northern tribes of the German family. In the same way, by a comparison of the languages of some of the tribes of the Polynesian races, living in the most remote islands of the Great Ocean at an immense distance from all other inhabited regions, with those of the tribes inhabiting part of the Indian continent, and the isles of the Indian Archipelago, it has been clearly ascertained that they derived their origin from the same quarter, although the great remoteness of these islanders would appear to furnish an argument to the *Rationalist*, that they commenced their existence in their present abodes.*

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* Prichard, p. 1.

† Römische Geschichte von N. G. Nieubuhr, I. Ausgab. Vorede, p. 38. Prichard, p. 2.

With those who fearlessly reject the evidence of sacred history, the subject is not one which can be decided either way by authority; and it is only by examining the evidence which seems to bear more immediately upon the subject, that they can ever hope to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. This viewed generally, is of two kinds, and comprehends, first, considerations resulting from a survey of the natural history of the globe, and facts connected with physical geography, and with the multiplication and dispersion of species of both plants and animals; and, secondly, analytical investigations into the structure, affinities, and diversities of languages, in reference to the general question as to the history of our species.

With regard to the arguments deduced from the former source, however, although they may, at first view, appear to bear with the greatest weight upon this question, yet, from our inability duly to appreciate the effects of physical causes operating during a long course of ages, it is impossible with any degree of certainty to infer original distinction from the actual differences observable amongst mankind. But in the case of languages, especially those which, though they have ceased to be spoken, are still preserved, there is no such element of uncertainty; and hence we are inclined to hold, that the only conclusions upon which we can safely rely respecting the aboriginal history of our species, are those deducible from an analysis of languages, conducted upon strictly philosophical principles.

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* Prichard, p. 5.

In tracing, however, the affinities of languages, many writers, in the eagerness of etymological research, have endeavoured to derive all languages from one common origin; but they have signally failed in the attempt, and for this reason, that the language of Noah, the primitive speech of mankind, was abolished before the dispersion of the human race, and this "one language and one speech," was miraculously supplanted by various distinct languages. Of this fact, the sacred text seems to be decisive, and yet many commentators on the Bible, and other writers, maintain, that the language of our first parents was preserved in the family of Shem. But independently of this irrefragable inference from sacred history, the non-existence of a primitive language from which all others are alleged to have been derived, seems sufficiently established from the fact stated by Sir William Jones, in his ninth Anniversary Discourse, that no affinity exists between Arabic, Sanscrit, and Tartaric, and that almost all existing languages bear more or less relation to the one or the other of these tongues. Supposing, however, that there are languages which have no such affinity, a conjecture far from being improbable, their distinct existence does not affect the argument, but only adds to the number of original languages.*

From the earliest periods of history, there have co-existed three distinct families of language, and of which all other languages appear to be dialects. Some philologists have proposed to distinguish the different classes of idioms by the generic terms of *Semitic*, *Hamite*, and *Japetic*; a division which seems to be not only conformable to the structure of the languages included under these different denominations, but also to the apparently settled plan of separation and dispersion of Noah's posterity as recorded by Moses. Eichhorn observes, that the class of idioms termed by German philological writers *Semitic* languages, divide themselves into the three following branches:—The Hebrew, or the dialect of Palestine and Phœnice, the Arabic, and the Aramean or northern Semitic, spread over Syria and Mesopotamia; and he maintains that these are as nearly related to each other as the Ionic, Æolic, and Doric dialects of the Greek.† The term Semitic, however, has been thought objectionable by some, on the ground that several of the nations who spoke the languages so denominated in common with the descendants of Shem, were of Hamite origin, as the Phœnicians or Canaanites.‡ Under the class of *Hamite* idioms, may be comprehended principally the dialects of the old Egyptian speech, the Coptic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric, including *conjecturally*, until the mutual relations of these languages shall have been more fully investigated, several idioms spoken by races of

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* Kennedy, p. 5.

† Einleitung in das Alte Testament, von Joh. G. Eichhorn, B. I. p. 49. Dritt. Ausg.

‡ Prichard, *Note on the Semitic Languages.*

Africa, in whose history marks are to be found of connexion with the ancient subjects of the Pharaohs.* The *Japetic* languages, so named by Schlözer,† the learned editor of Nestor's Annals, from most of the nations by whom they are spoken having descended, as is generally believed, from Japhet, are the same as those now classed by philologists under the title of Indo-European, as being more or less nearly related to the ancient language of India.

Such an analysis of various languages as that here spoken of, will in every instance display one or other of four different relations subsisting between them. 1. In comparing some languages, little or no analogy can be discovered in their grammatical construction, but a resemblance more or less extensive may be traced in their vocabularies, or in the terms of particular objects, actions, and relations; and if this correspondence is the result of commercial intercourse, conquest, or the introduction of a new system of religion, literature, and manners, it will extend only to such words as belong to the new stock of ideas thus introduced, and will leave unaffected the great proportion of terms which are expressive of mere simple ideas and of universal objects; but if the correspondence traced in the vocabularies of any two languages is so extensive as to involve words of a simple and apparently primitive class, it indicates a much more ancient and intimate connexion. 2. Certain languages which have but few words in common, nevertheless display, when carefully examined, a remarkable analogy in their principles and forms of grammatical construction; as in the polysynthetic idioms of the American tribes, and the monosyllabic languages of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations. 3. A third relation discoverable between languages, connected by both the circumstances already pointed out, consists in what may be properly called cognation; an epithet which is applied to all those dialects which are connected by analogy in grammatical forms, and by a considerable number of primitive words or roots common to all, or which at least possess such a resemblance as confessedly indicates a common origin. 4. The fourth and last relation, which is almost purely negative, exists between languages in which none of the connecting characters above described can be discerned, and there is discoverable neither analogy of grammatical structure, nor any correspondence in words, sufficient to indicate a particular affinity, circumstances which are held as conclusive that such languages are not of the same family, and that they belong to nations remote from each other in descent as well as differing in physical characteristics.‡

Upon these principles, which are now universally received as almost the only guides, apart from sacred history, in investigating the origin and descent of nations, the languages of the Finnish nation, the Laplanders, the Hungarians, the Ostiaks and the Siberian Tschudes, have been compared and analysed by Gyarmathi, Adelung, Gatterer, Klaproth, and others; and the result, which appears to have been sufficiently established, is that all these nations have sprung from one common original stock, the primitive seat of which was the country situated between the chain of Caucasus and the southern extremities of the Uralian mountains. But our chief object at present is with those nations which have been distinctly denominated 'Indo-European,' a term which includes all that class of nations, many of them inhabitants of Europe, whose idioms are more or less nearly allied to the ancient language of India. The first of this classification, which is by far the most extensive that has yet been adopted, was suggested by comparing the Sanscrit with the Greek and Latin languages, and observing the interesting and remarkable results realised by that comparison. These were, first, the detection of a very considerable number of primitive words, which were found to be common to all these languages; and, secondly, the discovery of a still more striking affinity which was proved to exist between their respective grammatical forms. In the case of the Greek and Sanscrit, this affinity amounts almost to complete identity; in that of the Latin and Sanscrit, it is not, as might be supposed, proportionally striking; but these languages are all evidently branches of one common or parent stem. But the same process of analysis has led to other and not less curious or interesting results. It has been proved that the Teutonic, as well as the Sclavonic (including the Lettish or Lithuanian), stand in nearly the same relation to the ancient language of India as the Greek and the Latin; and so also the intermediate languages, as the Zend and other Persian dialects, the Armenian and the Ossetic, which is one of the various idioms spoken by the nations of the Caucasus, have been found by those who have examined all their structure and etymology to belong to the same family.*

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* Prichard, *Note on the Semitic Languages.*

† A. L. Schlözer, von den Chaldæem, Repertorium für biblische und morgenlœndische literatur. th. 8.

‡ Prichard, p. 9, 10. Kennedy's *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Languages of Asia and Europe*, p. 80. Edinburgh Review, No. CII. p. 560.

In this way a close and intimate relation was proved by unquestionable evidence to subsist between a considerable number of languages and dialects used or spoken by nations who are spread over a great part of Europe and of Asia, and to whom the term Indo-European has in consequence been applied. In fact, the more accurately these languages have been examined, the more numerous and unquestioned have their affinities appeared; and it is only necessary to refer to Professor Jacob Grimm's masterly analysis of the Teutonic idioms, to enable the reader to verify the truth of this remark. The historical inference deducible from these investigations, therefore, is that the European nations who speak dialects referrible, or analogous to this class or family of languages, are of the same race with the Indians and Asiatics, to whom a similar observation may be applied; and that all are the descendants of some original nation or people, who spoke the primitive language, to which all the Indo-European forms of speech may be referred as a common source.

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* Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.

In the application of the principles above stated to the languages of Africa and America, as compared with those of Asia and Europe, philologists have been sadly puzzled. In the old continent, they have sought in vain for a nation from whose speech the diversified idioms of America may with any degree of probability be derived; but an examination of the American languages themselves, has led to some interesting results. The native races of North America, by a classification of their dialects, which are very numerous, may be reduced to a few great divisions, several of which extend as radii issuing from a common centre in the north-western part of the continent which is divided from Asia by Behring's Straits. A chain of nations whose languages, particularly those of the Ugalyachmatzi, and Koluschans, bear a curious analogy to that of the Aztecs, and Tlaxcallans, has been discovered extending from New Mexico, to Mount St Elias, in the neighbourhood of the Esquimaux Tschugazzi. The Karalit or Esquimaux, another series of nations connected by affinities of dialect, has been traced from the settlements of the Tschuktzschi in Asia, along the polar zone to Acadia and Greenland. In a similar manner, light has been thrown on the history of the Lenni, Lenape, and the great kindred family of Algonquin nations, on that of the Iroquois, and likewise of the Florida and other races of North America, by comparing their national traditions with the indications discovered in their dialects. It is a remarkable circumstance, that although there are, according to Lopez—a missionary well versed in the languages of South and North America—about fifteen hundred idioms in America, there is a singular congruity in the structure between all the American languages, from the northern to the southern extremity of that vast continent. These facts have been fully developed by the researches of Barlow, Hewas, Humboldt, Heckewelder, Duponceau, and others.*

But a more immediate subject of inquiry is, whether the Celtic dialects belong to the class or family of languages spoken by the Indo-European nations; and the question is the more interesting as it bears directly on the origin of the nations of western Europe, including the British islands, as well as on the more extensive one relating to the physical history of mankind. Many persons have supposed the Celts to be of Oriental origin, but, for the most part, upon grounds which are either altogether fanciful, or at least insufficient to warrant such a conclusion. The compilers of the *Universal History*, for instance, gravely tell us, that the Celts were descended from Gomer, the eldest son of

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* Prichard, p. 5, 6, 7.

Japhet, the son of Noah; that Gomer settled in the province of Phrygia in Asia Minor, whilst his sons, Ashkenaz and Togarmah, occupied Armenia, and Rephath took possession of Cappadocia; that when they found it necessary to spread themselves wider, they moved regularly in columns, without disturbing or interfering with their neighbours; that the descendants of Gomer, or the *Celtæ,* took the left hand, and gradually spread themselves westward to Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the descendants of Magog, the brother of Gomer, moved to the eastward, peopling Tartary, and spreading themselves as far as India and China. Speculative fancies like these, however, are too absurd and extravagant to be even amusing. The real question is, whether the same arguments which prove most of the other nations of the world to be of eastern origin and descent, may not also be applied to that great stock, the branches of which, anterior to the commencement of history, had overspread Gaul and Britain, and occupied a considerable part of Spain.

But here it is proper to observe, that writers on the history of languages and the antiquity of nations, are divided in opinion with respect to this question. Adelung and Murray have considered the Celts as a branch of the Indo-European stock; but the latter has left that part of his work which relates to the Celtic dialects in a most incomplete state; and Adelung has committed the error of supposing the Welsh or Cymbric to be derived from the language of the Belgæ, and not from that of the Celts, who inhabited the central parts of Gaul and Britain. From want of information respecting the Celtic dialects, many of the continental writers, amongst whom may be mentioned Frederick Schlegel and Malte-Brun, have been led to believe the Celtic to be a language of a class wholly unconnected with the other idioms of Europe; and in Britain the same opinion has, from the same cause, been expressed by several well known authors. Mr Pinkerton, for instance, has declared, in his usual dogmatical manner, that the Celtæ were a people entirely distinct from the rest of mankind; and that their language, the real Celtic, is as remote from the Greek as the Hottentot is from the Lapponic. And Colonel Kennedy, at the conclusion of the chapter in which he successfully refutes some of the opinions of Pelloutier and Bullet, respecting the Celtæ and their language, concludes, that "the Celtic, when divested of all words which have been introduced into it by conquest and religion, is a perfectly original language;" and that "this originality incontrovertibly proves that neither Greek, Latin, or the Teutonic dialects, nor Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit, were derived from the Celtic, since these languages have not any affinity whatever with that tongue."* Davis, however, in the preface to his dictionary, has said, "Ausim affirmare linguam Britannicam (Celticam), tum vocibus, tum phrasibus et orationis contextu, tum literarum pronunciatione, manifestum cum orientialibus habere congruentiam et affinitatem;" and a result of a more accurate and minute analysis has been to confirm this opinion in the most complete manner possible.

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* Kennedy's Researches, p. 85. Prichard, pp. 20—22.

The connexion of the Sclavonian, German, and Pelasgian races with the ancient Asiatic nations, may be established by historical proof. But the language of these races and the Celtic, although differing from each other, and constituting the four principal classes of dialects which prevail in Europe, are nevertheless so far allied in their radical elements, that they may with certainty be considered as branches of the same original stock. Remarkable, indeed, is the resemblance observable in the general structure of speech, and in those parts of the vocabulary which must be supposed to be the most ancient, as, for instance, in words descriptive of common objects and feelings, for which expressive terms existed in the primitive ages of society. In fact, the relation between the languages above mentioned and the Celtic is such as not merely to establish the affinity of the respective nations, but likewise to throw light upon the structure of the Indo-European languages in general; and particularly to illustrate some points which had been previously involved in obscurity. This is clearly demonstrated by Dr Prichard's ample and satisfactory analysis, which embraces almost every thing that can possibly enter into an inquiry of this nature.

In examining that permutation of letters in composition and construction which is common to many of the Indo-European languages, according to rules founded originally on euphony or on the facility of utterance, a circumstance from which has arisen the great capability which these languages possess, of forming compound words, Dr Prichard adduces the substitution of consonants of particular orders for their cognates in the composition or formation of Greek compound words as an example of the peculiarity noticed. But the mutation of consonants in Greek, in Latin, and in the German dialects, is not general; it is confined to words brought together under very peculiar circumstances, as chiefly when they enter into the formation of compound terms, and it is scarcely observed in words which still remain distinct, and are merely constituent parts of sentences. To account for the immutability of simple terms, the learned author supposes that either the attention to euphony and the facility of utterance has not extended so far, or that the purpose was attained by a choice of collocation, the words themselves remaining unaltered. In the Sanscrit language, however, words merely in sequence influence each other in the change of terminations, and sometimes of initial letters, on the principle before alluded to. Thus, as Dr Prichard notices, instead of *atishtat manujah*, stabat homo, the man stood, the words are written *atishtun manujah*, the final *t* of the verb *atishtat*, stabat, being altered into *n*, on account of the liquid consonant with which the next word begins. The Sanscrit grammarians term this change in distinct words *Sandhi*, conjunction; and the rules, according to which compound words are found, are called *Samāsa*, signifying coalition. The same principles which govern the permutation of letters in the Sanscrit are clearly discoverable in the Celtic dialects, particularly in the Welsh and in the Gaelic.

Proofs of the common origin, in the vocabulary of the Celtic and other Indo-European nations, are exhibited by this eminent philologist, *first*, in the names of persons and relations; *secondly*, in the principal elements of nature, and of the visible objects of the universe; *thirdly*, in names of animals: *fourthly*, in verbal roots found in the Celtic and other Indo-European languages, and *fifthly*, in adjectives, pronouns, and particles. He then proceeds to investigate the proofs of a common origin derived from the grammatical structure of the Celtic, as compared with that of other Indo-European languages, particularly the Sanscrit, the Greek, the Latin, the Teutonic, and Sclavonian dialects, and the Persian language: and in all of these he shows that a striking resemblance is discoverable in the personal inflections of verbs, as well as in the personal pronouns, and in the inflections of verbs through the different moods and tenses: and he concludes with a further illustration of the principles which he had previously established by an analysis of the verb substantive, and the attributive verbs in the Celtic dialects, and in other Indo-European forms of speech, the result of which is to evolve coincidences precisely analogous to those already exemplified with the utmost accuracy of detail.

What, then, is the legitimate inference to be deduced from the obvious, striking, and, we may add, radical analogies, proved to exist between the Celtic dialects and the idioms which are generally allowed to be of cognate origin with the Sanscrit, the Greek, and the Latin languages? The marks of connexion are manifestly too decided and extensive, and enter too deeply into the structure and principles of these languages, to be the result of accident or casual intercourse; and being thus interwoven with the intimate texture of the languages compared, seem incapable of explanation upon any principle, except that which has been admitted with respect to the other great families of languages belonging to the ancient population of Europe, namely, that the whole Celtic race is of oriental origin, and a kindred tribe with the nations who settled on the banks of the Indus, and on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Baltic. It is probable, indeed, that several tribes emigrated from their original seat at different periods, and at different stages of advancement, in respect to civilization; and hence, we find their idioms in different stages and degrees of refinement: but the proofs of a common origin, derived from an accurate examination and analysis of the intimate structure and component materials of these languages, are nevertheless such as, in our judgment, must command general assent; more especially, considering that the general inference thus deduced receives strong confirmation from those purely physical investigations, to which we have already alluded. If, indeed, there be any truth in those principles of classification which naturalists have adopted, the Mongol and the Chinese, the Hindu and the Tartar, are not more certainly oriental than the native Celt, whose physical conformation indeed exhibits only a slight modification of that which is peculiar to the great race whence he is descended; whilst his superstitions, manners, customs, and observances, as well as language, are all decidedly marked with traces and indications of an eastern origin.

The early history of the Celts, like that of the other nations of antiquity, is involved in obscurity. They were known to the ancient Greeks only by name, and these Greeks were so uncritical as to include amongst the Celts, all the people who lived between the Oder and the Tagus, and consequently to consider them all as belonging to one race. Even the Romans, who did not fail to avail themselves of the better opportunity which they had of distinguishing these people from one another, according to their customs, origin, and language, too often, either through ignorance or indifference, preserved erroneous general names, and thus included the Iberians, Germans, Scythians, and Thracians, among the Celts. These erroneous opinions have been adopted by some modern philologists and historians, who have gone so far as to assert that the people and languages of Europe have been derived from the Celts.* By confounding together in a most ingenious manner the history of every ancient people, the misjudging supporters of the Celtic hypothesis have given an air of plausibility to their conjectures; but there is no evidence that either the Germans or Thracians were Celts.† It must be admitted, however, that the hypothesis respecting the Iberians appears not to be altogether without foundation.

It is observed by Colonel Kennedy in his valuable Researches, that in the absence of the authority of any ancient writer in support of the assertion, that the Scythians, and even the Persians, Thracians, Phrygians, and others, were Celts, it may seem that the question of the origin of these people might be at once decided by the irrefutable testimony of language; but unfortunately, as he observes, it is admitted by both the supporters of the Celtic hypothesis and its opponents, "that the remains of the Celtic tongue, which are still preserved, abound in Greek, Latin, and Teutonic words; and it, therefore, becomes indispensable to determine, in the first place, whether these words are original or exotic. For it must be obvious, that if the Celts never inhabited the countries which were originally or subsequently occupied by the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic people, their languages could not possibly have become affected by the Celtic, unless they had either maintained a frequent friendly intercourse with the Celts, or had been conquered by them; but it appears fully from the whole course of ancient tradition and history, that no such intercourse or conquest ever took place; and, consequently, if the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic people, were not originally one and the same race of men, it must necessarily follow that the Celts have been subdued by the Romans and Germans, as history attests it was from them that the Celts have received the foreign words with which their language abounds, and not the Romans and Germans, who received these words from the Celts." * This, however, is a very doubtful theory, as Cisalpine Gaul, or the great plain of northern Italy, was inhabited at the remotest period of history by Celts, who are known to have been partly incorporated with the other early inhabitants of Italy.

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* Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii. p. 31.

† Kennedy, p. 67.

The local situations in which the Celts are found at the dawn of history prove that they were the aborigines of the northern and western parts of Europe. Of their migrations from the east, no memorials nor traditions have been preserved; but as they were distinct from the Thracians, who entered Europe by the Bosphorus and Hellespont, it is probable they penetrated through the defiles of the Caucasus, and turning to the left, advanced to the westward by the great valley of the Danube. In the time of Herodotus their possessions extended from the Upper Danube to the pillars of Hercules; but he adds that the Cynesii or Cynetæ, on whom they bordered, were the most remote nation in Europe toward the west, that is, of Spain. † These Cynetæ or Cynesii are probably the same as the Iberi, the ancient inhabitants of Spain, who were perhaps of Celtic origin.

The chief seat of the Celts was in Transalpine Gaul, where, although divided into a number of tribes, they maintained their independence against their powerful neighbours the Teutones or Germans; but they were at last obliged to submit to the well-disciplined legions of Cæsar. From the account given by that great warrior of the population of Gaul, an inference has been drawn that it was occupied in his time by three distinct races, and that the Celts were then limited to that part of Gaul lying between the Garonne, the Marne, and the Seine. But admitting that the Aquitani of Cæsar were distinct from the Celtæ, and either a separate race by themselves or a branch of the Iberi of Spain, there is nothing to be found in Cæsar to warrant the conclusion that the Belgæ were not Celts, unless the vain boast of the Rhemi that the greater part of the Belgæ were descended from the Germans, is to be held as paramount to the authority of Tacitus and Strabo. The latter informs us that scarcely any difference existed between the Belgæ and the Celtæ, properly so called. He says, indeed, that a kind of diversity of language existed amongst them; but this difference is easily accounted for by the proximity of the Belgæ to the Germans, and the intermixture of the two races on the left bank of the Rhine. The only difference, then, between the Belgic and Celtic Gauls was, that they spoke different dialects of the same language.

With regard to the original inhabitants of South Britain, although every

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* Researches, p. 68.

† Lib. ii. cap. 33; lib. iv. cap. 49.

circumstance which has reached us respecting them denotes their Celtic origin, their connexion with or descent from the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul rests upon probabilities which, however, amount almost to a certainty. The conclusion, that the aboriginal Britons, who possessed the interior and western parts of the island in the time of Cæsar, were nearly allied to the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul, seems, as Dr Prichard observes, to result, 1. From a comparison of the languages of these nations. He considers the Welsh and Cornish dialects, chiefly the former, as a relic and specimen of the idiom spoken by the ancient Britons; and that the speech of Gallia Celtica was a cognate dialect of that idiom is rendered extremely probable from the circumstance, that the language spoken by the inhabitants of Bretagne or Armorica, is very nearly allied to the Welsh. 2. From the Druidical institutions being common to the Celtic Gauls and the aboriginal Britons. 3. From the abundance of those rude erections commonly termed Druidical circles, cromlechs, and dolmins, both in Armorica and in Wales, as well as in other countries belonging to the early Britons.

In the time of Julius Cæsar, to whom we are indebted for our first acquaintance with the history of Britain, it was possessed by upwards of forty tribes, while the population of Gaul comprised about sixty, each of which endeavoured to maintain its own independence, and a state of isolated existence incompatible with the general security. In their domestic wars many of them had lost their independence, but others had raised themselves to great power and influence. Of ten nations, by which Britain, to the south of the Severn and the Thames, was possessed, the most considerable were the Cantii, the Belgæ, and the Dumnonii. The Trinobantes, whose capital was London, lay between the Thames and the Stour, and from the Severn to the territories of the Trinobantes, along the left bank of the Thames, were two confederate tribes, the Dobuni and Cassii, above whom were the Carnabii and some minor tribes. Beyond the Trinobantes, and between the Stour and the Humber, lay the Iceni; and between the Humber and the Tyne stretched the Brigantes, the most powerful of all the British nations, to whom the Voluntii and Sistuntii, two nations on the western coast, were tributary. The Silures, almost equally powerful, who had extended themselves from the banks of the Wye to the Dee and the ocean, possessed Cornwall and South Wales. The five tribes known by the general name of Mæatæ, occupied the country between the Tyne and the Friths of Forth and Clyde, which formed the Roman province of Valentia; and beyond them were the sixteen tribes which make so conspicuous a figure in the Roman annals.

As to the Belgic Britons, alluded to by Cæsar, who possessed the southern parts of Britain, they must have emigrated from Belgic Gaul at a time posterior to the arrival of the other Celtic colonies, whom they appear to have compelled to retire from the maritime districts into the interior and western parts of the island. Such is the account given by Cæsar, whose knowledge of the inhabitants of Britain appears to have been limited to those of Belgic descent.

It seems to be unquestionably established, that the Belgic Britons were not a German people of Teutonic extraction, as some writers have supposed, but a Celtic tribe from Belgic Gaul, which, for the sake of war or plunder, passed over from Belgium into Britain at a very early period and fixed themselves in the maritime districts. Their houses are described by Cæsar as almost similar to those of the Gauls, and the inhabitants of Cantium (Kent) are stated by Cæsar as the most civilized, and differing very little from the Gauls in manners.* About one hundred and fifty years thereafter, Tacitus, who had better opportunities of observing and comparing the Gauls and Belgic Britons, noticed a resemblance between them. "Those (of the Britons) nearest Gaul resemble the Gauls; either from the remaining strength of the original stock, or because similarity of climate induces similar habits of body. But from a general conclusion it is probable that the Gauls occupied the adjacent country. Their sacred rites and superstitious persuasions are apparent, and the language is not much different."† Had these Belgic Britons resembled the Germans, such a close observer as Tacitus would not have overlooked the circumstance. But if any doubt could otherwise exist respecting the Celtic origin of the British Belgæ, that doubt would be removed by the prevalence of Celtic terms in their idiom, as far as known, to the entire exclusion of Teutonic words.

Although there were several tribes of Belgic origin in Britain, such as the Atrebatii, supposed to be a branch of the Atrebates of Belgic Gaul, the Durotriges or Morini of Richard of Cirencester, the Regni supposed to be synonymous with the Rhemi of Richard, and the Cantii, there was a tribe denominated Belgæ, as we have observed, in Hampshire and Wiltshire, whose capital was Venta Belgarum, or Winchester. Mr Pinkerton maintains, but without the shadow of proof, that the ancestors of these Belgic colonists were Goths who migrated into Britain about three hundred years before Christ. "To the Celtic population of England succeeded the Gothic. The Scythians or Goths advancing from Asia, drove the Cimbri or Northern Celts before them; and at a period long preceding the Christian era, had seized on that part of Gaul which is nearest to Great Britain, where they acquired the provincial denomination of Belgæ. (Dissertation on the Goths.) Their passage to England followed of course; and when Cæsar first explored this island, he informs us that the primitive inhabitants were driven into the interior parts, whilst the regions on the south-east were peopled with Belgic colonies. (Lib. V. c. 10.) Those Belgæ may be justly regarded as the chief ancestors of the English nation, for the Saxons, Angles, and other northern invaders, though of distinguished courage, were inconsiderable in numbers. Till a recent period, antiquaries had imagined that the Belgæ used the Celtic language, and had execrated the cruelties of the Saxons for an extirpation which never happened. But, as it appears that two-thirds of England were possessed by the Belgic Goths for six or seven centuries before the arrival of the Saxons, it is no wonder that no Celtic words are to be found in the English language, which bears more affinity to the Frisic and Dutch than to the Jutlandic or Danish."[*] He computes the Belgic population of Britain at three or four millions, and affirms, that at the time of the Saxon invasion these Belgæ spoke the German language! Yet Nennius, who wrote his chronicle in the year eight hundred and thirty-two, says expressly, that at "the feast given by Hengist to Vortigern, the latter brought his *interpreter* with him, *for no Briton understood the Saxon tongue except that interpreter*."[†]

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* Cæsar's Comm.

† Agricola, cap. ii.

If it could be shown that the Belgæ of Gaul were Germans of Gothic origin, the position maintained by Mr Pinkerton and other writers that the British Belgæ were of the same descent, might be allowed, as it is an unquestionable fact that the Belgæ whom Cæsar found in Britain, were from the opposite coast of Belgic Gaul; but with the exception of two passages in Cæsar of doubtful import, there are no historical data on which to found such an hypothesis. Bishop Percy, however, observes, "Cæsar, whose judgment and penetration will be disputed by none but a person blinded by hypothesis, and whose long residence in Gaul gave him better means of being informed than almost any of his countrymen—Cæsar expressly assures us, that the Celts, or common inhabitants of Gaul, differed in language, customs, and laws, from the Belgæ on the one hand, who were chiefly a Teutonic people, and from the inhabitants of Aquitaine on the other, who, from their vicinity to Spain, were probably of Iberian race. Cæsar positively affirms, that the nations of Gaul differed from those of Germany in their manners, and in many particulars, which he has enumerated at length; and this assertion is not thrown out at random, like the passages brought by Cluverius against it, but is coolly and cautiously made when he is going to draw the characters of both nations in an exact and well-finished portrait, which shows him to have studied the genius and manners of both people with great attention, and to have been completely master of his subject.[‡]"

But unfortunately for the Bishop's own hypothesis, Cæsar has, in the highly finished sketches which he has drawn in his sixth book, of the customs and manners of the Gauls and Germans, shown that the people of *all* Gaul, though some slight shades of difference existed among themselves, were, nevertheless, in language, customs, religion, and laws, *toto cœlo* different from the Germans.* Mr Pinkerton admits, that "in describing the customs of Gaul, he (Cæsar) puts all as the same;" and with reference to the opening sentence in his first book, in which Cæsar alludes to a difference in language, customs, and laws, which existed among the three great branches of the Gallic population, he asks, "Has he (Cæsar) not herein palpably contradicted himself? Or is the fact this, that his *omnis Gallia* of the sixth book is quite different from his *omnis Gallia* of the first; the former applying solely to the Celtæ, who were peculiarly called Galli, in his time, as Cæsar says?"† Mr Pinkerton immediately solves this apparent inconsistency by telling us that the *omnis* Gallia of the sixth book is Gallia Proper or Celtic Gaul, because, as he supposes, the Belgæ, like the Germans, had, "*of course*," no Druids either in Gaul or Britain.

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[*] Pinkerton's Geography, vol. i. p. 18, 19.

[†] Hist. Britan. c. 6.

[‡] Preface to Northern Antiquities, p. xi.

Had the Germano-Belgic hypothesis rested simply on the single sentence alluded to, it would scarcely have required refutation; but those who maintain it, further support their opinion by a passage in the fourth book of the Commentaries, where it is stated that most of the Belgæ were of German origin. The statement, however, is not Cæsar's, but that of the ambassadors of the Rhemi, a Belgic tribe bordering on Celtic Gaul, who, when Cæsar was preparing to attack the confederated Belgæ, offered to submit themselves to the Romans. The following is a close translation of the passage on which so much stress has been laid:—"Cæsar having inquired the number and power of their (the Belgic) states, and how many troops they could bring into the field, was thus answered: *The greater part of the Belgæ are descended from the Germans*, who, having in former times crossed the Rhine, expelled the Gauls, settled in these parts on account of the fertility of the soil, and were the only people in the memory of our forefathers who expelled the Teutones and the Cimbri from their territories after they had harassed all Gaul. Hence they had gained great authority, and assumed great courage in military affairs. In consequence, they said, of our connexion and affinity, we are well acquainted with the numbers each state has engaged to bring into the field, in the general assembly of the Belgæ. The Bellovaci are the most conspicuous among them for rank, authority, and number, and they alone can muster one hundred thousand combatants, but have promised on the present occasion sixty thousand choice warriors, and claim the direction of the war. The Suessones are their neighbours, and possess a large and fertile territory. They had a king in our country called Divitiacus, who was the most powerful prince in Gaul, and governed a great part of these regions, as well as of Britain. Their present king is Galba, to whom, on account of his prudence and justice, the conduct of the war is assigned by general consent. They have twelve cities, and promised forty thousand combatants; the Attrebates fifteen thousand, the Ambiani ten thousand, the Morini twenty-five thousand, the Velocassi and Veromandici the same number, the Adualici ten thousand; the Condrusi, Eburones, Cœræsi, Pæmani, *who are all called Germans*, are estimated at forty thousand."*

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* "In no one instance has Cæsar himself called the Belgæ Germans; but plainly distinguishes them from the four tribes who are particularly designated as Germans. Had the Belgæ been wholly German, we should have found infallible marks in his description that they were so, and he would not have made the distinction which he constantly does, of the Germans as a different people. We submit the question to any impartial person, who will read the account of Cæsar's wars with the Belgæ, whether the smallest traces can be discovered that they were all Germans; or, on the contrary, whether they were not, for the most part, evidently and palpably Celts."—*Vindication of the Celts*, p. 87.

† Enquiry, vol. i. p. 24.

The division of the tribes above enumerated into Belgæ and Germans, indicates such a marked distinction between the Belgæ, properly so called, and the Belgic Germans, as can only be accounted for on the supposition that the Belgæ considered themselves as a distinct people from those German tribes which had recently crossed the Rhine and settled in their territories. The certain and well-known tradition in the time of Cæsar, that their ancestors originally came from the country called Germany, may have induced the remoter Belgic tribes bordering upon the Rhine, to claim an affinity with the Teutonic race; but there may have been other reasons which might cause them to prefer a German to a Celtic extraction. A warlike nation like the Belgæ, who had expelled the Teutones and the Cimbri, and resisted the encroachments of the Roman power, could not, it is obvious, brook the idea of being considered as of the same race with the effeminate people of Celtic Gaul, who had submitted themselves to the Roman yoke; and hence we may infer that many of the Belgic tribes that affected a German origin, were influenced, by some such feeling, to disown to strangers their Celtic extraction. But we are not left here to conjecture, for Tacitus informs us that the Treviri and Nervii, the first of whom were confessedly Celtæ, were ambitious of being thought of German origin.† Besides the four German tribes enumerated by Cæsar, there were, according to Tacitus, other four of German origin, namely, the Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, and Ubii; but all these formed but a small part of the Belgic population.

From the way in which Tacitus alludes to the language of the Gauls, he evidently did not consider the differences, which he must have observed, as partaking of any other distinction than a mere difference in dialect. It is very probable that his observations are limited to the speech of the people of Belgic and Celtic Gaul, for a radical difference appears to have existed between their language and that of the Aquitani. "Some," says Strabo, "divide the inhabitants of Gaul into three parts, terming them Aquitani, Belgæ, and Celtæ . . . the Aquitani are altogether different from the others, not only in language, but also in their persons, and bear a greater resemblance to the Iberi than to the Gauls; but the remainder—the Belgæ and Celtæ—have the personal characters peculiar to the Gauls, though they are not all of one speech, *some of them differing a little from the others in their language*, and there are some slight diversities in their modes of government and manners."* The same writer, after giving a long account of the Belgæ, at the end of his description of the divisions of Gaul made by Augustus, thus closes his observations:—"Among almost *all* these people (the Belgæ) there are three ranks of men, called Bards, Ovates,† and Druids, who are held in high veneration. The Bards are singers of hymns, and poets; the Ovates are performers of the sacred rites, and professors of natural philosophy; but the Druids, besides a knowledge in natural philosophy, investigate the nature of disorders." Next to language no better criterion could have been fixed upon for establishing the Celtic origin of the people of Belgic Gaul, than this reference to their religious orders, of which not a trace existed even among those Germans who had settled in the Belgic territories.

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* Com. Lib. II. c. 4.

† "Treveri et Nervii circa affectionem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separantur."—De Morib. Germ. c. 28.

It seems now to be fully established that the Fir-bholg of Ireland were of Belgic origin, but whether this race found its way into Ireland directly from the shores of Belgium, or through Britain, is a question which cannot be determined. The period of their emigration is lost in the mists of antiquity, but all accounts concur that they must have arrived in Ireland at an era long posterior to the settlement of the original population of that island.

The little difference noticed by Cæsar between the language of the Belgæ and Celtæ of Gaul, naturally suggests the inquiry, to which of the two principal Celtic dialects the idiom of Belgic Gaul is to be referred? Was it a branch of the Cambro-Celtic, as the Armoric, the Welsh, and the Cornish, have been termed? Or of the other branch termed the Erse, including the language of the Irish and Scottish Gaël, and the Manks? This is a question which can never be satisfactorily solved; but it is not improbable, that as several names of persons and places in parts of South Britain, which were possessed by the Belgæ, are Erse, according to their orthography, the language spoken by them was a dialect of the Gaelic. In support of this opinion, reference has been made to the name of the British pendragon or generalissimo, who invited Hengist and his Saxons into England, which is written Gwrtheyrn by the Welsh historians, but which in Irish is Feartigearn, and pronounced nearly as Vortigern. Vortimer and Catigern, the names of his sons, it is observed, are also Erse. Another fact brought forward in support of this conjecture is, that Ennis Vliocht, an Irish name, is given to the isle of Shepey in some Welsh manuscripts. It must be confessed, however, that the Gwydhil may have given this name to that island before their expulsion by the Cumri, though it is difficult to account for the Irish mode of orthography appearing in a Welsh manuscript for any other reason than that here supposed.

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* Lib. iv. p. 176.

† "Strabo plainly appears to have been better acquainted than Cæsar with the three classes of the Bardic system. It is likewise remarkable, that his word Ουατεις is the same as the name Ovyddion, by which the Welsh still distinguish a class of the Bards." *Vindication of the Celts, note on the above passage from Livy*, p. 92.

It is a remarkable fact in the history of the aborigines of Britain and Ireland, that the original names of these islands are still retained by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland. The words Albin and Jerna were used by Aristotle, upwards of two thousand years ago, as the respective appellations of both islands. These terms bear as close an approximation as the peculiar structure of the Greek language would admit of to the Albinn of the Scottish Gaël, a name now confined by them to Scotland, and to the Erin of the Irish Celts. Hence, in distinguishing themselves from the Gaël of Ireland, the Scottish Celts denominate themselves *Gael Albinn* or *Albinnich,* while they call those of Ireland *Gael Eirinnich.* The latter is the term which the Irish Gaël also apply to themselves. It was not until the time of Cæsar that the term Britannia superseded the original appellation of Albion or Albinn.

The above mentioned fact, and the corollaries resulting from it, are considered by a modern writer as faithful guides "to direct us in marking the progress of the original population of the Britannic islands. It being ascertained that the ancient name of the island of Great Britain was Albinn, if Gaelic was the language of the first inhabitants, it is unquestionable that they would call themselves, in reference to their country, *Albinnich ;* and this appellation they would carry along with them as they directed their course in all parts of the island of Great Britain. There is reason to believe, that for a long succession of ages, emigrations from Gaul into Britain were frequent. And it appears, that in Cæsar's days one of the Gallic princes bore sway in some of the southern parts of Britain. Whether the descendants of the first emigrants from Gaul extended their progress over the island in consequence of an increased population, or were propelled northward by the warlike aggression of their more southern neighbours, still, while the country of their residence was the island of Albinn, they would continue to denominate themselves *Albinnich ;* a denomination which the unmixed descendants of the most ancient Gallic stock have ever retained as marking their country ; and they know no other name for Scotsmen than *Albinnich,* nor any other name for the kingdom of Scotland than *Albinn* at this day."*

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* Grant's Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gaël, p. 261, 262.

With respect to the etymology of the name Albinn or Albion, it is to be observed, in the first place, that it is compounded of two syllables, the last of which, *inn*, signifies in Celtic a large island. Thus far the etymology is clear, but the meaning of the adjective part, *Alb*, is not so apparent. Dr John Macpherson thinks it folly to search for a Hebrew or Phœnician etymon of Albion, and he considers the prefix *alb* as denoting a high country, the word being, in his opinion, synonymous with the Celtic vocable *alp* or *alba*, which signifies *high*. "Of the Alpes Grajæ, Alpes Pæninæ or Penninæ, and the Alpes Bastarnicæ, every man of letters has read. In the ancient language of Scotland, *alp* signifies invariably an *eminence*. The Albani, near the Caspian Sea, the Albani of Macedon, the Albani of Italy, and the Albanich of Britain, had all the same right to a name founded on the same characteristical reason, the height or roughness of their respective countries. The same thing may be said of the Gaulish Albici, near Massilia."*

Deriving *alb* from the Latin word *albus*, the appellation of Albinn would denote an island distinguished by some peculiarity either in the whiteness of its appearance or in the productions of its soil, and hence Pliny derives the etymon of *Albion* from its white rocks washed by the sea, or from the abundance of white roses which the island produced. His words are, "Albion insula sic dicta *ab albis rupibus*, quas mare alluit, vel ob *rosas albas* quibus abundat."† But although the whitish appearance of the English cliffs, as seen from the channel and the opposite coast of Gaul, certainly appears to support the supposition of Pliny; yet it is evidently contrary to philological analogy to seek for the etymon of Albion in the Latin. Amongst the various opinions given on this subject, that of Dr Macpherson seems to be the most rational.

Though the Scottish Gaël still call the kingdom of Scotland by the generic term Albinn, they nevertheless make a distinction between that part of Scotland in which English is spoken, and that possessed by themselves. From the Gaelic word *Gaoll*, which means a stranger, the Gaël denominate the Lowlands, or that part of Scotland where their language is not spoken, *Gaolldoch*, whilst they term their own country *Gaeldoch*. After the Danes had subdued the Hebrides, these islands were called by the Highlanders *Innsegaoll*, or the islands possessed by strangers, a name also by which they distinguish the islands of Orkney and Shetland, and for the same reason they call Caithness *Gaollthao*, the quarter of strangers, on account of its having been colonized by the Anglo-Saxons.

Wales was peopled originally by the ancestors of the Irish Gaël, at least the Welsh retain a tradition among them that their Cumric or Cymric forefathers drove the Gwydhil, a term by which they have always distinguished the Irish, into Ireland. This tradition appears to be fully confirmed by the fact, that many names of mountains and rivers in Wales are Gaelic. Though allied in language, and evidently of the race with the Gaël, the Welsh never adopted that term, but have always retained the distinctive appellation of Cumri or Cimmerich, to denote their origin from that division of that Celtic race which, under the different names of Cimmerii or Cimbri, peopled ancient Germany. The author of the Vindication of the Celts, thinks that Kimmerii or Cimmerii was the original name by which the Celtæ were designated by themselves and other nations, because Homer uses the word Κιμμεριοι, and not Keltai; and the Welsh still distinguish themselves by the name of Cumri or Cymry, (which they interpret "the first people,") and many of the early Greek writers more generally designate them by the appellation of Kimmeroi than Keltai. *Waels* was the appellation given by the Saxons to the Cumri, a term which was afterwards modernized into the present name of Welsh.* The similarity of Wael and Gaël can only be accounted for by supposing that the Saxons intended to denominate the people of Wales by the generic term *Gaël*, which the other Celtic inhabitants of the island applied to themselves. Indeed, in the Saxon Chronicle, the former inhabitants are termed indifferently Brit-walas, or Brittas, or Wealas.

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* Dr Macpherson's Critical Dissert., p. 115.

† Plin. 4. 16.

The Celtic origin of the aborigines of North Britain, is admitted even by Pinkerton; but he contends that the Caledonians of Tacitus were not descendants of this race, but Goths from Scandinavia, who settled in Scotland about two hundred years before the incarnation. He allows the identity of the Caledonians and Picts, though he had—before he completely examined the subject—held the opinion that the Picts were a new race who had come in upon the Caledonians in the third century and expelled them, and that the Caledonians were Cumric Britons; but finding Tacitus, Eumenius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Bede, opposed, as he imagines, to this idea, he was induced to alter his opinion, and to adopt the theory that the Picts or Caledonians were of Gothic origin. This hypothesis, however, will not bear the test of examination. It is true that Tacitus alludes to the large limbs and the red hair of the Caledonians, as indications of their German origin; but such marks of resemblance are not sufficient of themselves to establish the point. The decisive evidence of speech, by which the affinity of nations can alone be clearly ascertained, is here wanting; and as Tacitus, who often refers to the difference of language when treating of the Germans, is silent respecting any similarity between the language of the Caledonians and Germans, it must be presumed, that no such resemblance existed, and consequently that the Caledonians were not of German or Gothic origin.

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* Sommers's Glossary voce *Wallia* at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*. Camden, p. 135.

The following account of the Caledonians, and of their southern neighbours the Mæatæ, from a fragment of Dio, preserved by Xiphilin, certainly coincides better with the descriptions of the Britons of the south, found in the pages of Cæsar and Tacitus, than with those given by the same writers of the Germans. "Of the (northern) Britons there are two great nations called Caledonii and Mæatæ; for the rest are generally referred to these. The Mæatæ dwell near that wall which divides the island into two parts. The Caledonians inhabit beyond them. They both possess rugged and dry mountains, and desert plains full of marshes. They have neither castles nor towns; nor do they cultivate the ground; but live on their flocks, and hunting, and the fruits of some trees; not eating fish, though extremely plenteous. They live in tents, naked, and without buskins. Wives they have in common, and breed up their children in common. The general form of government is democratic. They are addicted to robbery, fight in cars, have small and swift horses. Their infantry are remarkable for speed in running, and for firmness in standing. Their armour consists of a shield, and a short spear, in the lower end of which is a brazen apple, whose sound, when struck, may terrify the enemy. They have also daggers. Famine, cold, and all sorts of labour they can bear, for they will even stand in their marshes, for many days, to the neck in water, and in the woods will live on the bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain kind of food on all occasions, of which taking only a bit the size of a bean, they feel neither hunger nor thirst. Such is Britain (he had, in a previous part of his work, given a description of the island), and such are the inhabitants of that part which wars against the Romans." *

With regard to the tradition referred to Bede, as current in his time, that the Caledonians or Picts came from the north of Germany, it cannot, even if well founded, prove their Gothic origin; for as Father Innes observes, "though we should suppose that the Caledonians or Picts had their origin from the northern parts of the European continent, as Tacitus seems to conjecture, and as it was reported to Bede, that would not hinder the Caledonians from having originally had the same language as the Britons; since it appears that the Celtic language, whereof the British is a dialect, was in use in ancient times in the furthest extremities of the north; at least the Celts or Celto-Scyths were extended to these parts; for Strabo tells us that the ancient Greek writers called all the northern nations Celto-Scyths, or Scyths; and Tacitus assures us that in his time the Gallic tongue was in use among some of these northern people, such as the Gothini; and the British tongue among others, as the Æstii."† Mr Pinkerton himself admits that the Celts were the ancient inhabitants of Europe, of which

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* Apud Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. Appendix, No. IV.

† Critical Essay, vol. i. p. 72.

they appear, he says, to have held the most before their expulsion by the other nations of Asia, and in proof of the great extent of their possessions in the north, he refers to the Promontorium Celticæ of Pliny, which, from the situation he gives it, and the names around, he conjectures must have been near Moscow.*

The appellation of *Picti*, by which the Caledonians to the north of the Clyde and the Forth came to be distinguished by the Romans in the third century, made Stillingfleet and other writers suppose, that the Picts were a distinct people who had then recently arrived in Scotland; but this mistake has been so fully exposed by Innes, Chalmers, Pinkerton, and others, that it is quite unnecessary to do more than barely to allude to it. The names of Caledonians and Picts, as well as the appellation of Scots, by which another portion of the inhabitants of the north of Scotland came also to be distinguished, were at all times, as Mr Grant observes, unknown to the original inhabitants as national appellations, and their descendants remain ignorant of them to this day. He thinks that the term *Caledonii*, the name by which the people living northward of the Friths of Clyde and Forth were called by the Romans, was not invented by Agricola, the first Roman general who penetrated into North Britain, but was an appellation taken from the words *Na Caoillaoin*, signifying *the men of the woods*, a name which he probably found given by the inhabitants of the country upon the southern sides of the Glotta and Bodotria, to the people living beyond these arms of the sea, on account of the woody nature of the country which they possessed.†

The Latinized term *Caledonii* was first used by Tacitus, and, with the exception of Herodian, who, in his account of the expedition of Severus, calls these *Caledonii* of Tacitus, Britons, is the appellation by which the inhabitants northward of the Friths are distinguished by all the Roman writers down to the orator Eumenius, who, for the first time, in an oration which he delivered before the Emperor Constantine, in the year two hundred and ninety-seven, calls the Caledonians *Picti*. Eumenius appears, however, to have used this term in a limited sense, as from another oration which he delivered in presence of the same emperor, eleven years thereafter, he alludes to the "Caledones aliique Picti," but although it is clear from this expression, that the terms *Caledonii* and *Picti* were used to denote the same people, the cause of this nominal distinction between the extra-provincial Britons is not so apparent.

The next allusion to the Picts is by Ausonius, a poet of the fourth century, and preceptor of Gratian.

> ——"Viridem distinguit glarea muscum
> Tota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis."

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* Enquiry, vol. i. p. 13. Edin. 1814.

† Thoughts on the Gaël, p. 271.

Claudian, who lived about the beginning of the fifth century, also mentions the Picts.

> ——" Ferroque notatas,
> Perlegin exanimes Picto moriente figuras."[*]

And in another place,[†] where he gives an account of the victories of Theodosius, he says,

> " Ille leves Maurous, nec falso nomine Pictos
> Edomuit."

About the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, the Caledonians, or Picts, were divided by Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, into the Deucaledones and Vecturiones,[‡] a division which seems to account for the distinction of Eumenius before observed. The etyma of these two terms has been attempted by different writers, but without success, as Mr Grant thinks. The term *Deucaledones* he however thinks, is attended with no difficulty. " *Duchaoilldoin* signifies in the Gaelic language, *the real or genuine inhabitants of the woods. Du*, pronounced short, signifies *black;* but pronounced long, signifies *real, genuine*, and in this acceptation the word is in common use: *Du Erinnach, a genuine Irishman; Du Albinnach, a genuine Scotchman.* The appellation of *Deucaledones* served to distinguish the inhabitants of the woody valleys of Albinn, or Scotland, from those of the cleared country on the east coast of Albinn, along its whole extent, to certain distances westward towards the mountains in the interior parts of the country. These last were denominated, according to Latin pronunciation, *Vecturiones;* but in the mouths of the Gaël, or native inhabitants, the appellation was pronounced *Uachtarich.* It may be observed, that the western division of Albinn, from the Friths northward along the range of mountains, which was anciently called Drumalbinn, consists of deep narrow valleys, which were in former times completely covered with closely growing woods, and which exhibited a different aspect of country from a great portion of that which falls from Drumalbinn in all directions towards the east coast of the country, which spreads out in larger tracts of level surface, and is generally of higher elevation than the bottoms of the deep valleys which chiefly form what is called the Highlands of Scotland at this day. The Vecturiones appeared to possess the more level surface of the country, while the Deucaledones inhabited the narrow deep valleys which were universally completely covered with thickly growing woods. That a portion of the country was known in ancient times by *Uachtar*, is evinced by the well known range of hills called *Druim-Uachtar*, from which the country descends in every direction towards the inhabited regions on all sides of that mountainous range."[§]

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[*] De Bello Getico. [†] Paneg. Conf. Honor. [‡] Lib. 27.

[§] Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gaël, p. 276, 277.

With respect to the term *Picti*, it is unnecessary to search for its etymon any where but in the well known practice which existed among the ancient Britons of painting their bodies with a blue juice extracted from woad called *glastum*, in Gaul, according to Pliny, who says that it resembled plantain. This custom was universal among the Britons in the time of Cæsar, who informs us that they thereby intended to make themselves look more terrible to their enemies in battle.* As the Roman arms prevailed, and civilization was diffused, this barbarous practice was gradually given up, and it is supposed that about the end of the second, or beginning of the third century, it had been wholly disused by the provincial Britons, including, of course, the midland Britons, or Mæatæ of the Romans, living between the northern walls. To distinguish, therefore, these provincials who had submitted themselves to the Roman laws, and had laid aside many of their barbarous customs, from the unconquered Caledonians of the north, the Roman writers gave them the Latinized appellation of Picti, in reference to the practice of painting their bodies, which, after the expedition of Severus† into the north of Scotland, was observed to be in general use among the barbarous tribes of that country by those who accompanied him. The same distinction was afterwards *Gaelicized* by the Irish and ancient Scots into *Cruinith*, or *Cruineacht*, from the Gaelic verb *Cruinicam*, to paint. The Picts were called by the southern Britons *Phychthead*, a term which resembles *Pichatach*, a Gaelic word signifying pie-coloured, variegated, or painted.‡ From the practice alluded to, Innes thinks that the name Britannia was derived, *Brith* in the Celtic signifying, according to Camden, *paint*, and *Tannia* in the same language, according to Pezron,§ *country*; so that Britannia originally signified the country of the painted, or figured people.||

Although the national distinctions of Scots and Picts appear to have been unknown to the ancient inhabitants of North Britain till the sixth

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* Comm. Book v.

† The following account of Severus's expedition, is taken from the fragment of Dio before referred to:—"Of this island, not much less than the half is ours. Severus, wishing to reduce the whole under his power, entered Caledonia. In his march he met with unspeakable difficulties in cutting down woods, levelling eminences, raising banks across the marshes, and building bridges over the rivers. He fought no battle, the enemy never appearing in array, but advisedly placing sheep and oxen in the way of our troops, that while our soldiers attempted to seize them, and by the fraud were drawn into defiles, they might be easily cut off. The lakes likewise were destructive to our men, as dividing them, so that they fell into ambuscades; and while they could not be brought off, were slain by our army, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Owing to these causes, there died no less than fifty thousand of our troops. Severus, however, did not desist till he had reached the extreme part of the island, where he diligently remarked the diversity of the solar course, and the length of the nights and days in summer and winter."

‡ Huddleston's Notes to Toland's History of the Druids, p. 338.

§ Antiq. des Gauls, p. 378, 418.

|| Critical Essay, vol. i. p. 59.

century, when a Scoto-Irish colony established themselves on the shores of Argyle, there is reason to believe that, from a very remote period, these aborigines were accustomed to distinguish themselves by distinctive appellations, having reference to the nature of their occupations. They were divided into two classes;—the cultivators of the soil, who attached themselves to spots favourable to agriculture in the valleys of the highlands and in the lowland districts; and the feeders of flocks, who led a wandering pastoral life among the mountainous regions. The former were termed by the pastoral Gaël, *Draonaich*, a generic term, which, although chiefly applicable to persons employed in the labours of the field, was meant as descriptive of all who practised any art by which a livelihood was procured. The *Draonaich*, on the other hand, called the pastoral portion of the people, *Scuit*, or *Scœoit*, meaning the moving or nomadic bodies of people, such as the pastoral Gaël were, who kept moving from time to time in small bodies between the mountains and valleys with their herds and flocks at various periods during the course of the year.[*] This practice existed even down to a very recent period among the Highlanders of Scotland. Mr Grant conjectures, but we think erroneously, that it is to this pastoral class Ammianus Marcellinus alludes in the following sentence in the last of his works, written in the year three hundred and sixty-eight. "*Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledones et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio; et Scoti per diversa vagantes multa populabantur.*" This is the first time the Scots are mentioned in history; for Father Innes has shown that the passage respecting the *Scoticæ gentes* cited by Usher from St Jerome as taken from Porphyry, is not Porphyry's, but an expression of St Jerome's, in his letter to Ctesiphon, written after the year four hundred and twelve.[†]

The etymon of the word *Scoti* has long puzzled antiquaries and philologists. From the promiscuous way in which the Anglo-Saxon writers used the terms Scythæ and Scoti, and from the verbal resemblance between these words, some writers, among whom is Innes, conjecture that the latter is derived from the former, the difference in pronunciation arising merely from the different accent of the people, who wrote or spoke of the ancient nations. From analogy, Walsingham[‡] supposes, that as *Gethi* is the same as *Gothi*, and *Gethicus* as *Gothicus*, so *Scoti* may have come from *Scythæ*, and *Scoticus* from Scythicus.[§] The reason why the Anglo-Saxon writers used the terms Scythæ and Scoti indiscriminately, is obvious from the fact, that in the German the

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[*] Grant. [†] Critical Essay, vol. ii. p. 514. [‡] Apodigma Neustriæ, p. 552.

[§] Walsingham borrows this idea from the old Chronicon Rythmicum, (See No. VI. Appendix to Innes), the first part of which, consisting of eight chapters, was written before the year 1291.

"Nam velut a Gethia Geticus, seu Gothia Gothi,
Dicitur a Sithia Sithicus, sic Scotia Scoti."

Scythians and Scots are called *Scutien*. According to Camden, *Y-Scot* is the term by which the Scythians and Scots are termed in the ancient British tongue, a term which approaches very closely to the *Scuit* or *Scaoit* of the Gaël. Pelloutier observes,* that the Celts were anciently known by the general name of Scythians, but Herodotus, the father of profane history, and who is the first author that alludes to them, considers them as a distinct people. As the word Scythæ, however, seems at last to have been used as a generic term for all nomadic tribes, it is not improbable that certain portions of the Celts who led a wandering pastoral life, were included under the general denomination of Scythians by the ancient writers. Hence the origin of the British appellation Y-Scot may be easily accounted for; and it is from that term, and not from the kindred word Scythæ, that the Latinized term Scoti is, as we think, derived.

From the appellation *Scoti* not occurring in history till the fourth century, an opinion has been formed that the Scots were a new people, who had, a few centuries before, settled in Ireland, and that they were of a different race from either the Gwydhil of Ireland, or the Caledonii of Tacitus. The grounds, however, on which this opinion rests, are insufficient to support such an hypothesis, and as far as these are adduced in proof of an alleged distinctness of origin between the Irish Gaël and the Scots, are negatived by the analogy of speech. Pinkerton is at great pains to show, that the Scots were Scythians or Goths, (terms which with him are synonymous,) who passed into Ireland from the coast of Belgic Gaul about three centuries before the birth of Christ, and vanquished the original Celtic population; but his reasoning is inconclusive, and being fully aware of the insurmountable objection which would be brought forward against his system from the absence of any remains of the Gothic tongue in Ireland, he is obliged to arrive at the extraordinary conclusion, that the Scythæ, who, he supposes, conquered Ireland, lost their speech and adopted that of the vanquished! Conjectures like these are even more absurd than the fables of the Irish bards and Seanachies.

The origin and history of the ancient Scots of Ireland and North Britain, to which a slight allusion has been made in the body of this work, are subjects which have been discussed with great learning and ingenuity. By some writers they are considered as a nation wholly distinct from the Celtic tribes which originally peopled the British islands, and as having arrived at a comparatively recent period from the shores of the continent; while others, with better reason, regard them as a powerful branch of the Celtic family, and a part of the aboriginal population which came to acquire such a predominance over the other branches of the Celtic race, first in Ireland, and afterwards in Scotland, as to excite the special notice of the Roman and Saxon writers.

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* Histoire des Celtes, vol. i. p. 123.

From the term *Scoti* having been first used in the third or fourth century, Father Innes supposes that they may have emigrated to Ireland in the interval between the reigns of Augustus or Tiberius and the third or fourth century, and from the name, which he considers synonymous with Scythæ, he conjectures that the Scots came either from Scandinavia or the Cimbrian Chersonesus. In support of this opinion he thinks that the migration of the Scots from the north may be inferred, 1. From an extraordinary increase of population which some writers believe to have been peculiar to the northern nations. 2. From the fact that the northern nations whose territories were bounded by the sea, were often compelled to abandon their habitations to more powerful neighbours, and forced to embark in quest of new dwellings. 3. That as these northern maritime nations, during the period in question, were so closely hemmed in by the Romans, and as they had no means of discharging their superfluous population among the nations behind them, already overburdened with their own yearly increasing population, it was very natural that the most warlike and resolute among them, impatient of being thus confined and enclosed, should resolve to put to sea in pursuit of new habitations, nor had they a more natural course to choose than to the opposite coasts of North Britain, or, if repulsed by the warlike Caledonians, to sail from thence to Ireland, where they were more likely to succeed among a people unaccustomed to foreigners. Nor could their coming to Ireland be more seasonably placed than during these first ages of Christianity, when the Roman empire was at the height of its power and extent. Besides, the placing this invasion of Ireland in these first ages agrees perfectly with the first appearance of these people in Britain in the third or fourth age by the name of Scots, some time being required for making themselves masters of Ireland before they could be in a condition to send out bodies of men in conjunction with the Caledonians, or Picts, to attack the Roman empire in Britain towards the middle of the fourth century, as mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus.*

But this theory of the northern origin of the Scots being in opposition to the Irish tradition, that Ireland was peopled from Spain, Innes supposes that this tradition may have relation to other colonies, some of which may probably have come from Spain to Ireland before the arrival of the Scots. Yet even on the supposition that the Scots came originally from Spain, he maintains that such an hypothesis is not incompatibile with the period of their supposed invasion, or with their alleged Scythian origin. For, as stated by Florus† and Orosius,‡ the Romans, in the reign of Augustus, met with the greatest difficulties in reducing the Cantabrians and Asturians, and other unconquered nations in Galicia, in the northern parts of Spain opposite to Ireland, and the greater part of the inhabitants of those parts chose rather to retire to the hills and rocks, and to the most remote places, than lose their liberty and submit to the Roman yoke. Now, although neither of the authors above named, who give an account of the Cantabrian war, make mention of any emigrations from Spain, it is by no means improbable that many of the Galicians who had abandoned their habitations would seek new abodes, and as the passage from the northern extremities of Spain to Ireland, with which country they could not be unacquainted, was very easy, and as shipping was then in general use, they would naturally direct their course to it, which would fall an easy conquest to such warlike invaders.

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* Critical Essay, vol. ii. p. 539, *et seq.* † Lib. iv. c. 12. ‡ Lib. vi. c. 24.

Aware, however, that such a recent settlement of the Scots as here contended for, could not be supported by the testimony of contemporary or ancient writers, and was at variance with the traditions in Irish and Scottish history, which, though differing in some respects, agree in assigning a very remote period to the Scottish colonization, this ingenious antiquary has recourse to a negative kind of proof in support of his system, from the usual effects with which such a revolution as the coming in of a new and foreign people upon the ancient inhabitants would be naturally followed. In applying this proof to the Irish Scots, he compares the marks and characters given them by the earliest writers at their first appearance in history, and in the times immediately following their first being mentioned in Ireland and Britain, with the first appearances and beginnings of the Franks when they settled among the Gauls.

1. Though history had been silent respecting the settlement of the Franks in Gaul in the fourth or fifth century, yet as no ancient writer mentions the existence of such a people in Gaul before these periods, and as all writers on Gaul since the fifth and sixth centuries allude to the Franks as inhabitants of Gaul, it is evident that their settlement in Gaul could not be earlier than the centuries first mentioned. In the same manner, though we have no distinct account of the arrival of the Scots in Ireland in the first ages of Christianity, and as the name of Scots was never heard of till the third or fourth century, after which they are mentioned as inhabitants of Ireland or of North Britain, the settlement of the Scots cannot be placed earlier than the era of the incarnation, or after it. The inhabitants of Ireland are called Hyberni, Hyberione, &c. by all the ancient writers before the third or fourth century, and Ptolemy, the geographer, who enumerates about twenty different tribes in Ireland, is entirely silent as to the existence of the Scots.

2. Before the Franks settled in Gaul they appear in history as a wandering people, the characteristic of the Scots as given by Ammianus Marcellinus; *Scoti per diversa vagantes.*

3. As after the Franks settled in Gaul, two people thenceforth appear in history as the inhabitants of that country, under the denominations of the *Galli*, the original inhabitants, and the *Franci*, the new settlers,—so in Ireland two kinds of people appear in the fourth or fifth centuries,

the one distinguished as *Hyberni*, the term by which the ancient inhabitants of that island were distinguished, the other as *Scoti*, who then appear as a new people never before heard of in Ireland.

4. As the *Franci* were distinguished from the *Galli*, not only by their name but by their qualities, the *Franci* appearing, by being masters or conquerors, as the nobility and gentry, and the *Galli*, the ancient inhabitants, as the *Coloni*, or commons, so the Scots appear after their settlement in Ireland distinguished in like manner from the *Hyberni*. The *Scoti*, as being the conquerors, appear as the nobility or gentry, as appears from the confession or apology of St Patrick, written by him in the fifth century, and from his letter to Coroticus, in both of which he calls the Scots the Reguli, or nobles, and the native Irish, or ancient inhabitants, *Hyberionæ*, or *Hybernigenæ*, as the common and ordinary people.

5. Another remarkable resemblance between the Franks and Scots consisted in their warlike disposition; for no sooner did they obtain settlements in Gaul and Ireland, than—unlike the more peaceful people whom they subdued—they kept themselves in a warlike attitude, ready to invade the neighbouring provinces and enlarge their conditions. Thus it does not appear that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland ever invaded Britain, and so little did they resemble the Caledonians in military prowess, that, according to the information given by Agricola to Tacitus, one legion and a few auxiliary troops would have been sufficient for the conquest of Ireland. But no sooner do the Scots appear in history than we find them in arms, making warlike expeditions into Britain, joining the Picts and attacking the Roman legions.

6. As Gaul still retained its old name long after the Franks had conquered it, and was, before these settlers finally communicated their name to that country, indifferently called Gaul or France, so, in like manner, long after the Scots had settled in Ireland, it still retained the name of *Hybernia* or *Ierne*, and it was only by degrees that it got the new name of *Scotia*. St Gregory the Great, who flourished in the beginning of the sixth century, is supposed to be the first writer who gave the name of *Francia* to Gaul; and St Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury in the beginning of the seventh century, is believed to have first given the name of *Scotia* to Ireland, in a letter to the bishops and clergy of that kingdom, alluded to by Bede.* After this period, *Hybernia* and *Scotia* are used synonymously, till by the prevalence of the Scottish power in North Britain, the name was transferred and came to be exclusively confined to that country. Whence then could Ireland derive the name of *Scotia*, but from a new people having settled in it bearing a similar appellation? Analogy fully supports this hypothesis, for thus it was that the Gauls acquired the name of *Francia*; a part of southern Gaul that of *Gothia*; other parts those of *Burgundia*, *Normannia*,

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* Lib. ii. c. 4.

&c.; a part of Italy, *Longobardia;* and South Britain, those of *Saxonia* and *Anglia*.*

Such are the arguments by which the erudite Innes endeavours to evolve the intricate question respecting the era of the Scottish settlement, and from which he infers that the Scots, properly so called, were not originally the same race of people with the first and ancient inhabitants of Ireland, but a distinct nation that arrived in Ireland only after the time of the Incarnation, having all those characteristics of new settlers, which distinguished the Franks and the other nations, which, like them about the third, fourth, and subsequent centuries, established themselves in the countries which they conquered. But plausible as these reasons are, they cannot supply the want of historical evidence, of which not a vestige can be shown in support of the theory for which they are adduced. Besides, the analogy from the history of the Franks is radically incomplete, as their conquests in Gaul were followed by a revolution in the language of the ancient inhabitants, which, on the supposition that the Scots were a new people, did not take place either in Ireland or in Scotland when they obtained the ascendancy, nor at any subsequent period of their history. No point connected with Irish and Scottish antiquities has been more clearly established than this, that the language of the native Irish, including of course the Scots of that island, and that of the Highlanders of Scotland, has always been, from the most remote period, radically the same. Though separated perhaps for upwards of twenty centuries, the Gäel of Connaught, and those of Scotland, can mutually understand each other, and even converse together.

The only plausible answer that can be made against what appears to us an insurmountable objection to Innes's theory, is by assuming that the language of the Scots and the ancient inhabitants of Ireland was the same, or at least that if any difference did exist, it was merely a difference in dialect; but neither Innes nor any of the writers who have adopted his system have ventured upon the assertion. Pinkerton, aware of the force of the objection we have stated, was so unphilosophical as to maintain, that the Scots of Ireland, who he admits as soon as known in history spoke the Celtic tongue, had lost their original language in that of the vanquished. "Long before Christianity," he observes, "was settled in Ireland, perhaps, indeed, before the birth of Christ, the Scots or Scythæ, who conquered Ireland, had lost their speech in that of the greater number of the Celts, the common people, as usually happens. From England and Scotland the Celts had crowded to the west, and vast numbers had passed to Ireland. The mountainous north and west of England, the Friths of Scotland, had formed barriers between the Goths and Celts. But in Ireland, the grand and last receptacle of the Celts, and whither almost their whole remains finally flowed, it is no wonder that the Gothic conquerors, the Scots, lost their speech in that of the population."* Conquerors, indeed, have never been able to efface the aboriginal language of a country; and though they have succeeded in altering its form to suit their own idiom, the original language still remained the ground-work of the new superstructure; but it is believed that no instance can be adduced of the language of the conquerors having entirely effaced that of the conquered as here supposed.

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* Critical Essay, vol. ii. p. 513, *et seq.*

If any reliance could be placed upon the traditions of the Irish bards and seannachies, some approximation might be made to fixing the epoch of the arrival of the Scots; but the mass of fiction which, under the name of history, disfigures the annals of Ireland, does not afford any data on which to found even a probable conjecture. The era of the settlement of the Irish-Scots in North Britain, however, is matter of real history. This settlement took place about the year two hundred and fifty-eight, when a colony of Scots, under the conduct of a leader named Reuda, crossed over from Ireland and established themselves on the north of the Clyde. Alluding to this emigration, Venerable Bede observes, "In process of time Britain, after the Britons and Picts, received a third nation that of the Scots, in that part belonging to the Picts; who, emigrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by friendship or arms, vindicated to themselves those seats among them which they to this time hold. From which leader they are called Dalreudini to this day; for in their language, *dal* signifies a part."†

Among the modern Irish writers, Kennedy is the first who mentions this emigration, his predecessors, either from ignorance of the fact, or from a desire to fix the settlement of the Scoto-Irish at a later period, making no allusion to it. "Our books of antiquity," says Kennedy, "giving an account at large of the children and race of Conar Mac-Mogalama, king of Ireland, mention that he had three sons, Carbre Muse, Carbre Baskin, and Carbre Riada; and that the first was by another name, Ængus; the second, Olfile; and the third, Eocha. . . . . Our writers unanimously tell us that Carbre Riada was the founder of the Scottish sovereignty in Britain; but they make him only a captain, as Venerable Bede does, or conductor, who ingratiated himself so far with the Picts, by his and his children's assistance, and good service against the Britons, that they consented that they and their followers should continue among them."‡

This account, as far as the arrival of the Scots is concerned, is corroborated by Ammianus Marcellinus, who, about a century after the period assigned, mentions for the first time the existence of this people in

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* Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 48.

† "Precedente autem tempore, Britannia, post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit. Qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia egressi vel amicitia, vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes, quas hactenus habent vindicarunt. A quo videlicet duce usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur; nam lingua eorum dal partem significat."

‡ Genealogical Dissertation, p. 104—107.

North Britain, who, in conjunction with the Picts, had begun to make themselves formidable to the Romans. That the Scoti of Ammianus were distinct from the Picts is evident, and as the Scots were unknown to Agricola and Severus, they must have arrived in Scotland posterior to the celebrated expedition of the latter.

Besides the Scottish auxiliaries, the Picts were aided by a warlike people called Attacotti; but although Ammianus seems to distinguish them from the Scoti, Pinkerton thinks that the term Attacotti was neither more nor less than the name given by the provincial Britons to the Dalreudini. This conjecture appears to be well founded, as Richard of Cirencester places in Ptolemy's map, the Attacotti on the north of the Frith of Clyde, and the Damni Albani just above them, being in the very position in which the Dalreudini are placed by Bede on their arrival. "The Attacotti make a distinguished figure in the *Notitia Imperii*, a work of the fifth century, where numerous bodies of them appear in the list of the Roman army. One body was in Illyricum, their ensign a kind of mullet: another at Rome, their badge a circle: the *Attacotti Honoriani* were in Italy. In the same work are named bodies of Parthians, Sarmatæ, Arabs, Franks, Saxons, &c. These foreign soldiers had, in all likelihood, belonged to vanquished armies; and been spared from carnage on condition of bearing arms in those of Rome. Some, it is likely, were foreign levies and auxiliaries. To which class those Attacotti belonged is difficult to say. Certain it is, that Theodosius, in 368, repelled the Piks, Scots, and Attacotti, from the Roman provinces in Britain; rebuilt the wall of Antoninus between Forth and Clyde; and founded the province of Valentia. The Attacotti, finding no employment for their arms, might be tempted to enter into the Roman armies; for it was the Roman policy in latter ages to levy as many foreign troops as possible, and to oppose barbarians to barbarians. Perhaps the Attacotti were subdued, and forced to furnish levies. Perhaps these bodies were prisoners of war." *

Of the Celtic language there were at no very distant period seven dialects, viz. the Waldensian, the Armorican, or Bas Bréton, the Cornish, the Welsh, the Manks, the Irish, and the Scottish Gaelic. The Basque, or Cantabrian, is considered by some philologists as a dialect of the Celtic, but although it contains many words from that language, these bear too small a proportion to the other words of a different origin, of which the Basque is chiefly composed, to entitle it to be classed among the Celtic idioms. With the exception of the Waldensian and Cornish, the other dialects are still spoken; but remains of the former exist in certain manuscripts collected by Sir Samuel Morland, and preserved in the public library of the university of Cambridge, where they were lodged in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-eight, and the latter has been preserved in books. Of these different dialects, the Waldensian, the Armorican, the Cornish, and the Welsh form one family, the parent of which was probably the idiom of Celtic Gaul, which it is conjectured was the same with the language of the ancient Britons; while the close affinity between the Manks, the Irish, and the Gaelic, shows that they are relics of the idiom spoken by the early inhabitants of Ireland. All these dialects are more or less allied, but those of Wales and Armorica are the most closely connected, and differ so little from each other, that the natives of Brittany and Wales mutually understand each other. According to Lhuyd, a considerable dissimilarity exists between the Welsh and Irish dialects; but he is mistaken in this idea, as out of twenty-five thousand words in the Irish dictionary, eight thousand are common words in Welsh. Besides most of the general prefixes and terminations of the different classes of words used by the Irish are also in the Welsh, and the two dialects also agree in various affinities of idioms and construction.*

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* Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 73.

The similarity between the dialects of Wales and Armorica, has been ascribed to two causes: 1. To the intercourse which it is well known existed for a long time, and at an early period, between the ancient inhabitants dwelling on the opposite coasts of the channel; and 2. To the fact of a British colony having emigrated to the Armorican coast after the invasion of Britain by the Saxons. History, however, affords so little information respecting the date of this settlement and the circumstances attending it, that it cannot be ascertained whether those British Celts remained a distinct people, or were incorporated with the original inhabitants. From the close connexion which had previously subsisted between these new settlers and the natives, and their similarity in language and customs, the probability is that they gradually intermingled. A conjecture has been hazarded, that from these British settlers the Britons of Gaul derived their name, but this term was in use in Gaul before the era of the Saxon invasion; for Sidonius Appollinaris alludes to the Britons living upon the banks of the Loire; and as early as the council of Tours, which was held in four hundred and sixty-one, Mansuetus, bishop of the "Britones," is mentioned among the bishops who attended the council from "Lugudensis Tertia," or Brittany.† Perhaps an earlier colony from the British shores were the ancestors of those early Gaulish Britons.

Whoever examines the Manks, Irish, and Gaelic dialects critically, must be convinced that originally the language of the ancestors of the people who now speak these different idioms, must have been the same. Corrupted as the Manks is by a greater admixture of exotic words, it is still understood by the Highlanders of Scotland; and the natives of Connaught, where the Irish is the purest, and the Scottish Gaël can, without much difficulty, make themselves mutually understood.

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* Vindication of the Celts, p. 147.

† Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Bouquet, tom. 1. p. 785.

Priority in point of antiquity has been claimed, for the Irish over the other Celtic dialects; but the advocates of this claim appear to carry it too far when they infer that the Gaelic is derived from the Irish. A comparison of the primitive words which exist in each, shows their original identity, and many of the differences which now exist between these dialects are to be ascribed to their collision with other languages. It has, however, been observed that the Scottish Gaelic resembles more closely the parent Celtic, and has fewer inflections than the Welsh, Manks, or Irish dialects. In common with the Hebrew and other oriental languages, it is distinguished by this peculiarity, that it wants the simple present tense, a circumstance which is urged in support of the opinion that the Gaelic of Scotland is the more ancient dialect.* The remarks of Lhuyd in his Archæologia Britannica on the Irish, may, with some modification, be applied to its cognate idiom, the Gaelic. "To the antiquary this language is of the utmost importance; it is rich in pure and simple primitives, which are proved such by the sense and structure of the largest written compounds; by the supply of many roots which have been long obsolete in the Welsh and Armorican, but still occur in the compounds of these languages, and by their use in connecting the Celtic dialects with Latin, Greek, and Gothic, and perhaps with some of the Asiatic languages."

The invention of printing, which brought about such a speedy revolution in the history of mind, and accelerated the progress of literature, was long inoperative upon the Celtic population of Europe. The reason is obvious. For a considerable period the Latin tongue, which was the language of the western church, and had long been that of the learned, continued to be used in the various publications which issued from the early press, in preference to the vulgar tongues; and even when the latter came to be partially adopted, there were comparatively few persons who could read. Unacquainted as the great bulk of the European population was with letters, those scattered and insulated parts thereof, which comprised the Celtic race, participated in a more especial manner in the general ignorance; and the few persons among them who were desirous of acquiring literary knowledge, were obliged to seek for it in languages which were foreign to them. The paucity of printed works in the different dialects of the Celtic, and particularly among the Scottish Gaël, is, therefore, not surprising. The Gaelic had, for many centuries before the invention of printing, ceased to be the language of the court; and when that important discovery was made, it was limited to a small and isolated portion of Scotland. In Ireland, however, the Irish, as the Gaelic is termed in Ireland, continued to be spoken by all classes of the population for six hundred years after the Gaelic had ceased to be spoken at the court of Scotland, and it was not till the reign of Elizabeth and

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* Preface to Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, p. ix.

James I., that the Irish nobility and gentry generally began to exchange their mother tongue for the English language. For this reason the Irish have more printed Gaelic works than the Scots.

The first work printed for the use of the Highlanders was a translation into Gaelic of John Knox's Liturgy, known better by the name of Bishop Carswell's Prayer Book. This, which is the first Gaelic book ever printed, issued from the press of Robert Lepreuck, an Edinburgh printer, and bears date, 24th April, 1567. One, or at most two entire copies only are now known to exist. One of these was in the duke of Argyll's library at Inverary castle, but is now amissing. Adelung has given a very accurate account of it in his Mithridates.* The following is a copy of the table of the contents of this very scarce work :—

"Dontriath Chomhachtach cheirtbhreatach chiuinbhriathrach, do ghiollæsbuig.
Ebistil Thioghlaicthe.
Admhail an Chreidimh.
Doifige na Ministreadh and so sios.
Do Mhinisdribh Eagluise Dé and da dtogha labhrus so seasda, agus dona coingheallaibh dhligheassiad do bheith iondta.
Dona Foirfidheachaibh agas da noisige agas da dtogha and so sios.
Dona Deochanaibh, agas da noisige agas da dtoghe, and so sios.
Vrrnaidhthe.
Foirm an Bhaisdidh and so sios.
Foirm Tsacramvinte Chuirp Chriosd ré raitear Suiper an Tighearna, and so sios.
Teagasg do chum an Pósaidh.
Comhfhvrtacht na Neaslan.
Do Smachtvghadh Na Heaglvise.
Vrrnaidhthe.
Foirceadal an Chreidimh.
Altachadh."

Lemoine † says that an Irish Liturgy was printed at Dublin in 1566. for the use of the Highlanders of Scotland, but it is supposed that he alludes to the above-mentioned work, as no book is known to have been printed in Ireland till 1571, when the "Alphabetum et ratio loquendi linguam Hibernicam, et Catechismus in eadem lingua," printed by John Kearney and Nicholas Walsh, made its appearance.

An interval of sixty-four years took place till the next Gaelic publication, which was a translation of Calvin's Catechism, printed at Edinburgh in the year 1631, during which time there were published in Ireland a translation of the New Testament in 1603, being the first edition of any part of the Scriptures in Celtic, and a translation of the Book of Common Prayer, with the exception of the Psalms, in 1608.

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* Reid's Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, p. 43, 161; a work replete with valuable information on Celtic Literature.

† Art of printing.

Besides these there were published abroad in the Irish, first at Louvain in 1608, and afterwards at Antwerp in 1611 and 1618;—a Catechism, under the title of "Teagasg Criosdaidhe," and several other works.

It was not until the year 1767, being one hundred and sixty-four years after the New Testament first appeared in Irish, that that portion of the Scriptures appeared in Gaelic. The translation was made by the Rev. James Stewart, minister of Killin; and of this first edition, which was published both in octavo and duodecimo, ten thousand copies were printed. Since that time there have been seventeen editions of the New Testament printed, probably averaging ten thousand copies each, thus making a total of about one hundred and eighty thousand copies.

A translation of the Old Testament was published in four parts; the first of which did not appear till 1783, upwards of a century after the first Irish Bible was published. The remaining parts appeared successively in 1786, 1787, and 1801. The Rev. Dr John Stuart, minister of Luss, was the translator of the first, second, and third parts; and the Rev. Dr John Smith, minister of Campbelton, translated the fourth. Of this edition five thousand copies were printed, besides an extra quantity of the Pentateuch. A second edition of twenty thousand copies, with some alterations, chiefly in Isaiah, was printed in 1807. Nine other editions have since appeared. A complete enumeration of all the works which have been printed in Gaelic may be seen in the Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, to which reference has already been made. These consist chiefly of translations; a circumstance not to be wondered at, when we reflect on the many obstacles which, from local and other causes, checked the progress of science among the Highlanders, and the little inducements which literary men had to exhibit the treasures of knowledge in a language read by few, and which, from the prevalence of the English language, and the rapid changes which are taking place in the Highlands, seems destined at no distant period, to exist only in those works which were intended to insure its perpetuity as one of the living dialects of a language spoken at one time by the aboriginal population of Europe.*

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* It is proper to state here, in order to prevent mistakes, that, from an oversight in copying the manuscript of the foregoing Dissertation for the press, one or two citations have not been indicated as such by inverted commas. This omission was not detected until it was too late to supply it.

CATALOGUES

OF

GAELIC AND IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

As connected with the literary history of the Celts, the following lists of Gaelic and Irish manuscripts, will, it is thought, be considered interesting.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

1. A folio MS. beautifully written on parchment or vellum, from the collection of the late Major Maclauchlan of Kilbride. This is the oldest MS. in the possession of the Highland Society of Scotland. It is marked Vo. A. No. I. The following remark is written on the margin of the fourth leaf of the MS.:—"Oidche bealtne ann a coimhtech mo Pupu Muirciusa agus as olc lium nach marunn diol in linesi dem dub Misi Fithil acc furnuidhe na scoile." Thus englished by the late Dr Donald Smith:—"The night of the first of May in Coenobium of my Pope Murchus, and I regret that there is not left of my ink enough to fill up this line. I am Fithil, an attendant on the school." This MS. which, from its orthography, is supposed to be as old as the eighth or ninth century, "consists (says Dr Smith) of a poem, moral and religious, some short historical anecdotes, a critical exposition of the Tain, an Irish tale, which was composed in the time of Diarmad, son of Cearval, who reigned over Ireland from the year 544 to 565; and the Tain itself, which claims respect, as exceeding in point of antiquity, every production of any other vernacular tongue in Europe."*

On the first page of the vellum, which was originally left blank, there are genealogies of the families of Argyll and Mac Leod in the Gaelic handwriting of the sixteenth century. The genealogy of the Argyll family ends with Archibald, who succeeded to the earldom in 1542 and died in 1588.† This is supposed to be the oldest Gaelic MS. extant.

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* Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland on the Poems of Ossian, App. No. xix. p. 290.

† It is therefore probable, that these genealogies were written about the middle of the sixteenth century. A fac simile of the writing is to be found in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on the authenticity of Ossian, Plate II.

Dr Smith conjectures that it may have come into the possession of the Maclachlans of Kilbride in the sixteenth century, as a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard Maclachlan, was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona or I Colum Kille in commendam from 1530 to 1544.—See Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.

To the *Tain* is prefixed the following critical exposition, giving a brief account of it in the technical terms of the Scots literature of the remote age in which it was written. "Ceathardha connagur in cach ealathuin is cuincda don tsairsisi na Tana. Loc di cedumus lighe Fercusa mhic Roich ait in rou hathnachd four mach Nai. Tempus umorro Diarmuta mhic Ceruailt in rigno Ibeirnia. Pearsa umorro Fergusa mhic Roich air is e rou tirchan do na hecsib ar chenu. A tucaid scriuint dia ndeachai Seanchan Toirpda cona III. ri ecces . . . do saighe Cuaire rig Condacht." That is—the four things which are requisite to be known in every regular composition are to be noticed in this work of the Tain. The *place* of its origin is the stone of Fergus, son of Roich, where he was buried on the plain of Nai. The *time* of it, besides, is that in which Diarmad, son of Cervail reigned over Ireland. The *author*, too, is Fergus, son of Roich; for he it was that prompted it forthwith to the bards. The *cause* of writing it was a visit which Shenachan Torbda, with three chief bards, made to Guaire, king of Connaught.*

O'Flaherty thus concisely and accurately describes the subject and character of the *Tain*:—"Fergusius Rogius solo pariter ac solio Ultoniæ exterminatus, in Connactiam ad Ollilum et Maudam ibidem regnantes profugit; quibus patrocinantibus, memorabile exarsit bellum septannale inter Connacticos et Ultonios multis poeticis figmentis, ut ea ferebat ætas, adornatum. Hujus belli circiter medium, octennio ante caput æræ Christianæ Mauda regina Connactiæ, Fergusio Rogio ductore, immensam bonum prœdam conspicuis agentium et insectantium virtutibus memorabilem, e Cualgnio in agro Louthiano re portavit."†

From the expression, "Ut ea ferebat ætas," Dr Smith thinks that O'Flaherty considered the tale of the Tain as a composition of the age to which it relates; and that of course he must not have seen the Critical Exposition prefixed to the copy here described. From the silence of the Irish antiquaries respecting this Exposition, it is supposed that it must have been either unknown to, or overlooked by them, and consequently that it was written in Scotland

The Exposition states, that Sheanachan, with the three bards and those in their retinue, when about to depart from the court of Guaire, being called upon to relate the history of the *Tain bho*, or cattle spoil of Cuailgne, acknowledged their ignorance of it, and that having ineffectually made the round of Ireland and Scotland in quest of it;

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* Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on Ossian, App. No. xix. p. 291.

† Ogyg. p. 275.

Eimin and Muircheartach, two of their number, repaired to the grave of Fergus, son of Roich, who being invoked, appeared at the end of three days in terrific grandeur, and related the whole of the Tain, as given in the twelve Reimsgeala or Portions of which it consists. In the historical anecdotes, allusion is made to Ossian, the son of Fingal, who is represented as showing, when young, an inclination to indulge in solitude his natural propensity for meditation and song. A *fac simile* of the characters of this MS. is given in the Highland Society's Report upon Ossian, Plate I. fig. 1, 2, and in Plate II.

2. Another parchment MS. in quarto, equally beautiful as the former, from the same collection. It consists of an Almanack bound up with a paper list of all the holidays, festivals, and most remarkable saints' days, in verse, throughout the year—A Treatise on Anatomy, abridged from Galen—Observations on the Secretions, &c.—The Schola Salernitana, in Leonine verse, drawn up about the year 1100, for the use of Robert, duke of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, by the famous medical school of Salerno. The Latin text is accompanied with a Gaelic explanation, which is considered equally faithful and elegant, of which the following is a specimen:—

Caput I.—Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni.

1. As iat scol Salerni go hulidhe do scriou na fearsadh so do chum rig sag san do choimhed a shlainnte.

Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum ;
Curas tolle graves, irasci crede prophanum.

Madh ail bhidh fallann, agus madh aill bhidh slan ; Cuir na himsnimha troma dhit, agus creit gurub diomhain duit fearg do dhenumh.

The words *Leabhar Giollacholaim Meigbeathadh,* are written on the last page of this MS., which being in the same form and hand, with the same words on a paper MS. bound up with a number of others written upon vellum in the Advocate's Library, and before which is written *Liber Malcolmi Bethune,* it has been conjectured that both works originally belonged to Malcolm Bethune, a member of a family distinguished for learning, which supplied the Western Isles for many ages with physicians.*

3. A small quarto paper MS. from the same collection, written at Dunstaffnage by Ewen Macphaill, 12th October 1603. It consists of a tale in prose concerning a King of Lochlin and the Heroes of Fingal: An Address to Gaul, the son of Morni, beginning—

Goll mear mileant—
Ceaṕ na Crodhachta—

An Elegy on one of the earls of Argyle, beginning—

A Mhic Cailin a chosg lochd ;

and a poem in praise of a young lady.

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* Appendix, *ut supra,* No. xix.

4. A small octavo paper MS. from the same collection, written by Eamonn or Edmond Mac Lachlan, 1654–5. This consists of a miscellaneous collection of sonnets, odes, and poetical epistles, partly Scots, and partly Irish. There is an *Ogham* or alphabet of secret writing near the end of it.

5. A quarto paper MS. from same collection. It wants ninety pages at the beginning, and part of the end. What remains consists of some ancient and modern tales and poems. The names of the authors are not given, but an older MS. (that of the Dean of Lismore) ascribes one of the poems to Conal, son of Edirskeol. This MS. was written at Aird-Chonail upon Lochowe, in the years 1690 and 1691, by Ewan Mac Lean for Colin Campbell. "Caillain Caimpbel leis in leis in leabharan. 1. Caillin mac Dhonchai mhic Dhughil mhic Chaillain oig." Colin Campbell is the owner of this book, namely Colin, son of Duncan, son of Dougal, son of Colin the younger. The above Gaelic inscription appears on the 79th leaf of the MS.

6. A quarto paper MS., which belonged to the Rev. James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore, the metropolitan church of the see of Argyle, dated, page 27, 1512, written by Duncan the son of Dougal, son of Ewen the Grizzled. This MS. consists of a large collection of Gaelic poetry, upwards of 11,000 verses. It is said to have been written "out of the books of the History of the Kings." Part of the MS., however, which closes an obituary, commencing in 1077, of the kings of Scotland, and other eminent persons of Scotland, particularly of the shires of Argyle and Perth, was not written till 1527. The poetical pieces are from the times of the most ancient bards down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The more ancient pieces are poems of Conal, son of Edirskeol, Ossian, son of Fingal, Fearghas Fili (Fergus the bard), and Caoilt, son of Ronan, the friends and contemporaries of Ossian. This collection also contains the works of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, who fell in the battle of Flodden, and Lady Isabel Campbell, daughter of the earl of Argyle, and wife of Gilbert, earl of Cassilis.* "The writer of this MS. (says Dr Smith) rejected the ancient character for the current hand-writing of the time, and adopted a new mode of spelling conformable to the Latin and English sounds of his own age and country, but retained the aspirate mark (') . . . The Welsh had long before made a similar change in their ancient orthography. Mr Edward Lhuyd recommended it, with some variation, in a letter to the Scots and Irish, prefixed to his Dictionary of their language in the Archæologia Britannica. The bishop of Sodor and Man observed it in the devotional exercises, admonition, and catechism, which he published for the use of his diocese. It was continued in the Manx translation of the Scriptures, and it has lately been adopted by Dr Reilly, titular Primate of Ireland, in his TAGASG KREESTY,

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* Report of the Highland Society on Ossian, p. 92.

or *Christian Doctrine.* But yet it must be acknowledged to be much inferior to the ancient mode of orthography, which has not only the advantage of being grounded on a knowledge of the principles of grammar, and philosophy of language, but of being also more plain and easy. This volume of the Dean's is curious, as distinguishing the genuine poetry of Ossian from the imitations made of it by later bards, and as ascertaining the degree of accuracy with which ancient poems have been transmitted by tradition for the last three hundred years, during a century of which the order of bards has been extinct, and ancient manners and customs have suffered a great and rapid change in the Highlands."* A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, plate iii. No. 5.

7. A quarto paper MS. written in a very beautiful regular hand, without date or the name of the writer. It is supposed to be at least two hundred years old, and consists of a number of ancient tales and short poems. These appear to be transcribed from a much older MS. as there is a vocabulary of ancient words in the middle of the MS. Some of the poetry is ascribed to Cuchulin.

8. Another quarto paper MS. the beginning and end of which have been lost. It consists partly of prose, partly of poetry. With the exception of two loose leaves, which appear much older, the whole appears to have been written in the 17th century. The poetry, though ancient, is not Fingalian. The name, Tadg Og CC., before one of the poems near the end, is the only one to be seen upon it.

9. A quarto parchment MS. consisting of 42 leaves, written by different hands, with illuminated capitals. It appears at one time to have consisted of four different MSS. bound together and covered with skin, to preserve them. This MS. is very ancient and beautiful, though much soiled. In this collection is a life of St Columba, supposed, from the character, (being similar to No. 27,) to be of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

10. A quarto parchment medical MS. beautifully written. No date or name, but the MS. appears to be very ancient.

11. A quarto paper MS. partly prose partly verse, written in a very coarse and indifferent hand. No date or name.

12. A small quarto MS. coarse. Bears date 1647, without name.

13. A small long octavo paper MS. the beginning and end lost, and without any date. It is supposed to have been written by the Macvurichs of the fifteenth century. Two of the poems are ascribed to Tadg Mac Daire Bruaidheadh, others to Brian O'Donalan.

14. A large folio parchment MS. in two columns, containing a tale upon Cuchullin and Conal, two of Ossian's heroes. Without date or name, and very ancient.

15. A large quarto parchment of 7½ leaves, supposed by Mr Astle,

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* Appendix to the Highland Society's Report, p. 300—1.

author of the work on the origin and progress of writing, to be of the ninth or tenth century. Its title is *Emanuel*, a name commonly given by the old Gaelic writers to many of their miscellaneous writings. Engraved specimens of this MS. are to be seen in the first edition of Mr Astle's work above-mentioned, 18th plate, Nos. 1 and 2, and in his second edition, plate 22. Some of the capitals in the MS. are painted red. It is written in a strong beautiful hand, in the same character as the rest. This MS. is only the fragment of a large work on ancient history, written on the authority of Greek and Roman writers, and interspersed with notices of the arts, armour, dress, superstitions, manners, and usages, of the Scots of the author's own time. In this MS. there is a chapter titled, " *Slogha Chesair an Inis Bhreatan*," or Cæsar's expedition to the island of Britain, in which *Lechlin*, a country celebrated in the ancient poems and tales of the Gäel, is mentioned as separated from Gaul by "the clear current of the Rhine." Dr Donald Smith had a complete copy of this work.

16. A small octavo parchment MS. consisting of a tale in prose, imperfect. Supposed to be nearly as old as the last mentioned MS.

17. A small octavo paper MS. stitched, imperfect; written by the Macvurichs. It begins with a poem upon Darthula, different from Macpherson's, and contains poems written by Cathal and Nial Mor Macvurich, (whose names appear at the beginning of some of the poems,) composed in the reign of King James the Fifth, Mary, and King Charles the First. It also contains some Ossianic poems, such as Cnoc an àir, &c. i. e. The Hill of Slaughter, supposed to be part of Macpherson's Fingal. It is the story of a woman who came walking alone to the Fingalians for protection from Taile, who was in pursuit of her. Taile fought them, and was killed by Oscar. There was another copy of this poem in Clanranald's little book—not the Red book, as erroneously supposed by Laing. The Highland Society are also in possession of several copies taken from oral tradition. The second Ossianic poem in this MS. begins thus:

Sè la gus an dè
O nach fhaca mi fein Fionn.

It is now six days yesterday
Since I have not seen Fingal.

18. An octavo paper MS. consisting chiefly of poetry, but very much defaced. Supposed to have been written by the last of the Macvurichs, but without date. The names of Tadg Og and Lauchlan Mac Taidg occur upon it. It is supposed to have been copied from a more ancient MS. as the poetry is good.

19. A very small octavo MS. written by some of the Macvurichs. Part of it is a copy of Clanranald's book, and contains the genealogy of the Lords of the Isles and others of that great clan. The second part

consists of a genealogy of the kings of Ireland (ancestors of the Macdonalds) from Scota and Gathelic. The last date upon it is 1616.

20. A paper MS., consisting of a genealogy of the kings of Ireland, of a few leaves only, and without date.

21. A paper MS. consisting of detached leaves of different sizes, and containing, 1. The conclusion of a Gaelic chronicle of the kings of Scotland down to King Robert III.; 2. A Fingalian tale, in which the heroes are Fingal, Goll Mac Morni, Oscar, Ossian, and Conan; 3. A poem by Macdonald of Benbecula, dated 1722, upon the unwritten part of a letter sent to Donald Macvurich of Stialgary; 4. A poem by Donald Mackenzie; 5. Another by Tadg Og CC, copied from some other MS. 6. A poem by Donald Macvurich upon Ronald Macdonald of Clanranald. Besides several hymns by Tadg, and other poems by the Macvurichs and others.

22. A paper MS., consisting of religious tracts and genealogy, without name or date.

23. A paper MS., containing instruction for children in Gaelic and English. Modern, and without date.

24. Fragments of a paper MS., with the name of Cathelus Macvurich upon some of the leaves, and Niall Macvurich upon some others. *Conn Mac an Deirg*, a well known ancient poem, is written in the Roman character by the last Niall Macvurich, the last Highland bard, and is the only one among all the Gaelic MSS. in that character.

With the exception of the first five numbers, all the before mentioned MSS. were presented by the Highland Society of London to the Highland Society of Scotland in January, 1803, on the application of the committee appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian. All these MSS. (with the single exception of the dean of Lismore's volume,) are written in the very ancient form of character which was common of old to Britain and Ireland, and supposed to have been adopted by the Saxons at the time of their conversion to Christianity. This form of writing has been discontinued for nearly eighty years in Scotland, as the last specimen which the Highland Society of Scotland received of it consists of a volume of songs, supposed to have been written between the years 1752 and 1768, as it contains a song written by Duncan Macintyre, titled, *An Taileir Mac Neachdain*, which he composed the former year, the first edition of Macintyre's songs having been published during the latter year.*

25. Besides these, the society possesses a collection of MS. Gaelic poems made by Mr Duncan Kennedy, formerly schoolmaster at Craignish in Argyleshire, in three thin folio volumes. Two of them are written out fair from the various poems he had collected about sixty years ago. This collection consists of the following poems, viz. Luachair Leothaid, Sgiathan mac Sgairbh, An Gruagach, Rochd, Sithallan,

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* Report on Ossian, Appendix, p. 312.

Mùr Bheura, Tiomban, Sealg na Cluana, Gleanncruadhach, Uirnigh Oisein, Earragan, (resembling Macpherson's Battle of Lora,) Manus, Maire Borb, (Maid of Craca,) Cath Sisear, Sliabh nam Beann Sionn, Bas Dheirg, Bas Chuinn, Righ Liur, Sealg na Leana, Dun an Oir, An Cu dubh, Gleann Diamhair, Conal, Bas Chiuinlaich Diarmad, Carril, Bas Ghuill (different from the Death of Gaul published by Dr Smith,) Garaibh, Bas Oscair, (part of which is the same narrative with the opening of Macpherson's *Temora,*) in three parts; Tuiridh nam Fian, and Bas Osein. To each of these poems Kennedy has prefixed a dissertation containing some account of the *Sgealachd,* story, or argument of the poem which is to follow. It was very common for the reciter, or *history-man,* as he was termed in the Highlands, to repeat the Sgealachds to his hearers before reciting the poems to which they related. Several of the poems in this collection correspond pretty nearly with the ancient MS. above mentioned, which belonged to the dean of Lismore.*

26. A paper, medical, MS. in the old Gaelic character, a thick volume, written by Angus Conacher at Ardconel, Lochow-side, Argyleshire, 1612, presented to the Highland Society of Scotland by the late William Macdonald, Esq. of St Martins, W.S.

27. A beautiful parchment MS., greatly mutilated, in the same character, presented to the society by the late Lord Bannatyne, one of the judges of the Court of Session. The supposed date upon the cover is 1238, is written in black letter, but it is in a comparatively modern hand. " Gleann Masain an cuige la deag do an . . . Mh : : : do bhliau ar tsaoirse Mile da chead, trichid sa hocht." That is, Glen-Masan, the 15th day of the . . . of M : : : of the year of our Redemption, 1238. It is supposed that the date has been taken from the MS. when in a more entire state. Glenmasan, where it was written, is a valley in the district of Cowal. From a note on the margin of the 15th leaf, it would appear to have formerly belonged to the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan and Dalavich, and a native of Cowal, and to whom Dr D. Smith supposes it may, perhaps, have descended from his grand-uncle, Mr Robert Campbell, in Cowal, an accomplished scholar and poet, who wrote the eighth address prefixed to Lhuyd's Archæologia.

The MS. consists of some mutilated tales in prose, interspersed with verse, one of which is part of the poem of " Clan Uisneachan," called by Macpherson *Darthula,* from the lady who makes the principal figure in it. The name of this lady in Gaelic is Deirdir, or Dearduil. A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the appendix to the Highland society's Report on Ossian. Plate iii. No. 4.

28. A paper MS. in the same character, consisting of an ancient tale in prose, presented to the society by Mr Norman Macleod, son of the Rev. Mr Macleod, of Morven.

29. A small paper MS. in the same character, on religion.

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* Report on Ossian, pp. 108–9.

30. A paper MS. in the same character, presented to the Highland Society by James Grant, Esquire of Corymony. It consists of the history of the wars of Cuchullin, in prose and verse. This MS. is much worn at the ends and edges. It formerly belonged to Mr Grant's mother, said to have been an excellent Gaelic scholar.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. WHICH BELONGED TO THE LATE MAJOR MACLAUCHLAN OF KILBRIDE, BESIDES THE FIVE FIRST ENUMERATED IN THE FOREGOING LIST, AND WHICH, IT IS BELIEVED, ARE STILL IN THE HANDS OF HIS REPRESENTATIVES.

1. A beautiful medical MS. with the other MSS. formerly belonging to the collection. The title of the different articles are in Latin, as are all the medical Gaelic MSS., being translations from Galen and other ancient physicians. The capital letters are flourished and painted red.

2. A thick folio paper MS., medical, written by Duncan Conacher, at Dunollie, Argyleshire, 1511.

3. A folio parchment MS. consisting of ancient Scottish and Irish history, very old.

4. A folio parchment medical MS. beautifully written. It is older than the other medical MSS.

5. A folio parchment medical MS. of equal beauty with the last.

6. A folio parchment MS. upon the same subject, and nearly of the same age with the former.

7. A folio parchment, partly religious, partly medical.

8. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the Histories of Scotland and Ireland, much damaged.

9. A folio parchment medical MS., very old.

10. A folio parchment MS. Irish history and poetry.

11. A quarto parchment MS., very old.

12. A long duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of hymns and maxims. It is a very beautiful MS. and may be as old as the time of St Columba.

13. A duodecimo parchment MS. much damaged and illegible.

14. A duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of poetry, but not Ossianic. Hardly legible.

15. A duodecimo parchment MS. much injured by vermin. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of history and poetry.

16. A duodecimo parchment MS. in large beautiful letter, very old and difficult to be understood.

17. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the genealogies of the Macdonalds, Macniels, Macdougals, Maclauchlans, &c.

All these MSS. are written in the old Gaelic character, and with the exception of No. 2., have neither date nor name attached to them.

Besides those enumerated, there are, it is believed, many ancient Gaelic MSS. existing in private libraries. The following are known:

A Deed of Fosterage between Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, and John Mackenzie, executed in the year 1640. This circumstance shows that the Gaelic language was in use in legal obligations at that period, in the Highlands. This MS. was in the possession of the late Lord Bannatyne.

A variety of parchment MSS. on medicine, in the Gaelic character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Donald Smith. He was also possessed of a complete copy of the Emanuel MS. before mentioned, and of copies of many other MSS., which he made at different times from other MSS.

Two paper MS. Gaelic grammars, in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Wright of Edinburgh.

Two ancient parchment MSS. in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Rev. James Maclagan, at Blair-Athole. Subject unknown.

A paper MS. written in the Roman character, in the possession of Mr Mathison of Feernaig, Ross-shire. It is dated in 1688, and consists of songs and hymns by different persons, some by Carswell, bishop of the isles.

A paper MS. formerly in the possession of a Mr Simpson in Leith.

The Lillium Medecinæ, a paper folio MS. written and translated by one of the Bethunes, the physicians of Skye, at the foot of Mount Peliop. It was given to the Antiquarian Society of London by the late Dr Macqueen of Kilmore, in Skye.

Two treatises, one on astronomy, the other on medicine, written in the latter end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, formerly in the possession of Mr Astle.

GAELIC AND IRISH MSS. IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY.

Three volumes MS. in the old character, chiefly medical, with some fragments of Scottish and Irish history; and the life of St Columba, said to have been translated from the Latin into Gaelic, by Father Calohoran.

IN THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

A MS. volume (No. 5280) containing twenty-one Gaelic or Irish treatises, of which Mr Astle has given some account. One of these treats of the Irish militia, under Fion Maccumhail, in the reign of Cormac-Mac-Airt, king of Ireland, and of the course of probation or exercise which each soldier was to go through before his admission therein. Mr Astle has given a *fac simile* of the writing, being the thirteenth specimen of Plate xxii.

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

An old Irish MS. on parchment, containing, among other tracts, An account of the Conquest of Britain by the Romans:—Of the Saxon

Conquest and their Heptarchy :—An account of the Irish Saints, in verse, written in the tenth century :—The Saints of the Roman Breviary: —An account of the conversion of the Irish and English to Christianity, with some other subjects. Laud. F. 92. This book, as is common in old Irish manuscripts, has here and there some Latin notes intermixed with Irish, and may possibly contain some hints of the doctrines of the Druids.

An old vellum MS. of 140 pages, in the form of a music book, containing the works of St Columba, in verse, with some account of his own life ; his exhortations to princes and his prophecies. Laud. D. 17.

A chronological history of Ireland, by Jeffrey Keating, D.D.

Among the Clarendon MSS. at Oxford, are—

Annales Ultonienses, sic dicti quod precipué contineant res gestas Ultoniensium. Codex antiquissimus caractere Hibernico scriptus ; sed sermone, partim Hibernico, partim Latino. Fol membr. The 16th and 17th specimens in Plate xxii. of Astle's work, are taken from this MS. which is numbered 31 of Dr Rawlinson's MSS.

Annales Tigernaci, (Erenaci, ut opiniatur Warœus Clonmanaisensis. Vid. Annal. Ulton. ad an. 1088), mutili in initio et alibi. Liber charactere et lingua Hibernicis scriptus. Memb.

These annals, which are written in the old Irish character, were originally collected by Sir James Ware, and came into the possession successively of the earl of Clarendon, the duke of Chandos, and of Dr Rawlinson.

Miscellanea de Rebus Hibernicis, metricè. Lingua partim Latina, partim Hibernica; collecta per Œngusium O'Colode (fortè Colidium). Hic liber vulgò Psalter Narran appellatur.

Elegiæ Hibernicæ in Obitus quorundam Nobilium fo. 50.

Notæ quædam Philosophicæ, partim Latiné, partim Hiberniceé, Characteribus Hibernicis, fo. 69. Membr.

Anonymi cujusdàm Tractatus de varies apud Hibernos veteres occultis scribendi Formulis, Hibernicé Ogum dictis.

Finleachi O Catalai Gigantomachia (vel potiùs Acta Finni Mac Cuil, cum Prœlio de Fintra,) Hibernicé. Colloquia quædam de Rebus Hibernicis in quibus colloquentes introducuntur S. Patricius, Coillius, et Ossenus Hibernicé f. 12. Leges Ecclesiasticæ Hibernicé f. 53. Membr.

Vitæ Sanctorum Hibernicorum, per Magnum sive Manum, filium Hugonis O'Donnel, Hibernigé descriptæ. An. 1532, Fol. Membr.

Calieni Prophetiæ, in Lingua Hibernica. Ejusdem libri exemplar extat in Bibl. Cotton, f. 22. b.

Extracto ex Libro Killensi, Lingua Hibernica, f. 39.

Historica quædam, Hibernicé, ab An. 1309 ad An. 1317, f. 231.

A Book of Irish Poetry, f. 16.

Tractatus de Scriptoribus Hibernicis.

Dr Keating's History of Ireland.

Irish MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin :—

Extracto ex Libro de Kells Hibernicé.

A book in Irish, treating,—1. Of the Building of Babel. 2. Of Grammar. 3. Of Physic. 4. Of Chirurgery. Fol. D. 10.

A book containing several ancient historical matters, especially of the coming of Milesius out of Spain. B. 35.

The book of Balimor, containing,—1. The Genealogies of all the ancient Families in Ireland. 2. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 3. The Ogma, or Art of Writing in characters. 4. The History of the Wars of Troy, with other historical matters contained in the book of Lecane, D. 18. The book of Lecane, alias Sligo, contains the following treatises:—1. A treatise of Ireland and its divisions into provinces, with the history of the Irish kings and sovereigns, answerable to the general history; but nine leaves are wanting. 2. How the race of Milesius came into Ireland, and of their adventures since Moses's passing through the Red Sea. 3. Of the descent and years of the ancient fathers. 4. A catalogue of the kings of Ireland in verse. 5. The maternal genealogies and degrees of the Irish saints. 6. The genealogies of our Lady, Joseph, and several other saints mentioned in the Scripture. 7. An alphabetic catalogue of Irish saints. 8. The sacred antiquity of the Irish saints in verse. 9. Cormac's life. 10. Several transactions of the monarchs of Ireland and their provincial kings. 11. The history of Eogain M'or, Knight; as also of his children and posterity. 12. O'Neil's pedigree. 13. Several battles of the Sept of Cinet Ogen, or tribe of Owen, from Owen Mac Neile Mac Donnoch. 14. Manne, the son of King Neal, of the nine hostages and his family. 15. Fiacha, the son of Mac Neil and his Sept. 16. Leogarius, son of Nelus Magnus, and his tribe. 17. The Connaught book. 18. The book of Fiatrach. 19. The book of Uriel. 20. The Leinster book. 21. The descent of the Fochards, or the Nolans. 22. The descent of those of Leix, or the O'Mores. 23. The descent of Decyes of Munster, or the Ophelans. 24. The coming of Muscrey to Moybreagh. 25. A commentary upon the antiquity of Albany, now called Scotland. 26. The descent of some Septs of the Irish, different from those of the most known sort, that is, of the posterity of Lugadh Frith. 27. The Ulster book. 28. The British book. 29. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 30. The genealogies of St Patrick and other saints, as also an etymology of the hard words in the said treatise. 31. A treatise of several prophecies. 32. The laws, customs, exploits, and tributes of the Irish kings and provincials. 33. A treatise of Eva, and the famous women of ancient times. 34. A poem that treats of Adam and his posterity. 35. The Munster book. 36. A book containing the etymology of all the names of the chief territories and notable places in Ireland. 37. Of the several invasions of Clan-Partholan, Clan-nanvies, Firbolhg, Tu'atha de Danaan, and the Milesians into Ireland. 38. A treatise of the most considerable men in Ireland, from the time of Leogarius the son of Nelus Magnus, alias Neale of the nine hostages in the time of Roderic O'Conner, monarch of Ireland, fol. parchment, D. 19.

De Chirurgia. De Infirmitatibus Corporis humane, Hibernicé. f. Membr. C. 1.

Excerpta quædam de antiquitatibus Incolarum, Dublin ex libris Bellemorensi et Sligantino, Hibernicé.

Hymni in laudem B. Patricii, Brigidæ et Columbiæ, Hibern. plerumque. Invocationes Apostolorum et SS. cum not. Hibern. interlin. et margin. Orationes quædam excerptæ ex Psalmis; partim Latiné, partim Hibernicé, fol. Membr. I. 125.

Opera Galeni et Hippocratis de Chirurgia, Hibernicé, fol. Membr. C. 29.

A book of Postils in Irish, fol. Membr. D. 24.

Certain prayers, with the argument of the four Gospels and the Acts, in Irish, (10.) 'Fiechi Slebthiensis, Hymnus in laudem S. Patricii, Hibernicé, (12.) A hymn on St Bridget, in Irish, made by Columkill in the time of Eda Mac Ainmireck, cum Regibus Hibern. et success. S. Patricii (14.) Sanctani Hymnus. Hibern.

Reverendissimi D. Bedelli Translatio Hibernica S. Bibliorum.

REFERENCES

TO THE

MAP OF THE CLANS.

No.
1. Sinclairs.
2. Mackays.
3. Sutherlands, including the Gunns, or Clan-Guinn
4. Rosses; formerly, when the chiefs of this clan were Earls of Ross, they possessed a large portion of the county.
5. Munroes.
6. Mackenzies, including their ancient followers, the Macraes, Maclennans, &c.
7. Macleods This clan formerly possessed the Island of Lewis, and the district of Assynt, in the county of Ross.
8. Macdonalds of Sleate.
9. Mackinnons.
10. Macdonnells of Glengarry.
11. Macdonald of Clanronald.*
12. Camerons.
13. Macdonells of Keppoch.
14. Macphersons.
15. Frasers.
16. Grant of Glenmoriston.
17. Chisholms.
18. Mackintoshes, including the Macgillivrays, Macbeans, and Macqueens.
19. Grants of Grant.
20. Gordons. In Glenlivet, and in the Braes of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, the Gordons, Stewarts, and Forbeses, are so intermixed, that their lands cannot be separately classed.
21. Farquharsons.
22. Stewarts of Athole, including the Robertsons, Fergusons, Rattrays, Spaldings: also the Stewarts of Grandtully.
23. Robertsons.

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* Although the chieftains of Macdonald are separately numbered, agreeably to President Forbes's Memorial, they form only one clan. The branches of the Stewart family are likewise numbered separately, although they are but one clan. This applies to other clans when the name is repeated.

No.

24. MENZIES. It has been mentioned that Glenquaich, and other parts of the estate of Breadalbane, were the property of this clan. They have also been for a long period superiors of part of Glenlyon. The MACDIARMIDS in the latter glen are considered one of the most ancient names in the Highlands.
25. MACNABS.
26. MACGREGORS. This clan was once numerous in Balquhidder and Monteith, also in Glenorchy, and they are still in great numbers in the district of Fearnan, on the north side of Loch Tay,—on the south side of Glenlyon,—in Fortingal,—and on the north side of Loch Rannoch.
27. In Monteith and Strathearn, the GRAHAMS, STEWARTS, and DRUMMONDS, are intermixed in the same manner as the landholders and tenants in the Braes of Banff and Aberdeen.
28. BUCHANANS. The lands of this clan formerly extended eastward to Kippen, in Stirlingshire.
29. MACFARLANES.
30. COLQUHOUNS.
31. STUARTS of Bute.
32. LAMONTS. This family formerly held considerable superiorities in Knapdale and Cowal.
33. MACLACHLANS. The superiorities of this clan were also more extensive
34. MACNAUGHTONS.
35. CAMPBELLS. The property of the chief, chieftains, and gentlemen of this clan, extends from the south point of Kintyre, in Argyleshire, to the district of Grandtully, in Perthshire, two miles below Tay-bridge. The LAMONTS, MACLACHLANS, MACNABS, and others, are occasionally intermixed, but their lands bear a small proportion to the great tract of country possessed or occupied by the clan CAMPBELL. The extent of the Marquis of Breadalbane's property will be seen by glancing over the Map, from the Island of Eisdale, in Argyleshire, to Grandtully castle.
36. MACDOUGALLS. The lands occupied by this clan are so scattered, that, except the estate of the chief, and two others in his immediate neighbourhood, they cannot be distinguished. The MACDOUGALLS once possessed the whole of the district of Lorn. These countries were afterwards transferred to the Stewart family, and from them by marriage, to the CAMPBELLS.
37. MACDONALDS of Glenco
38. STEWARTS of Appin.
39. MACLEANS, including the MACQUARRIES. Morven on the Mainland, and part of the Isle of Mull, now the property of the Duke of Argyle, was formerly the inheritance of this clan.
40. MACNEILS of Barra.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS; ROMAN PERIOD.

Of the Aboriginal Tribes of North Britain at the period of Agricola's invasion—Their names and topographical positions—State of civilization—Religion—Modes of sepulture—Barrows, Cairns, Cistvaens and Urns—War weapons—Canoes and Curachs—Invasion and Campaigns of Agricola—Battle of the Grampians—Recal and death of Agricola—Succeeded by Lollius Urbicus—Wall of Antoninus—Roman Iter through the North—Roman highways, and stations or forts—Campaign of Severus—The Picts, Scots, and Attacots—Roman abdication of North Britain.

When Agricola invaded North Britain in the year eighty-one of the Christian era, it appears to have been possessed by twenty-one tribes of aboriginal Britons, having little or no political connexion with one another, although evidently the same people in origin, speaking the same language, and following the same customs. The topographical position of these Caledonian tribes or clans at the epoch in question, may be thus stated:

First, The *Ottadini* or *Otadeni*, occupied the south-east boundary of North Britain, extending along the whole line of coast from the southern Tyne to the Frith of Forth, and including the half of Northumberland, the eastern part of Roxburghshire, the whole of Berwickshire and of East Lothian. They had two towns, both south of the Tweed, called *Curia*,* supposed to have been situated in Roxburghshire, and *Bremenium*, understood to be *Rochester* on Reedwater in Northumberland. The latter was the chief town. Antiquaries conclude that this tribe derives its name from the river Tyne, which formed their boundary on the south, because the name in British denotes the people living beyond or out from the Tyne.

Second, The *Gadeni* inhabited the interior country on the west of the *Ottadini* including the western part of Northumberland; a small part of Cumberland, lying to the north of Irthing river; the western part of Roxburghshire, the whole of Selkirk, Tweeddale; a considerable part of Mid-Lothian, and nearly all West Lothian. Their possessions thus extended from the Tyne on the south, to the Frith of Forth on the north; and *Curia* on the Gore water was their capital. Conjecture derives the name of this tribe from the groves with which their country abounded.

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* The names of the towns, and of the different tribes are taken from the maps of Ptolemy, and Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century.

Third, The *Selgovæ* inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale in Dumfries-shire; and the eastern part of Galloway to the river Deva, or Dee, their western boundary. To the south they were bounded by the Solway Frith, or *Ituna Æstuarium.* Ptolemy mentions their having four towns in their territories, namely, *Carbantorigum*, supposed to be Kircudbright; *Uxellum*, believed to be Castle Over; *Corda*, the site of which cannot be fixed; and *Trimontium* said to have lain near the Eildon Hills. The name *Selogovæ* is supposed to be descriptive of the country inhabited by this tribe, which was much divided by water.

Fourth, The *Novantæ* possessed the middle and western parts of Galloway from the Dee on the east, to the Irish sea on the west; on the south they were bounded by the Solway Frith and the Irish sea, and on the north by the chain of hills which separates Galloway from Carrick. They had two towns, the principal, *Leucopibia* or *Candida Casa*, on the site of the present Whithorn, and *Rerigonium* now Stranraer, on the bank of the *Rerigonius Sinus*, now Loch Ryan. The name of this tribe is said to have arisen from the nature of their country, which abounded with streams.

Fifth, The *Damnii*, the most important of the southern tribes, inhabited the whole extent of country from the ridge of hills between Galloway and Ayrshire on the south, to the river Ern on the north. They possessed all Strathclyde, the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, and a small part of the shires of Dumbarton and Perth. According to Ptolemy the Damnii had six towns, namely, *Vanduaria*, at Paisley; *Colania*, supposed to be Lanark; *Coria*, at Carstairs in Eastern Clydesdale; *Alauna* on the river Allan, believed to be Kier near Stirling; *Lindum* near Ardoch; and *Victoria*, at Dealginross on the Ruchil water.

Sixth, The *Horestii* inhabited the country between the *Bodotria* or Forth, on the south, and the *Tarvus* or Tay on the north, comprehending the shires of Clackmannan, Kinross and Fife, with the eastern part of Strathern, and the country westward of the Tay as far as the river Brann.

Seventh, The *Venricones* possessed the territory between the Tay on the south, and the Carron on the north, comprehending Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle in Perthshire; with the whole of Angus, and the larger part of Kincardineshire. Their chief town was *Orrea* on the Tay. This and the last mentioned tribe were afterwards named *Vecturiones* by the Romans.

Eighth, The *Taixali* inhabited the northern part of the Mearns, and the whole of Aberdeenshire, as far as the Doveran. The promontory of Kinnaird's head, the *Taixalorum promontorium* of the Romans, was included in this district. *Devana*, on the northern side of the Dee, six miles above its influx into the sea, was their principal town, which stood on the site of *Normandykes* of the present day.

Ninth, The *Vacomagi* inhabited the country on the southern side of the Moray Frith from the Doveran on the east, to the Ness on the west, comprehending the shires of Banff, Elgin, Nairn, the eastern part of Inverness, and Braemar in Aberdeenshire. Their towns were the *Ptoroton* of Richard, the *Alata Castra* of Ptolemy, at the mouth of the *Varar*, where the present Burghead runs into the Moray Frith ; *Tuessis* on the eastern bank of the Spey ; and *Tamea* and *Banatia* in the interior country.

Tenth, The *Albani*, afterwards called *Damnii-Albani*, on their subjection to the *Damnii*, possessed the interior districts between the lower ridge of the Grampians which skirts the southern side of the loch and river Tay, on the south, and the chain of mountains which forms the southern limit of Inverness-shire on the north. These districts comprehended Braidalbane, Athole, a small part of Lochaber, with Appin and Glenorchy in Upper Lorn. The *Albani* were so called because they possessed a high and mountainous country.

Eleventh, The *Attacotti* inhabited the whole country from Loch Fyne on the west to the eastward of the river Leven and Loch-Lomond, comprehending the whole of Cowal in Argyleshire, and the greater part of Dumbartonshire. The British word *Eithacoeti*, which signifies men dwelling along the extremity of the wood, appears to indicate the derivation of the name of this tribe.

Twelfth, The *Caledonii* proper inhabited the whole of the interior country from the ridge of mountains which separates Inverness and Perth, on the south, to the range of hills which forms the forest of Balnagowan in Ross on the north ; comprehending all the middle parts of Inverness and of Ross. This territory formed a considerable part of the extensive forest which in early ages, spread over the interior and western parts of the country, on the northern side of the Forth and Clyde, and to which the British colonists, according to Chalmers, gave the descriptive appellation of Celyddon, signifying literally the *coverts*, and generally denoting a *woody* region. It was on this account that the large tribe in question were called *Celyddoni*, a name afterwards latinized into the more classical appellation of *Caledonii*. The descriptive name, *Celyddon*, restricted originally to the territory described, was afterwards extended to the whole country on the northern side of the Forth and Clyde, under the latinized appellation of *Caledonia*.

Thirteenth, The *Cantæ* possessed the east of Ross-shire from the æstuary of Varar or the Moray Frith on the south to the *Abona*, or Dornoch Frith on the north ; having *Loxa* or Cromarty Frith which indented their country in the centre, and a ridge of hills, *Uxellum montes*, on the west. This ridge, of which Ben-nevis, one of the highest mountains in Great Britain, is the prominent summit, gradually declines towards the north-east, and terminates in a promontory, called *Pen Uxellum*, the Tarbetness of modern times. The term *Cantæ*, the name of this tribe, is derived from *Caint*, a British word meaning an *open* country, which the district in question certainly was, when compared with the mountainous interior and the western districts.

Fourteenth, The *Logi* possessed the south-eastern coast of Sutherland, extending from the *Abona*, or Dornoch Frith, on the south-west, to the river *Ila* on the east. This river is supposed to be the Helmsdale river of the Scandinavian intruders, called by the Celtic inhabitants Avon-*Uile*, or Avon-*Iligh*, the floody water. It is conjectured that this tribe derived its name from the British word *Lygi*, which is applicable to a people living on the shore.

Fifteenth, The *Carnabii* inhabited the south, the east, and north-east of Caithness from the Ila river; comprehending the three great promontories of *Virubium* or Noss-Head, *Virvedrum*, or Duncansby-Head, and *Turvedrum* or the *Orcas promontorium*, the Dunnet-Head of the present times. The *Carnabii* of Caithness, like those of Cornwall, derived their appellation from their residence on remarkable promontories.

Sixteenth, The *Catini*, a small tribe, inhabited the north-western corner of Caithness, and the eastern half of Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire; having the river *Naver*, the *Navari fluvius* of Ptolemy, for their western boundary. Various conjectures are hazarded as to the derivation of the name of this tribe. Chalmers thinks that it is taken from the name of the British weapon called the *Cat* or *Catai*, with which they fought; but Sir Robert Gordon supposes it to be derived from the Catti of Germany, who are said to have settled in Caithness at an early period. Others again say that the tribe derived its name from *Cattey*, an appellation given to the country which they possessed on account of its being infested with a prodigious number of cats. But be that as it may, the Gaelic people of Caithness and Sunderland are, according to Chalmers, ambitious even at this day, of deriving their distant origin from those Catini, or Catai of British times.

Seventeenth, The *Mertæ* occupied the interior of Sutherland; and this is all that we know of them.

Eighteenth, The *Carnonacæ* inhabited the northern and western coast of Sutherland, and a small part of the western shore of Ross, from the Naver on the east, round to the *Volsas* bay, on the south-west. A river called *Straba* falls into the sea in this district on the west of the Naver, and the headland at the burn is named *Ebudium promontorium*.

Nineteenth, The *Creones* inhabited the western coast of Ross from *Volsas-sinus* on the north to the *Itys* or Lochduich on the south. They are said to have derived their name from their *fierceness*, Crewon or Creuonwys signifying in British, "men of blood."

Twentieth, The *Cerones* inhabited the whole western coast of Inverness, and the countries of Ardnamurchan, Morvern, Sunart, and Ardgowar in Argyleshire, having the *Itys* or Lochduich on the north, and the *Longus* or Linne-Loch on the south.

Twenty-first, The *Epidii* inhabited the south-west of Argyleshire from Linne-Loch on the north, to the Frith of Clyde and the Irish sea on the south, including Cantyre, the point of which was called the Epidian promontory, now named the Mull of Cantyre; and they were bounded on the east by the country of the Albani, and the *Lelanonius Sinus* or the Lochfine of the present day. The name of this tribe is derived from the British *Ebyd*, a peninsula, as they chiefly inhabited the promontory of Cantyre.

Such, according to the most authentic accounts that can be obtained, were the names and topographical positions of the twenty-one tribes which at the time of the Roman invasion occupied the whole of North Britain; a country at that time without agriculture, studded with bogs and covered with woods almost in the state in which it had been formed by nature.

We have enumerated the whole of the North British tribes in order to make our narrative the more intelligible; but our researches and details, except where the subject shall render reference to all of them necessary, shall be confined to the thirteen last mentioned, inhabiting the tract of country known by the name of the Highlands of Scotland. This celebrated territory is separated from the lowlands of Scotland by the Grampians, a lofty chain of mountains running diagonally across the kingdom, from the north of the river Don in Aberdeenshire, and terminating beyond Ardmore in Dumbartonshire. The range in question, which consists of rocks of primitive formation, appears at a distance to be uninterrupted; but it is broken by straths and glens. The principal straths are on the rivers Leven, Ern, Tay, and Dee; but besides these there are many glens and vallies called Passes, which, till a very late period, were almost impassable. The chief of these Passes are Bealmacha upon Loch-Lomond; Aberfoyle and Leny in Monteith; the Pass of Glenalmond above Crieff; the entrance into Athole at Dunkeld; and those formed by the rivers Ardle, Islay, and South and North Esk. Immediately within the external boundary of the chain there are also many strong and defensible passes, as Killikrankie, the entrances into Glenlyon, Glenlochy, Glenogle, &c. The principal mountains of the range are Benlomond, Benlawers, and Shichallain. This line of demarcation between the Highlands and Lowlands has kept the inhabitants of these two divisions of Scotland so distinct "that for seven centuries," as General Stewart observes, "Birnam Hill at the entrance into Athole, has formed the boundary between the Lowlands and Highlands, and between the Saxon and Gaelic languages. On the southern and eastern sides of the hill, breeches are worn, and the Scotch lowland dialect spoken, with as broad an accent as in Mid-Lothian. On the northern and western sides are found the Gaelic, the kilt and the plaid, with all the peculiarities of the Highland character. The Gaelic is universal, as the common dialect in use among the people on the Highland side of the boundary. This applies to the whole range of the Grampians; as, for example, at General Campbell of Monzie's gate, nothing but Scotch is spoken, while at less than a mile distant on the hill to the northward, we meet with Gaelic."

The space which the thirteen last mentioned tribes occupied within the mountains comprehended, as we have seen, part of the counties of

Dumbarton, Stirling, Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, and the whole counties of Argyle, Bute, Inverness, Nairn, Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland and Caithness, and the Hebrides. This boundary may be defined by a line commencing at Ardmore in Dumbartonshire, running along the southern verge of the Grampians to Aberdeenshire, and from thence through Banff and Elgin to the sea shore, cutting off the lowland portions in these three districts. This line then skirts the shores of the Moray Frith till it reaches the north-eastern point of Caithness at the eastern opening of the Pentland Frith; then proceeds along the southern side of that Frith sweeping round St. Kilda so as to include the whole cluster of islands to the east and south as far as Arran; and then stretching to the Mull of Cantyre it re-enters the mainland and ends at Ardmore in Dumbartonshire.

The maritime outline of this boundary, particularly on the north and west, is remarkably bold and rocky, and the mainland is deeply indented by bays and arms of the sea. The interior of the country within the Grampian range is grand and picturesque. Lofty mountains whose summits are seldom to be distinguished from the mists or clouds which envelope them, steep and tremendous precipices, and glens watered by mountain streams or diversified by winding lakes, and occasional sprinklings of beautiful woods, impress the mind of the traveller with just ideas of the sublime and beautiful as displayed by the hand of nature in that romantic and poetical region. But no where is the wild and magnificent scenery of the Highlands seen to greater advantage than from the summits of Benlomond, Benlawers and the other elevated points of the Grampians. These mountains like the rest are often either covered with clouds or skirted with mists. Of a bleak and barren aspect, and furrowed by channels deep and rocky, their summits present scarcely any appearances of vegetation, but a thin covering of stunted heath, the residence only of birds of prey or of the white hare and ptarmigan, is to be found a little lower down. Below this inhospitable region the mountain deer and moor-fowl have fixed their abode among more luxuriant heath, interspersed with nourishing pasture on which feed numerous flocks of sheep. The romantic glens at the base of these mountains are well peopled, and contain a vast number of flocks and herds which form the staple wealth of the country.

Although the people of Caledonia were certainly in a higher state of civilization than that described by Dio and afterwards by Herodian, it must be admitted that they knew little of the arts of social life and had advanced but few stages beyond the savage state. Their division into tribes or clans engendered a spirit of reciprocal hostility which prevented any political union or amalgamation of their common interests; and it was only when a foreign foe threatened their existence that a sense of danger forced them to unite for a time under the military authority of a Pendragon or chief elected by common consent. Their subjugation therefore by the Romans under Agricola, as far as that victorious commander pushed his conquests, is not to be wondered at. The disunion of the British tribes as favouring the Roman arms is indeed acknowledged by Tacitus. "There was one thing," says that historian, "which gave us an advantage over these powerful nations, that they never consulted together for the advantage of the whole. It was rare that even two or three of them united against the common enemy.' A people so unhappily circumstanced could neither appreciate the blessings of peace nor have any desire to enjoy them. Hence they carried on a predatory system of warfare, congenial to their rude state of existence, which retarded their advancement in civilization. Their whole means of subsistence consisted in the milk and flesh of their flocks and the produce of the chace. The piscatory treasures with which the rivers and waters of Caledonia abound appear to have been but little known to them; a thing not to be wondered at when it is considered that the druidical superstition proscribed the use of fish. Their dislike to this species of food continued long after the system of the Druids had disappeared; and they did not abandon this prejudice till the light of Christianity was diffused among them. They lived in a state almost approaching to nudity; but whether from necessity or from choice cannot be satisfactorily determined. Dio indeed represents the Caledonians as being naked, but Herodian speaks of them as wearing a partial covering. Their towns, which were very few, consisted of huts covered with turf or skins, and built without order or regularity or any distinction of streets. For better security they were erected in the centre of some wood or morass, the avenues leading to which were defended with ramparts of earth and felled trees. The following is the description of a British Town as given by Cæsar: "What the Britons call a town is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a vallum and ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursions of an enemy; for, when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle."* Notwithstanding the scantiness of their covering, which left their bodies exposed to the rigours of a cold and variable climate, the Caledonians were a remarkably hardy race, capable of enduring fatigue, cold, and hunger to an extent which their descendants of the present day could not encounter without the risk of life. They were decidedly a warlike people, and are said to have been addicted, like the heroes of more ancient times, to robbery. The weapons of their warfare consisted of small spears, long broadswords, and hand daggers; and they defended their bodies in combat by a small target or shield,—all much of the same form and construction as those afterwards used by their posterity in more modern times. The use of cavalry appears not to have been so well understood among the Caledonians as among the more southern tribes; but in battle they often made use of cars, or chariots, which were drawn by horses of a small, swift, and spirited description; and it is conjectured that, like those used by the southern Britons, they had iron scythes projecting from the axle. It is impossible to say what form of government obtained among these warlike tribes. When history is silent historians should either maintain a cautious reserve or be sparing in their conjectures; but analogy may supply materials for well grounded speculations, and it may therefore be asserted, without any great stretch of imagination, that, like most of the other uncivilized tribes we read of in history, the Northern Britons or Caledonians, were under the government of a leader or chief to whom they yielded a certain degree of obedience. Dio indeed insinuates that the governments of these tribes were democratic; but he should have been aware that it is only when bodies of men assume, in an advanced stage of civilization, a compact and united form that democracy can prevail; and the state of barbarism in which he says the inhabitants of North Britain existed at the period in question seems to exclude such a supposition. The conjecture of Chalmers that, like the American tribes, they were governed under the aristocratic sway of the old men rather than the coercion of legal authority, is more probable than that of Dio and approximates more to the opinion we have ventured to express.

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* Bello Gall. ii. c. 17.

It is remarked by Plutarch that in his time it would have been easier to have found cities without walls, houses, kings, laws, coins, schools and theatres than without temples and sacrifices. The observation is just; for all the migratory tribes which spread themselves over the globe after the dispersion of the human race carried along with them some recollections of religion. Accordingly the aboriginal inhabitants of Northern Britain brought from the east a system of religion, modified and altered no doubt by circumstances in its course through different countries. The prevailing opinion is that *Druidism* was the religion followed by all the Celtic colonies; and in proof of this, reference has been made to a variety of druidical monuments abounding in all parts of Britain and particularly in the north. An author, Mr. Pinkerton, whose asperity, to use the words of Dr. Jamieson, "has greatly enfeebled his argument," has attacked this position under the shields of Cæsar and Tacitus; but although his reasoning is powerful and ingenious he appears to have failed in establishing that these monuments are of Gothic origin. As *Druidism* then may be considered as the first religious profession of the ancient Caledonians some account of it, as forming a part of their antiquities, may naturally be expected in this place.

That Druidism may have been corrupted by innovation, and may have appeared in different shapes at various periods and in different countries, is a supposition that admits of no doubt; but there are not sufficient *data* in history to enable the antiquary to trace the various shades of dissimilarity which characterized the system in its gradual advancement from the east through Europe. The obscurity in which this system is enveloped is owing to a principle of the Druids which forbade them to commit any part of their theology to writing. As they had to trust entirely for every thing to memory, the science of mnemonics was cultivated by the youth bred to the Druidical profession, in an extraordinary degree, and many of them spent twenty years in storing their minds with the knowledge necessary for one of their order. Diogenes Laertius divides the tenets of the Druids into four heads. The *first* was, to worship God; the *second*, to abstain from evil; the *third*, to exert courage, and the *fourth*, to believe in the immortality of the soul, for enforcing these virtues. If such were the early tenets of the Druids, they must have sadly degenerated in the course of time; for they are quite incompatible with the gross and revolting practices related of them by more modern writers.

Among the objects of druidical veneration the oak was particularly distinguished; for the Druids imagined that there was a supernatural virtue in the wood, in the leaves, in the fruit, and above all in the *missletoe*. Hence the oak woods were the first places of their devotion; and the offices of their religion were there performed without any covering but the broad canopy of heaven; for it was a peculiar principle of the Druids that no temple or covered building should be erected for public worship. The part appropriated for worship was inclosed in a circle, within which was placed a pillar of stone set up under an oak and sacrifices were offered thereon. The groves, within which the mysteries of the druidical superstition were celebrated, were also appropriated for the instruction of the people and the education of youth, which was under the sole superintendence of the priests. The pillars which mark the sites of these places of worship are still to be seen; and so great is the superstitious veneration paid by the country people to those sacred stones, as they are considered, that few persons have ventured to remove them, even in cases where their removal would be advantageous to the cultivator of the soil.*

Some writers pretend to have discovered in the system of Druidism three distinct orders of priests; the Druids or chief priests, the Vates, and the Bards, who severally performed different functions. The Bards of course sung in heroic verse the brave actions of those of their tribe who had made themselves famous by their warlike exploits; the Vates continually studied and explained the laws and the productions of nature; and the Druids directed the education of youth, officiated in the affairs of religion, and presided in the administration of justice The latter were exempted from serving in war, and from the payment of taxes. The duties above enumerated would seem to imply that the Druids were the only order of priests; and although the Bards and

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* The guildry of Perth, some years ago, proved, that they, at least, were superior to this amiable and, it may be, superstitious affection for the relics of the past. On their property of Craigmakerran stood a circle of stones familiarly known by the name of "Stannin Stanes," as complete and perfect as when the dispensers of fire to the righteous assembled within its sacred inclosure; but they wanted stones to build some offices for one of their tenants; and, as these monolithes lay convenient to their hand, the corporation Goths had them blasted with gunpowder, and thus utterly destroyed one of the noblest monuments "of Britain's elder time."

Vates might eventually rise to the high and honourable dignity of Druids the propriety of writing them down as priests of the second and third order seems very questionable. Besides the immunities before-mentioned enjoyed by the Druids, they also possessed both civil and criminal jurisdiction: they decided all controversies among states as well as among private persons; and whoever refused to submit to their awards was exposed to the most severe penalties. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him; he was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship; he was debarred all intercourse with his fellow-citizens, even in the common affairs of life; his company was universally shunned as profane and dangerous; he was refused the protection of law; and death itself became an acceptible relief from the misery and infamy to which he was exposed.* "Thus," according to Hume, "the bands of government, which were naturally loose among that rude and turbulent people, were happily corroborated by the terrors of their superstition."

As connected in some degree with religion the modes of sepulture among the Pagan people of North Britain come next to be noticed. These have been various in different ages. The original practice of interring the bodies of the dead gradually gave way among the Pagan nations to that of burning the bodies, but the older practice was resumed wherever Christianity obtained a footing. The practice of burning the dead at the time we are treating of was common among the inhabitants of North Britain; but the process of inhumation was not always the same, being attended with more or less ceremony according to the rank of the deceased. Many of the sepulchral remains of our pagan ancestors are still to be seen, and have been distinguished by antiquaries under the appellations of Barrows, Cairns, Cistvaens and Urns.

Among the learned the Barrows and Cairns, when they are of a round shape and covered with green sward, are called *tumuli*, and *hillocks* by the vulgar. These *tumuli* are circular heaps resembling a flat cone and many of them are oblong ridges resembling the hull of a ship with its keel upwards. The most of them are composed of stones, some of them of earth, many of them of a mixture of earth and stones, and a few of them of sand. There is a great distinction however between the Barrow and the Cairn; the first being composed solely of earth, and the last of stones. The cairns are more numerous than the barrows. Some of these cairns are very large, being upwards of 300 feet in circumference and from 30 to 40 feet in height, and the quantity of stones that has been dug from their bowels is almost incredible.

Many of these *tumuli* have been subjected from time to time to the prying eyes of antiquaries; and, as their researches are curious, a short notice of them may be interesting to the general reader. Within several *tumuli* which were opened in the isle of Skye there were discovered stone coffins with urns containing ashes and weapons. In a Barrow which was opened in the isle of Egg, there was found a large urn, containing human bones, and consisting of a large round stone, which had been hollowed, while its top was covered with a thin flag-stone. In a large oblong cairn, about a mile west from Ardoch, in Perthshire, there was found a stone coffin, containing a human skeleton seven feet long. On a moor between the parishes of Kintore and Kinellar in Aberdeenshire, there are several sepulchral cairns, wherein were found a stone chest, containing a ring of a substance, like veined marble, and large enough to take in three fingers; and near this stone chest was discovered an urn, containing human hair. A sepulchral cairn, in Bendochy Parish, in Perthshire, being opened, there were found in it some ashes, and human bones, which had undergone the action of fire; and lower down, in the same cairn, there were discovered two inverted urns, which were large enough to contain thigh and leg bones; and these urns were adorned with rude sculpture, but without inscriptions. In the Beauly Frith, which is on both sides very shallow, there are at a considerable distance within the flood mark, on the coast of Ross-shire several cairns, in one of which urns have been found. From these facts it is evident that the sea has made great encroachments upon the flat shores of this Frith since the epoch of the cairns which are now so far within its dominion. One of these cairns on the south-east of Redcastle stands four hundred yards within the flood mark and is of considerable size. On the south side of the same Frith, at some distance from the mouth of the river Ness, a considerable space within the flood mark, there is a large cairn which is called *Carn-aire*, that is, the *Cairn in the sea*, and to the westward of this, in the same Frith, there are three other cairns at considerable distances from each other, the largest of which is a huge heap of stones, in the middle of the Frith, and is accessible, at low water, and appears to have been a sepulchral cairn from the urns which are found in it.

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* The *aquæ et ignis interdictio* of the Roman law, and the letters of intercommuning anciently familiar to, but now, happily, unknown in the municipal jurisprudence of our native country were punishments evidently traceable to the Druidical times.

The *Cistvaen*, which, in the British language, signifies literally a stone chest, from *Cist*, a chest, and *maen* changing in composition to *vaen* a stone, was another mode of interment among the ancient inhabitants of our island. Sometimes the *Cistvaen* contained the urn within which were deposited the ashes of the deceased; yet it often contained the ashes and bones without an urn. But urns of different sizes and shape have been found without cistvaens; a circumstance which may be owing to the fashion of different ages and to the rank of the deceased.

The same observation may be made with respect to urns which have been found generally in *tumuli*, but often below the surface where there had been no hillock: they were usually composed of pottery, and sometimes of stone, and were of different shapes, and variously ornamented according to the taste of the times and the ability of the parties. Besides the varieties already noticed in the modes of sepulture in South and North Britain there were others not yet noticed. In both ends o the island sepulchral *tumuli* have been found in close connexion with the Druidical Circles. At Achencorthie, the field of the circles, there are the remains of a Druidical temple which was composed of three concentric circles; and there has been dug up between the two outer circles, a cistvaen about three feet long and one foot and a half wide, wherein there was found an urn containing some ashes. At Barrach in the parish of New Deer, Aberdeenshire, a peasant digging for stones, in a Druidical temple, found, about eighteen inches below the surface, a flat stone lying horizontally; and, on raising it, he discovered an urn, full of human bones, some of which were quite fresh; but on being touched they crumbled into dust. This urn had no bottom but was placed on a flat stone, like that which covered its top; and about a yard from this excavation another urn was found, containing similar remains. These facts demonstrate an intimate connexion between Druidical remains and tumuli, and show that they must have been the handy-work of the same people.

As stone chests and clay urns containing ashes and bones have been frequently dug up about the ancient fortresses, a very close connexion is supposed to have existed between these strengths and the sepulchral *tumuli*. On the eastern side of the British fort at Inchtuthel, there are two sepulchral *tumuli;* and several have also been found on a moor in the parish of Monzie, contiguous to a British fortress: in one of these called *Carn*-Comb-hall, a stone coffin was discovered. It is conjectured that these were the burial places of the chiefs who commanded the Caledonian hill forts in early times.

When such pains were taken to keep alive the recollection of the inglorious dead, it is not to be imagined that the memories of those who fell in battle would be forgotten. Accordingly the fields of ancient conflict are still denoted by sepulchral cairns; and it is even conjectured that the battle at the Grampians has been perpetuated by supulchral *tumuli* raised to the memory of the Caledonians who fell in defence of their country. "On the hill, above the moor of Ardoch (says Gordon Itin. Septen. p. 42) are two great heaps of stones, the one called *Carn-wochel*, the other *Cernlee*. the former is the greatest curiosity of this kind, that I ever met with; the quantity of great rough stones, lying above one another, almost surpasses belief, which made me have the curiosity to measure it; and I found the whole heap to be about one hundred and eighty-two feet in length, thirty in sloping height, and forty five in breadth at the bottom." Some of these cairns which are still to be found in the parish of Libberton near Edinburgh, are known by the name of *Cat-stanes* or *Battle-stanes.* There are single stones also in many parts of North Britain still known by the appropriate name of *Cat-stanes.* The British *Cad* or the Scoto-Irish *Cath*, both of which words signify a battle, is the original derivation of this name.

The next objects of antiquarian notice are the *standing-stones,* so traditionally denominated from their upright position. They are all to be found in their natural shape without any mark from the tool or chisel. Sometimes they appear single and as often in groups of two, three, four or more. These *standing-stones* are supposed to have no connexion wit the Druidical remains, but are thought by some to have been erected in successive ages as memorials to perpetuate certain events which, a the stones are without inscriptions, they have not transmitted to posterity, although such events may be otherwise known in history. In Arran there are two large stone edifices which are quite rude, and several smaller ones; and there are also similar stones in Harris. These standing stones are numerous in Mull, some of which are very large, and are commonly called by the Scoto-Irish inhabitants Carra, a word signifying in their language a stone pillar. These stones in short are to be seen in every part of North Britain as well as in England, Wales, Cornwall and Ireland; but being without inscriptions they " do not," as Chalmers observes, " answer the end either of personal vanity or of national gratitude."

After the aboriginal inhabitants of North Britain had become indigenous to the soil which the bounds set to their farther emigration to the north by the waters of the Atlantic would hasten sooner than in any other country over which the Celtic population spread, it became necessary for them to select strongholds for defending themselves from the attacks of foreign or domestic foes. Hence the origin of the hill-forts and other safeguards of the original people which existed in North Britain at the epoch of the Roman invasion. There were many of these in the south, the description of which do not fall within the design of this work; but the notice to be given of those in the north of Scotland will suffice for a general idea of the whole.

In the parish of Menmuir in Forfarshire, are two well known hill-forts called White Caterthun, standing to the south, and Brown Caterthun, to the northward. The name is derived from the British words, *Cader*, a fortress, a stronghold, and *Dun*, a hill. These are said to be decidedly reckoned amongst the most ancient Caledonian strongholds and to be coeval with what are called British forts. White Caterthun is of uncommon strength: it is of an oval form constructed of a stupendous dike of loose stones, the convexity of which, from the base within to that without is a hundred and twenty-two feet: and on the outside, a hollow, which is made by the disposition of the stones, surrounds the whole. Round the base is a deep ditch; and below, about a hundred yards, are vestiges of another trench that swept round the hill. The area within the stonyhill is flat; the length of the oval is four hundred and thirty-six feet, and the transverse diameter two hundred; near the east side, is the foundation of a rectangular building; and there are also the foundations of other erections, which are circular, and smaller, all which foundations had once their superstructures, the shelters of the possessors of the fort: while there is a hollow, now nearly filled with stones, which it is supposed was once the well of the fort. The other fortress, which is called *Brown* Caterthun, from the colour of the earth, that composes the ramparts is of a circular form, and consists of various concentric dikes.

A British fortress on Barra-hill in Aberdeenshire, similar to those described, deserves notice. It is built in an elliptical form; and the ramparts were partly composed of stones, having a large ditch that occupies the summit of the hill, which as it is about two hundred feet above the vale, overlooks the low ground between it and the mountain of Benachie. It was surrounded by three lines of circumvallation. Facing the west the hill rises very steeply; and the middle line is interrupted by rocks; while the only access to the fort is on the eastern side where the ascent is easy; and at this part the entry to the fort is perfectly obvious. This Caledonian hill-fort is now called by the tradition of the country, *Cummin's Camp*, from the defeat which the Earl of Buchan there sustained, when attacked by the gallant Bruce. The name Barra is derived from Bar which, in the British language as well as in the Scoto-Irish, signifies a *summit* and from Ra, which in the latter denotes a fort, a strength.

On the top of Barry-hill near Alyth in Perthshire which derives its name it is believed from the same etymology, there was a fort of very great strength. The summit of this hill has been levelled into an area of about one hundred and sixty-eight yards in circumference within the rampart. A vast ditch surrounded this fort. The approach to the fort was from the north-east, along the verge of a precipice; and the entrance was secured by a bulwark of stones, the remains of which still exist. Over the ditch, which was ten feet broad, and fourteen feet below the foundation of the wall, a narrow bridge was raised, about eighteen feet long and two feet broad; and this bridge was composed of stones, which had been laid together without much art, and vitrified on all sides, so that the whole mass was firmly cemented. This is the only part of the fortifications which appears to have been intentionally vitrified; for although among the ruins there are several pieces of vitrified stone, it must have been accidental, as these stones are inconsiderable. There seems to be no vestige of a well; but westward beyond the base of the mound and the precipice, there was a deep pond, which has been recently filled up. The tradition of the country, which is probably derived from the fiction of Boyce, relates that this vast strength of Barry-hill was the appropriate prison of Arthur's queen, the well known Guenever, who had been taken prisoner by the Picts. About a quarter of a mile eastward, on the declivity of the hill, there are some remains of another oval fort, which was defended by a strong wall, and a deep ditch. The same tradition relates, with similar appearance of fiction, that there existed a subterraneous communication between these two British forts, on Barry-hill. Within the walls of both fortresses there appear to be the remains of some superstructure, probably the dwellings of those who defended them.

Many forts exist in every district of North Britain of a similar nature and of equal magnitude, several of which exhibit also the remains of the same kind of structures, within the area of each, for the shelter of their inhabitants. There is a fortress of this kind, which commands an extensive view of the lower parts of Braidalbane. On the summit of Dun-Evan in Nairnshire, there is also a similar fortress, consisting of two ramparts, which surround a level space of the same oblong form, with that of Craig-Phadric, though not quite so large. Within the area of Dun-Evan, there are the traces of a well, and the remains of a large mass of building, which once furnished shelter to the defenders of the fort. A similar fort exists in Glenelg in Inverness-shire: a stone rampart surrounds the top of the hill, and in the area there is the vestige of a circular building for the use of the ancient inhabitants.

On the east side of Lochness, stands the fortress of *Dunhar-duil* upon a very high hill of a circular, or rather conical shape the summit of which is only accessible, on the south-east by a narrow ridge, which connects the mount with a hilly chain, that runs up to Stratherric. On every other quarter the ascent is almost perpendicular; and a rapid river winds round the circumference of the base. The summit is surrounded by a very strong wall of dry stones, which was once of great height and thickness. The inclosed area is an oblong square of twenty-five yards long, and fifteen yards broad; it is level and clear of stones, and has on it the remains of a well. Upon a shoulder of this hill, about fifty feet below the summit, there is a druidical temple, consisting of a circle of large stones, firmly fixed in the ground, with a double row of stones, extending from one side as an avenue, or entry to the circle.

From the situation of these hill-forts, as they are called, their relative positions to one another, and the accommodations attached to them, it has been inferred with great plausibility that they were rather constructed for the purpose of protecting the tribes from the attacks of one another, than with the design of defending themselves from an invading enemy. As a corroboration of this view it is observed, that these fortresses are placed upon eminences, in those parts of the country which in the early ages must have been the most habitable and furnished the greatest quantity of subsistence. They frequently appear in groups of three, four or more in the vicinity of each other; and they are so disposed, upon the tops of heights, that sometimes a considerable number may be seen at the same time, one of them being always much larger and stronger than the others, placed in the most commanding situation, and no doubt intended as the distinguished post of the chief.

Subterraneous retreats or caves were common to most early nations for the purpose of concealment in war. The Britons and their Caledonian descendants had also their hiding places. The excavations or retreats were of two sorts: first, Artificial structures formed under ground of rude stones without cement; and, secondly, Natural caves in rocks which have been rendered more commodious by art.

Of the first sort are the subterraneous apartments which have been discovered in Forfarshire, within the parish of Tealing. This building was composed of large flat stones without cement, consisting of two or three apartments not more than five feet wide, and covered with stones of the same kind; and there were found in this subterraneous building, some wood ashes, several fragments of large earthen vessels, and one of the ancient hand-mills called querns. In the same parish, there has been discovered a similar building, which the country people call in the Irish language a *weem* or *cave:* it is about four feet high, and four feet wide; and it is composed of large loose stones. There was found in it a broad earthen vessel and an instrument resembling an adze. Several hiding holes of a smaller size, and of a somewhat different construction, are to be seen in the Western Hebrides. Subterraneous structures have been also found on Kildrummie moor, in Aberdeenshire; in the district of Applecross in Ross-shire; and in Kildonan parish in Sutherland. A subterraneous building sixty feet long has been discovered on the estate of Raits in the parish of Alvie in Inverness-shire.

Of the second kind there are several in the parish of Applecross. On the coast of Skye, in the parish of Portree, there are some caves of very large extent, one of which is capacious enough to contain five hundred persons. In the isle of Arran there are also several large caves, which appear to have been places of retreat in ancient times. One of these at Drumanduin is noted, in the fond tradition of the country, as the lodging of Fin MacCoul the Fingal of Ossian, during his residence in Arran. This is called the *King's Cave*, and is said to have been honoured with the presence of the illustrious Bruce who, along with his patriot companions, was obliged to resort to it as a place of temporary safety. There are other caves of great dimensions in this island, of which as well as of those in Skye many strange and fabulous stories are told.

Some of the warlike weapons of the ancient Caledonians have been already mentioned. Besides their spears, swords and daggers, they also used axes or hatchets and arrow heads. The hatchets which have been usually found are generally of flint, and are commonly called *celts*, a term which antiquaries have been unable to explain. An etymologist would derive the name from the British word *celt* literally signifying a *flint stone*. Some of these hatchets were formed of brass or other materials of a similar kind, as well as of flint. Arrow heads made of sharp-pointed flint have been found in various graves in North Britain, on the side of a hill in the parish of Benholm, Kincardineshire, where tradition says a battle was fought in ancient times, and also in the isle of Skye. These arrow heads of flint are known among the common people by the name of *elf-shots* from a superstitious notion that they were shot by elves or fairies at cattle. Hence the vulgar impute many of the disorders of their cattle to these *elf-shots*. When superstition finds out its own cause, of course it has always its remedy at hand: and accordingly the cure of the distressed animal may be effected either by the touch of the elf-shot or by making the animal drink of water in which the elf-shot had been dipped.

It thus appears that the ancient Caledonians were not deficient in the implements of war; their armouries being supplied with helmets, shields, and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes and bows. The chiefs alone, however, used the helmet and chariot. These accoutrements have been mostly all found in the graves of the warriors, or have been seen, during recent times, on the Gaelic soldiers in fight.

Among such rude tribes as have been described, marine science must have been little attended to and but imperfectly understood. As the ancient Caledonians had no commerce of any kind and never attempted piratical excursions, the art of shipbuilding was unknown to them; at least no memorials have been left to show that they were acquainted with it. They, however, constructed canoes consisting of a single tree, which they hollowed with fire in the manner of the American Indians; and they put these canoes in motion by means of a small paddle or oar in the same manner as the Indian savages do at this day. With these they crossed rivers and arms of the sea, and traversed lakes. Many of these canoes have been discovered both in South and North Britain embedded in lakes and marshes.

The most remarkable and the largest discovered in North Britain, was that found in the year 726 near the influx of the Carron into the Forth, buried fifteen feet in the south bank of the Forth: it was thirty-six feet long, four feet broad in the middle, four feet four inches deep, four inches thick in the sides; and it was all of one piece of solid oak, sharp at the stem and broad at the stern. This canoe was finely polished, being quite smooth within and without. Not a single knot was observed in the whole block, and the wood was of an extraordinary hardness.

The canoes were afterwards superseded, at an early period, by another marine vehicle called a currach. Cæsar describes the currachs of South Britain as being accommodated with keels and masts of the lightest wood, while their hulls consisted of wicker covered over with leather. Lucan calls them little ships in which he says the Britons were wont to navigate the ocean. Solinus says that it was common to pass between Britain and Ireland in these *little ships*. It is stated by Adamson in his life of St. Columba that St. Cormac sailed into the north sea in one of these currachs, and that he remained there fourteen days in perfect safety; but this vessel must have been very different from the currachs of Cæsar, as according to our author it had all the parts of a ship with sails and oars, and was capacious enough to contain passengers. Probably the currachs in which the Scoto-Irish made incursions into Britain during the age of Claudian were of the latter description.

The reader will now be able to form a general idea of the Caledonian Britons, and their most important antiquities and topographical positions, at the memorable era of Agricola's invasion of North Britain, the inhabitants of which opposed him with a prowess and bravery which astonished the conquerors of the world and excited their wonder and admiration; but no bravery however great, circumstanced as the Caledonians then were, disunited by principle and habit, could withstand the military skill and experience of the Roman legions.

The interval between the first invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar and the time when Agricola assumed the command of the Roman army in that country, embraces a period of one hundred and thirty-five years, during all which time the legions of imperial Rome had not been able to penetrate into North Britain. The complete conquest of the whole island had often occupied the thoughts of the Emperors and the able commanders to whom the government of South Britain was entrusted; but the bravery of the people, and a variety of obstacles hitherto insurmountable, thwarted their designs. It was reserved for Agricola to effect what the most skilful of his predecessors could not accomplish; and although he failed in bringing the whole of Caledonia under subjection to the Roman yoke, his victories and conquests have covered his name with glory as a warrior and a statesman. We are not to regard him as the ruthless invader carrying fire and sword into the bosom of a peaceable country, but rather as the mild and merciful conqueror bringing in his train the blessings of civilization and refinement to a rude and ungovernable people; nor should we forget that it is to him chiefly that we are indebted for the information which we now possess of the earliest period of our history.

It was in the year seventy-eight of the Christian era that Agricola took the command in Britain, but he did not enter North Britain till the year eighty-one, at which time he was forty-one years of age. The years seventy-nine and eighty were spent in subduing the tribes to the south of the Solway Frith hitherto unconquered, and in the year eighty-one Agricola entered on his fourth campaign by marching into North Britain along the shores of the Solway Frith and overrunning the mountainous region which extends from that estuary to the Friths of Clyde and Forth, the *Glotta* and *Bodotria* of Tacitus. He finished this campaign by raising a line of forts on the narrow isthmus between these Friths, so that as Tacitus observes, "the enemies being removed as into another island" the country to the south might be regarded as a quiet province. But Agricola still having enemies in his rear in the persons of the Selgovæ and Novantes, who inhabited the south-western parts of North Britain, he resolved, before pushing his conquests farther to the north, to subdue these hostile tribes. The fifth campaign in eighty-two was undertaken with this view. "He therefore invaded," says his historian, "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," being the whole extent of Galloway both by sea and land. A landing from the fleet, which had been brought from the Isle of Wight, was effected within the loch near Brow at the Lochermouth which here forms a natural harbour; but the *Locher moss*, which was then a vast marsh and a wood impenetrable to every thing but Roman labour and skill, obstructed his march. Difficulties which would have been almost insuperable to any other commander vanished before the genius and perseverance of Agricola, who opened a passage through the whole of this wood and marsh by felling the trees which obstructed the progress of his army, and making a causeway of the trunks so cut down across the morass. He marched along the shore with part of his army, leaving the estuary of Locher and Caerlaverock on his left, and encamped against *Uxellum* the chief town of the Selgovæ. From this position he continued his march, and arrived at length at the *Caerbantorigum* of Ptolemy, the Drummore Castle of modern maps, one of the largest and strongest fortresses of the Selgovæ. The traces of Agricola's route through the country of the Novantes which was not so well fortified as that of the Selgovæ cannot be so easily defined.

Having accomplished the subjugation of these two tribes, Agricola made preparations for his next campaign which he was to open beyond the Forth in the summer of eighty-three. He began by surveying the coasts and sounding the harbours. on the north side of the Forth, by means of his fleet. As, according to Tacitus, the country beyond the Forth was the great object of Agricola; and as the latter appears to have been aware of the formidable resistance which had been prepared for him by the Caledonians, if he should attempt to cross the estuary, it is supposed, with every appearance of probability, that he employed his fleet in transporting his army across the Forth from as convenient a station as he could select without being perceived by the enemy; and it is certain that the seamen were frequently mixed with the cavalry and infantry in the same camp after Agricola arrived among the *Horestii*. The offensive operations of the sixth campaign were commenced by the Caledonian Britons who, from the higher country, made a furious attack on the Transforthan fortifications, which so alarmed some of Agricola's officers, who were afraid of being cut off from a retreat, that they advised their general to recross the Forth without delay; but Agricola resisted this advice and made preparations for the attack which he expected would soon be made upon his army. In pursuance of a plan which he had formed he disposed his army in three divisions. The position which his army occupied appears to have been near Carnock on the site of two farms appropriately known by the names of East Camp and West Camp where are still to be traced the remains of two military stations. From this position the Roman general pushed forward the ninth legion to Loch Ore about two miles southward from Loch Leven, with two ranges of hills in front, the Cleish range on their left, and Binnarty hill on their right. The camp here formed was situated on the north side of Loch Ore, less than half a mile south-west from Loch Ore house in the parish of Ballingry in Fife. Its form was nearly square and its total circumference was about two thousand and twenty feet, and it was surrounded by three rows of ditches and as many ramparts of earth and stone. Another division of the army encamped it is said near Dunearn-hill, about a mile distant from Burntisland, near which hill are still to be seen the remains of a strength called *Agricola's Camp*.

The Horestii having watched the proceedings of the Roman army made the necessary preparations for attack, and during the night delivered a furious assault on the Roman entrenchments at Loch Ore. They had acted with such caution that they were actually at the very camp before Agricola was aware of their movements; but with great presence of mind he despatched a body of his lightest troops to turn their flank and attack the assailants in the rear. After an obstinate engagement, maintained with varied success in the very gates of the camp, the Britons were at length repulsed by the superior skill of the Roman veterans. This battle was so far decisive, that Agricola did not find much difficulty afterwards in subduing the country of the Horestii, and having finished his campaign he passed the winter of eighty-three in Fife; being supplied with provisions from his fleet in the Forth, and keeping up a constant correspondence with his garrisons on his southern side.

After the defeat of the Horestii, the Caledonians began to perceive the danger of their situation from the near proximity of such a powerful enemy, and a sense of this danger impelled them to lay aside the feuds and jealousies which had divided and distracted their tribes, to consult together for their mutual safety and protection, and to combine their scattered strength into a united and energetic mass. The proud spirit of independence which had hitherto kept the Caledonian tribes apart, now made them coalesce in support of their liberties, which were threatened with utter annihilation. In this eventful crisis, they looked around them for a leader or chief under whom they might fight the battles of freedom, and save their country from the dangers which threatened it. A chief, named Galgacus by Tacitus, was pitched upon to act as generalissimo of the Caledonian army; and, from the praises bestowed upon him by that historian, this warrior appears to have well merited the distinction thus bestowed. Preparatory to the struggle they were about to engage in, they sent their wives and children into places of safety; and they ratified the confederacy which they had entered into against their common enemy, in solemn assemblies in which public sacrifices were offered up.

Having strengthened his army with some British auxiliaries from the south, Agricola marched through Fife in the summer of eighty-four sending at the same time his fleet round the eastern coast, to support him in his operations, and to distract the attention of the Caledonians. The line of Agricola's march, it is conjectured, was regulated by the course of the Devon; and he is supposed to have turned to the right from Glen-devon through the opening of the Ochil hills, along the course of the rivulet which forms Glen-eagles; leaving the braes of Ogilvie on his left, and passing between Blackford and Auchterarder towards the Grampian hills, which he saw at a distance before him as he debouched from the Ochils. By an easy march he reached the moor of Ardoch, from which he descried the Caledonian army, to the number of thirty thousand men, encamped on the declivity of the hill which begins to rise from the north-western border of the moor of Ardoch. Agricola took his station at the great camp which adjoins the fort of Ardoch on the northward. From this camp Tacitus informs us, that Agricola drew out his army on the neighbouring moor, having a large ditch of considerable length in front. The Caledonians, after making the necessary preparations for battle, descended from the position which they occupied on the declivity of the hill, and attacked the Roman army with the most determined bravery. The battle was long and bloody, but night put an end to the combat; and the Caledonians seeing no hopes of driving the enemy from his entrenchments resolved to retreat. Here again superior skill and science triumphed over rude valour. The short swords and large shields of the Romans, with the use of which they were so familiar, gave them a decided advantage over the longer and more inefficient weapons of the Caledonians; while the plan of keeping troops in reserve to relieve those who were fatigued or sorely pressed upon, always adopted in the Roman army, enabled the soldiers of Agricola to maintain the contest with undiminished vigour, tended greatly to weary out the breathless impetuosity of their less skilful assailants. Yet the Romans paid dearly for the advantage they obtained, their loss being more considerable than might have been expected in a conflict really so unequal. The number that fell on the side of the Caledonians is rated at ten thousand. It may be necessary to acquaint the reader, that the site of this famous battle is a subject of much controversy among antiquaries, and that the place above indicated has been selected as the one which, from various circumstances, has most historical probabilities in its favour.

As Agricola, from the check he had experienced, found it impossible either to advance or retain his position during the ensuing winter, he retraced his steps; and after taking hostages from the Horestii, he re-crossed the Forth and took up his winter quarters on the south of the Tyne and Solway. During his progress southward, he sent his fleet on a voyage of discovery to the north which, after exploring the whole coast from the Forth to the Hebrides and descrying the *Ultima Thule*, supposed to be either the Shetland islands or *Foula*, the most westerly of the group, or Iceland, returned *ad portum Trutulensem*, or Richborough, or Rickborough, before the approach of winter.

The Emperor Domitian now resolved to supersede Agricola in his command in North Britain; and he was accordingly recalled in the year eighty-five, under the pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria, but in reality out of envy on account of the glory which he had obtained by the success of his arms. He died on the 23d of August, ninety-three, some say, from poison, while others attribute his death to the effects of chagrin at the unfeeling treatment of Domitian. His countrymen lamented his death, and Tacitus, his son-in-law, preserved the memory of his actions and his worth in the history of his life.

During the remainder of Domitian's reign and that of Adrian his successor, North Britain appears to have enjoyed tranquillity; an inference which may be fairly drawn from the silence of the Roman historians. Yet as Adrian in the year one hundred and twenty-one built a wall between the Solway and the Tyne, some writers have supposed that the Romans had been driven by the Caledonians out of North Britain, in the reign of that Emperor. But if such was the case how did Lollius Urbicus, the Roman general, about nineteen years after Adrian's wall was erected, penetrate without opposition to Agricola's forts between the Clyde and the Forth? May we not rather suppose that the wall of Adrian was built for the purpose of preventing incursions into the south by the tribes which inhabited the country between that wall and the Friths? But, be this as it may, little is known of the history of North Britain from the time of Agricola's recal till the year one hundred and thirty-eight, when Antoninus Pius assumed the imperial purple. That good and sagacious emperor was distinguished by the care which he took in selecting the fittest officers for the government of the Roman provinces; and his choice, for that of Britain, fell on Lollius Urbicus, a man who united talents for peace with a genius in war.

After putting down a revolt of the Brigantes in South Britain in the year one hundred and thirty-nine, this able general marched northward the following year to the Friths, between which he built a wall of earth on the line of Agricola's forts. He proceeded northward and is supposed to have carried his arms as far north as the Varar or Moray Frith, throwing the whole of the extensive country between Forth and Clyde and the Varar into the regular form of a Roman province. The numerous Roman stations found throughout the wide tract just mentioned, seem to corroborate this very probable conjecture. At this period the Emperor Antoninus, with that spirit of benevolence which formed a prominent trait in his character, extended the right of citizenship over the whole Roman empire; and thus all the inhabitants of North Britain who had resided along the east coast, from the Tweed to the Moray Frith, might, like St. Paul, have claimed the privileges of Roman citizens. But it is not likely that the Caledonians availed themselves of these rights. Their native pride and independence, which could not brook the idea of acknowledging any subjection to a foreign power, induced them to pay little regard to privileges which, though granted with the most praise-worthy motives, always reminded them of the causes which led to them.

It may not be out of place here to give some account of the wall of Antoninus erected by Lollius Urbicus. Capitulinus, who flourished during the third century, is the first writer who notices this wall, and states that it was built in the reign of Antoninus Pius, but he gives no exact description of it. The wall or rampart extended from Caeridden on the Frith to Dunglas and perhaps to Alcluid on the Clyde. Taking the length of this wall from Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde to Caeridden on the Forth, its extent would be thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-six Roman paces, which agree exactly with the modern measurement of thirty-six English miles, and six hundred and twenty yards. This rampart which was of earth, and rested on a stone foundation, was upwards of twenty feet high and four and twenty feet thick. Along the whole extent of the wall there was a vast ditch or *Prætentura* on the outward or north side, which was generally twenty feet deep and forty feet wide, and which, there is reason to believe, might be filled with water when occasion required. This ditch and rampart were strengthened at both ends, and throughout its whole extent, by one and twenty forts, three being at each extremity, and the remainder placed between at the distance of 3554½ yards, or something more than two English miles from one another; and it has been clearly ascertained that these stations were designedly placed on the previous fortifications of Agricola. Its necessary appendage, a military road, ran behind the rampart from end to end, for the use of the troops and for keeping up the usual communication between the stations or forts. From inscriptions on some of the foundation stones, which have been dug up, it appears that the second legion, with detachments from the sixth and twentieth legions and some auxiliaries, executed these vast military works, equally creditable to their skill and perseverance. Dunglas near the western extremity, and Blackness near the eastern extremity of the rampart, afforded the Romans commodious harbours for their shipping, such as they enjoyed, while they remained in North Britain, at Cramond. This wall is called in the popular language of the country *Grime's* Dyke, the etymology of which has confounded antiquarians and puzzled philologists. In British speech and in the Welsh language of the present day the word *Grym* signifies strength; but whether the appellation which the wall now receives is derived from such a root seems doubtful. Certain it is, that the absurd fiction of Fordun, Boyce and Buchanan, who derive the name from a supposititious person of the name of Grime and his Scots having broke through this wall, has long been exploded with many other fictions of the same authors.

At this epoch we may date the height of the Roman power in Britain. The Romans had now enlarged their territories to their greatest extent: they had conducted *Iters* almost to the extremities of North Britain, from the Solway and Tyne to the Forth and Clyde, and from thence to the Burgh-head of Moray: they had formed roads throughout that extent of country, and they had established stations in the most commanding places within the districts of Valentia and Vespasiana. As a notice of these works of art cannot fail to be interesting, they shall be here shortly described as they existed in the province of Vespasiana, extending from the wall of Antoninus to the Varar or the Moray Frith.

According to Richard of Cirencester, an *Iter* with its accompanying stations, traversed the whole extent of Vespasiana from the wall of Antoninus to the Varar or Moray Frith. The first stage extended twelve miles from the wall to *Alauna*, or the Allan water near its junction with the Forth. From thence it went forward along Strathallan, nine miles to the *Lindum* of Richard's Itinerary, the well known station at Ardoch. From *Lindum* the Iter passed throughout a course of nine miles to the *Victoria* of the Itinerary, the proud monument of Agricola's victory of the Grampians, the Deolginross of the Tourists, at the western extremity of Strathern. The Iter then took an easterly direction nine miles to Hierna the station on the Ern at Strageth and from thence to Orrea on the Tay, at the distance of fourteen itinerary miles. From Orrea the Iter went *ad Tavum* nineteen miles; and from thence *ad Esicam* twenty-three miles. Setting off from Orrea in an easterly direction, through the passage of the Seidlaw hills and along the Carse of Gowrie the Iter reached *ad Tavum* on the northern side of the estuary of the Tay, near Dundee. From this last station, proceeding in a north-east direction through the natural opening of the country, the Iter, at the distance of eleven miles, fell in with the well known Roman camp at Harefauld's; and at the end of these twenty-three miles nearly, it reached the South Esk at Brechin the *ad Esicam* of Richard. In the course of this route, at the distance of two miles west from Dundee and half a mile north from Invergowrie, on the estuary of the Tay, there are the remains of a Roman camp, about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart and a spacious ditch.

From the last mentioned station, the course of the itinerary proceeded in a north-east direction, and would have arrived at the end of five miles and three quarters, on the North Esk, the *Tina* of Richard. Passing the North Esk at the King's ford, the Roman troops, it is supposed, marched straight forward through the valley of Luther water, about eight and a half miles, to the station at Fordun, where the remains of two Roman camps are to be seen; and thence by Urie hill, where there is the well known camp of Raedikes, from which, in a northerly direction, about six English miles, these troops would reach the river Dee at Peter-Culter, the *Devana* of Ptolemy and Richard. This last position is thirty-one miles from the South Esk, at Brechin; and the route corresponds with the devious track delineated on Richard's useful map. Remains of extensive entrenchments of a rectangular form, at the termination of the itinerary distance on the north side of the Dee, west from the church of Mary-Culter, and south-west from the church of Peter-Culter, indicate the site of a Roman camp. These remains are popularly denominated, "*the Norman Dikes.*" This camp extended from the north-east to the west-south-west. The rampart and ditch, on the northern side are about three quarters of a mile long, and remain tolerably entire. From each end of this work, a rampart and ditch ran off at right angles, and formed the ends of a camp, a few hundred yards of which only remain: the whole of the southern side is destroyed. This camp is 938 yards long, and 543 yards broad; comprehending an area of eighty Scotch acres, being nearly of the same size as the camp of Raedikes, on the Ithan, the next stage in the Iter. It has two gates in each side, like the camps of Battledikes and Harefaulds, and at Urie, and one gate in each of the ends, which appears to have been covered by a traverse in the Roman manner.

From the Dee at Peter-Culter, the Iter proceeded on the right of Achlea, Fiddy, and Kinmundy, and from thence in a north-north-west direction, it went through a plain district, till it reached the site of Kintore on the Don, and thence it followed, according to the Roman practice, the strath of the river to the head of the Don, where there is a ford, at the same place where the high road has always passed the same river to Inver-urie. The Romans then passed the Urie, and pushed on in a north-north-west course, through a moorish district to the sources of the Ithan, the *Ituna* of Richard, where the camp of Glen-mailen was placed, an extended course of twenty-six statute miles between these itinerary stations. The camp at Glen-mailen as well as the camp at Urie, is called the *Rae*-Dikes, from the Gaelic Ra' signifying a cleared spot, or fortress.

In proceeding from Glen-mailen, the Romans directed their course northward, and crossing the Doveran, at Achengoul, where there are still considerable remains of military works, they arrived, at the distance of thirteen statute miles, at the high ground on the north of Foggy-lone at the eastern base of the *Knock-hill*, the real *Mons Grampius* of Richard, being the first landmark seen by mariners as they approach the most easterly point of North Britain. The heights near Glen-mailen afford a distinct view of the whole course of the Moray Frith, and the intermediate country through which the Romans had to pass forward to their ultimate object, *Ptoroton*, or Kinnaird's head and the whole of the north-east of Buchan may be seen from the high grounds on the north of Foggy-lone.

From the station at Knock-hill the itinerary proceeds *ad Selinam* of Richard, or to the rivulet *Cullen*, near the old tower of Deskford, at the distance of ten statute miles. This is evident from the circumstance of Roman coins having been found some years ago near the old bridge, a little below the tower of Deskford. Following the course of the rivulet to Inver-Cullen, and passing along the coast of the Moray Frith, the Roman armies arrived at the Roman post which is still to be seen on the high bank of the Spey, the *Tuessis* of Ptolemy and Richard, below the church of Bellie, a distance of nineteen statute miles. About half a mile north-east of the ruins of Bellie, on a bank overlooking the low fluviated ground of the river, are the remains of a Roman encampment. It is situated upon a flat surface, and forms nearly a rectangular parallelogram of 888 feet by 333; but the west side, and the greater part of the north end of the parallelogram are now wanting. It is singular that the ford on the Spey, by which the Romans were enabled to connect their stations in the north, during the second century, should have facilitated the passage of the Duke of Cumberland in

April, 1746, when he pressed forward "in order to decide," says Chalmers, "the fate of the Gaelic descendants of the ancient race."

From their station on the eastern bank of the Spey, with the Moray Frith close to their right, they were only one day's march from the *Alatta-Castra* of Ptolemy, the Ptoroton of Richard, the Burgh-head of modern geographers, at the mouth of the Estuary of Varar. The north and west sides of the promontory called Burgh-head are steep rocks washed by the sea, and which rises sixty feet above the level of the low water-mark; the area on the top of the head is 300 feet long on the east side, and 520 feet long on the west side: it is 260 feet bread, and contains rather more than two English acres. A strong rampart, twenty feet high, built with old planks, cased with stone and lime, appears to have surrounded it: the south and east sides are pretty entire; but the north and west sides are much demolished. On the east side of this height, and about forty-five feet below the summit, there is an area 650 feet long, and 150 feet wide, containing upwards of three English acres. The space occupied by the ruins of the ramparts which have fallen down, is not included in this measurement. It appears to have been surrounded with a very strong rampart of stone which is now much demolished. On the south and land side of these fortified areas, two deep ditches are carried across the neck of this promontory; these ditches were, in 1792, when surveyed by Chapman, from sixteen to twenty feet deep, from twelve to sixteen feet wide at the bottom and from forty to fifty feet wide at the top. The bottoms of the ditches were then 25 feet above the level of the sea at high water, and are considerably higher than the extensive tract of the flat ground on the land side. The ditches, ramparts, rocks, and waste ground, which surround the areas above described, contain upwards of five English acres.

As the Romans had other stations in the north besides those noticed, they did not always in returning to the south follow the course of the Iter just described. They had another Iter, the first station of which from the Burgh-head was the Varis of Richard, now Forres, a distance of eight statute miles. It is singular that the Gaelic name of Forres is *Faris,* which corresponds so exactly with Varis as to make it certain that Forres and the Varis of Richard are the same. Besides, when the streets of Forres were dug up in order to repair the pavement, there were discovered several Roman coins, and a Roman medallion in soft metal, which resembled a mixture of lead and tin. From Forres the Iter proceeds to the Spey at Cromdale, a distance of nineteen statute miles. Proceeding southward, along Strathaven by Loch-Bulg, to the junction of the Dee and Cluny, the Roman troops arrived at the commodious ford in that vicinity, a distance of twenty-eight statute miles from the Spey. Richard does not mention the names of the two next stations, the first of which is supposed to have been at the height which separates the waters that flow in opposite directions to the Dee and the Tay, and which consequently divides Aberdeenshire from Perth shire; and the next, it is conjectured, was at the confluence of the Shee with the Lornty water, the Iter taking its course along Glen-beg and Glen-shee. The whole extent of this route amounts to nearly forty statute miles. A variety of circumstances indicate the middle station to have been at Inchtuthel, which still exhibits a remarkable camp of Roman construction, on a height that forms the northern bank of the Tay. From the last mentioned station to *Orrea* the distance is nine itinerary miles, and the real and corresponding distance from Inchtuthel along the banks of the Tay to ancient Bertha is about ten miles. At this central station, which has always been a military position of great importance, the Iter joined the one already described and proceeded southward by the former route to the wall of Antoninus.

The Romans have left many remarkable monuments of their power and greatness, of which the most prominent are their highways, which, commencing at the gates of Rome itself, traversed the whole extent of their mighty empire. These highways, by facilitating the communication between the capital and the most distant provinces, were of the utmost importance, in many respects, to the maintenance of the Roman authority in places remote from the seat of government. The whole of Britain was intersected by these roads, and one of them may be traced into the very interior of Vespasiana, where it afforded a passage to the Roman armies, kept up the communication between the stations, and thereby checked the Caledonian Clans. This road issued from the wall of Antoninus and passed through Camelon, the Roman port on the Carron, and pushing straight forward according to the Roman custom across the Carron, it pursued its course by Torwood house, Pleanmuir, Bannockburn, St. Ninians, and by the west side of the Castlehill of Stirling, to the Forth, on the south side of which, near Kildean, there are traces of its remains. It here passed the Forth and stretched forward to Alauna, which was situated on the river Allan, about a mile above its confluence with the Forth, and which, as it is twelve miles from the opening in the Roman wall, agrees with the distance in the *Iter*.

From thence the road went along Strathallan, and at the end of ten miles came to the *Lindum* of Richard's Itinerary, the well known station at Ardoch. The road after passing on the east side of Ardoch, ascends the moor of Orchil to the post at Kemp's Castle which it passes within a few yards on the east. The road from Kemp's hill descends the moor to the station of Hierna at Strageth, from which it immediately crosses the river Ern. After the passage of the Ern the road turns to the right, and passes on the north side of Innerpeffery, in an easterly direction, and proceeds nearly in a straight line across the moor of Gask, and, continuing its course through the plantations of Gask, it passes the Roman camp on the right. At the distance of two miles farther on, where the plantations of Gask terminate, this great road passes another small post on the left. From this position the road proceeded forward in a north-east direction to the station at Orrea.

which is situated on the west bank of the Tay at the present confluence of the Almond with that noble river.

Having crossed the Tay, by means of the wooden bridge, the Roman road proceeded up the east side of the river, and passed through the centre of the camp at Grassy-walls. From this position the remains of the road are distinctly visible for a mile up to Gellyhead, on the west of which it passed and went on by Innerbuist, to Nether-Collin, where it again becomes apparent, and continues distinct to the eye for two miles and a half, passing on to Drichmuir and Byres. From thence, the road stretched forward in a north-east direction, passing between Blairhead and Gilwell to Woodhead; and thence pushing on by Newbigging and Gallowhill on the right, it descends Leyston-moor; and passing that village it proceeds forward to the Roman camp at Cupar Angus, about eleven and a half miles from Orrea. The camp at Cupar appears to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, fortified by two strong ramparts and large ditches, which still remain on the east and south sides, and a part on the north side, but the west side has been obliterated by the plough. From Cupar the road took a north-east direction towards Reedie, in the parish of Airly. On the south of this hamlet the vestiges of the road again appear, and for more than half a mile the ancient road forms the modern way. The Roman road now points towards Kirriemuir, by which it appears to have passed in its course to the Roman camp at Battledikes. After traversing this camp, the road continued its course in an east-north-east direction for several miles along the valley on the south side of the river South-Esk, which it probably passed near the site of Black-mill, below Esk-mount. From this passage it went across the moor of Brechin, where vestiges of it appear pointing to Keithock; and at this place there are the remains of a Roman camp which are now known by the name of *Wardikes.* Beyond this camp on the north, the Roman road has been seldom or never seen. In the popular tradition this road is called the *Lang Causeway*, and is supposed to have extended northward through Perthshire and Forfarshire, and even through Kincardineshire to Stonehaven. About two miles north-east from the Roman station at Fordun, and between it and the well known camp at Urie, there are the traces, as it crosses a small hill, of an artificial road, which is popularly called the *Picts' Road.*

It would appear that there are traces of Roman roads even farther north. Between the rivers Don and Urie in Aberdeenshire, on the eastern side of Bennachee, there exists an ancient road known in the country by the name of the *Maiden Causeway*, a name by which some of the Roman roads in the north of England are distinguished. This proceeds from Bennachee whereon there was a hill-fort, more than the distance of a mile into the woods of Pitodrie, when it disappears: it is paved with stones and is about fourteen feet wide. Still farther north, in the track of the Iter, as it crosses between the two stations of Varis and Tuessis, from Forres to the ford of Cromdale on the Spey, there has been long known a road of very ancient construction, leading along the course of the Iter for several miles through the hills, and pointing to Cromdale, where the Romans must have forded the Spey. Various traces of very ancient roads are still to be seen along the track of the Iter, between the distant station of *Tuessis* and *Tamea*, by Corgarf and through Braemar: the tradition of the people in Strathdee and Braemar, supports the idea that there are remains of Roman roads which traverse the country between the Don and the Dee. Certain it is, that there are obvious traces of ancient roads which cross the wild districts between Strathdon and Strathdee, though it is impossible to ascertain where or by whom such ancient roads were constructed, in such directions, throughout such a country.

After the *Iters* and the *Roads*, the Roman *Stations* to the north of Antoninus' wall, come next to be noticed. The stations or forts along the course of the wall have been already described. The first we meet with is on the eastern base of Dunearn hill, about a mile from Burntisland, which was very distinctly marked in the days of Sibbald, who mentions it, and speaks of the *prætorium* as a square of a hundred yards diameter, called by the country people the *Tournament*, where many Roman models have been found. This area was surrounded by a rampart of stones, and lower down in the face of the hill another wall encompassed the whole. On the north there was another fort on the summit of *Bonie hill.* There was also a Roman camp at Loch-Ore, supposed to be that in which the ninth legion of Agricola was attacked by the Horestii. Several Roman antiquities have been found in drains cut under this camp. Near Ardargie on the May water, at the defile of the Ochil hills was a small Roman post which served as a central communication between the stations on the Forth and in Strathern, the great scene of the Roman operations. The Romans had also a station at Hallyards, in the parish of Tulliebole.

Ardoch, on the east side of Knaigwater, the scene of many Roman operations, from the great battle between Galgacus and Agricola, till the final abdication of the Roman power, was a very important post. As this station was the principal inlet into the interior of Caledonia, the Romans were particularly anxious in fortifying so advantageous a position. The remains of camps of various sizes are still to be seen. The first and largest was erected by Agricola, in his campaign of eighty-four. The next in size is on the west of Agricola's camp, and includes within its entrenchments part of the former. The third and last was constructed on the south side of the largest, and comprehends a part of it. These two last mentioned camps must have been successively formed after Agricola's recal. A strong fort surrounded by five or six fosses and ramparts was erected on the south side of the last of these camps, opposite to the bridge over Knaigwater; its area was about 500 furlongs long, and 450 broad, being nearly of a square form.

The next station was the Hierna of Richard, about six miles north-east from Ardoch, on the south side of the river Ern. This station was placed on an eminence, and commanded the middle part of Strathern, lying between the Ochil hills on the south, and the river Almond on the north. On the moor of Gask, between the stations of Hierna and Orrea, there were two Roman posts designed probably to protect the Roman road from the incursions of the tribes on either side of that communication. But being situated at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, Orrea was the most important station, as it commanded the eastern part of Strathern, the banks of the Tay, and the country between this river and the Siedlaw hills.

So much with regard to the principal stations which commanded the central country between the Forth and Tay; and so much for the posts south of the Grampian range, which seem to have served the double purpose of commanding the Low countries, between that range and the eastern sea, and of protecting the Lowlands from the incursions of the Northern Caledonians. But as these might be insufficient for the latter purpose, every pass of the Grampian hills had its fortress. We shall now point out the fortresses by which the passes of the Grampians were guarded throughout the extent of Perthshire.

The first of these on the south-east was placed on a tongue of land formed by the junction of the rivers Strath-gartney and Strath-ire, the two sources of the Teith. This station was near Bochastle, about fifteen miles west-south-west from Ardoch, where the remains of a camp may still be seen; and it guarded two important passes into the west country; the one leading up the valley of Strath-ire, near Braidalbane, and thence into Argyle; the other leading along the north side of Loch Venachor, Loch Achray, and Loch Katrine, through Strath-gartney, into Dumbartonshire. The next passage to the north from the western Highlands, through the Grampian range into Perthshire, is along the north side of Loch Ern into Strathern. This defile was guarded by a double camp at Dalgenross, near the confluence of the Ruchel with the Ern. These camps commanded the western districts of Strathern, and also guarded the passage along the Loch. This station is about eight miles north-west from Ardoch. Another important station was at East Findoch, at the south side of the Almond; it guarded the only practicable passage through the mountains northward, to an extent of thirty miles from east to west. The Roman camp here was placed on a high ground, defended by water on two sides, and by a morass with a steep bank on the other two sides. It was about one hundred and eighty paces long, and eighty broad, and was surrounded by a strong earthen wall, part of which still remains, and was near twelve feet thick. The trenches are still entire, and in some places six feet deep.

On the eastern side of Strathern, and between it and the Forth, are the remains of Roman posts; and at Ardargie a Roman camp was established with the design, it is supposed, of guarding the passage through the Ochil hills, by the valley of May water. Another camp at Gleneagles secured the passage of the same hills through Glendevon. With the design of guarding the narrow, but useful passage from the middle highlands, westward through Glenlyon to Argyle, the Romans fixed a post at Fortingal, about sixteen miles north-west from the station at East-Findoch. Another station was placed at Inchtuthel, upon an eminence on the north bank of the Tay, about fifteen miles from the camp at Findoch. In conjunction with another station, about four miles eastward upon the Haugh of Hallhole on the western side of the river Isla, the post at Inchtuthel commanded the whole of Stormont, and every road which could lead the Caledonians down from Athole and Glen-Shee into the countries below. Such are the posts which commanded the passes of the Grampians, throughout the whole extent of Perthshire.

A different line of posts became necessary to secure Angus and the Mearns. At Cupar Angus on the east side of the Isla about seven miles east from Inchtuthel stood a Roman Camp, of a square form, of twenty acres within the ramparts. It appears to have been an equilateral quadrangle of four hundred yards, fortified with two strong ramparts and large ditches, which are still to be seen on the eastern and southern sides. This camp commanded the passage down Strathmore between the Siedlaw hills, on the south-east, and the Isla on the north-west. On Campmoor, little more than a mile south from Cupar Angus, appear the remains of another Roman fort. The great camp of Battledikes stood about eighteen miles north-east from Cupar Angus, being obviously placed there to guard the passage from the Highlands through Glen-esk, and Glen-Prosen. From the camp at Battledykes, about eleven and a half miles north-east was a Roman camp, the remains of which may still be traced near the mansion house of Keithock. This camp is known by the name of Wardikes. In the interior of Forfarshire about eight miles south-south-east from the camp of Battledikes and fourteen miles south-south-west from that of Wardikes stood a Roman camp now called Harefaulds. This camp commanded a large extent of Angus.

The country below the Siedlaw hills on the north side of the Estuary of Tay was guarded by a Roman camp near Invergourie, which had a communication on the north-east with the camp at Harefaulds. This camp, which was about two hundred yards square, and fortified with a high rampart and a spacious ditch, stood about two miles west from Dundee. At Fordun, about twelve miles north-east from Wardikes, stood another Roman station. The site of this camp is near the mansion house of Fordun, and about a mile south-south east of the church of Fordun. The Luther water, which is here only a rivulet, ran formerly through the west side of this camp; and on the east side of it, there are several springs. This camp is called by the country people the *West Camp*. From Fordun, north-east, eleven miles, and from the passage of the Dee at Mary-Culter, south, six miles, stood the great camp called Raedikes, upon the estate of Urie. This station commanded the narrow country, between the north-east end of the Grampian hills and the sea, as well as the angle of land lying between the Dee and the sea. From Fordun, about four and a half miles west-north-west, there was a Roman post at Clattering bridge, now known by the name of the Green castle, which guarded the passage through the Grampian mountains, by the Cairn-o-mount into the valley of the Mearns. This post stood on a precipitous bank, on the north-east of the Clatteringburn: the area of the part within the ramparts, measures one hundred and thirty-seven feet nine inches, at the north-east end, and at the south-west, eighty-two feet six inches; the length is two hundred and sixty-two feet six inches. The ditch is thirty-seven feet six inches broad at the bottom, and the rampart which is wholly of earth, is in height, from the bottom of the ditch, fifty-one feet nine inches. The commanding station at Glenmailen, with its subsidiary posts, protected and secured the country from the Dee to the Moray Frith, comprehending the territories of the Taixali and the Vacomagi.

From the details which have been given of the Roman roads, and the different stations selected by the Romans, for securing and defending their conquests in the north, some idea may be formed of the skill with which the conquerors of the world, carried on their warlike operations, in the most distant countries; and of that prudent foresight by which they guarded against the many contingencies inseparable from a state of war, or insecure and dubious repose. It will be evident to those who are well acquainted with the different lines and stations, of the Roman posts before enumerated, that at the time we are treating of, it was not possible to select situations better fitted to answer the ends, which the Romans had in view, than those we have pointed out. It seems quite unnecessary and unprofitable to enter into any discussion of the historical controversy, as to whether these roads and stations were constructed in the same age, or in other words, whether the Roman remains in North Britain, are to be attributed altogether to Agricola. The fact is, there do not appear sufficient data in history to arrive at any certain conclusions. Yet it seems scarcely possible, as some antiquarians have maintained, that all these roads, and important stations could have been finished during the period of Agricola's government in Britain. It seems probable, that many roads were made, and stations erected during the able administration of Lollius Urbicus.

Whether the Romans had grown weary of keeping up such an extended line of posts in North Britain, or found it impracticable any longer to retain them, or that they required to concentrate their strength in the south, they resolved to abandon their conquests to the north of Antoninus' wall, and, accordingly in the year one hundred and seventy, they evacuated the whole of the country beyond that wall without molestation.

The Caledonians being thus relieved from the presence of their formidable foes, now prepared for offensive operations; but it was not until the year one hundred and eighty-five, during the misgovernment of

Commodus, that their hostility began to alarm the Romans. Some o their tribes passed the wall that year and pillaged the country, but they were driven back by Ulpius Marcellus. A few years afterwards the Caledonians renewed the attack but were kept in check by Virius Lupus, with whom they entered into a treaty in the year two hundred. But this treaty was not of long continuance, for the Caledonians again took the field in two hundred and seven. These proceedings made Severus hasten from Rome to Britain in the following year; on hearing of whose arrival the tribes sent deputies to him to negotiate for peace, but the emperor, who was of a warlike disposition, and fond of military glory, declined to entertain any proposals.

After making the necessary preparations, Severus began his march in the year two hundred and nine to the north. He traversed the whole of North Britain from the wall of Antoninus to the very extremity of the island with an immense army. The Caledonians avoided coming to a general engagement with him, but kept up an incessant and harassing warfare on all sides. He, however, brought them to sue for peace; but the honours of this campaign were dearly earned, for fifty thousand of the Romans fell a prey to the attacks of the Caledonians, to fatigue, and the severity of the climate. The Caledonians soon disregarded the treaty which they had entered into with Severus, which conduct so irritated him that he gave orders to renew the war, and to spare neither age nor sex; but his son, Caracalla, to whom the execution of these orders was entrusted, was more intent in plotting against his father and brother than in executing the revengeful mandate of the dying emperor, whose demise took place at York on the 4th February, two hundred and eleven, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and in the third year of his administration in Britain.

It was not consistent with the policy by which Caracalla was actuated, to continue a war with the Caledonians; for the scene of his ambition lay in Rome, to which he made hasty preparations to depart on the death of his father. He therefore entered into a treaty with the Caledonians by which he gave up the territories surrendered by them to his father, and abandoned the forts erected by him in their fastnesses. The whole country north of the wall of Antoninus appears in fact to have been given up to the undisputed possession of the Caledonians, and we hear of no more incursions by them till the reign of the emperor Constans, who came to Britain in the year three hundred and six, to repel the Caledonians and other Picts.* Their incursions were repelled by the Roman legions under Constantius, and they remained quiet till about the year three hundred and forty-three when they again entered the territories of the provincial Britons; but they were compelled, it is said, again to retreat by Constans.

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* The first writer who mentions the *Picts* is Eumenius, the orator, who was a Professor at Autun, and who, in a panegyric pronounced by him in the year 297, and again in 308, alludes to the *Caledones aliique Picti.* From this it is evident that he considered the Caledonians and the Picts as the same people. Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of them at the end of the fourth century, says, Lib. xxvii. ch. vii. " Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledones et Vecturiones." It is now admitted, even by these antiquaries who take the most opposite views on the origin of these people, that they were not distinct nations but the same people distinguished merely by their names.

Although these successive inroads had been always repelled by the superior power and discipline of the Romans, the Caledonians of the fourth century no longer considered them in the formidable light they had been viewed by their ancestors, and their genius for war improving every time they came in hostile contact with their enemies, they meditated the design of expelling the intruders altogether from the soil of North Britain. The wars which the Romans had to sustain against the Persians in the east, and against the Germans on the frontiers of Gaul favoured their plan; and having formed a treaty with the *Scots* they, in conjunction with their new allies, invaded the Roman territories and committed many depredations. Julian, who commanded the Roman army on the Rhine,despatched Lupicinus, an able military commander, to defend the province against the Scots and Picts, but he does not appear to have been very successful in opposing them.

As the *Scots* appear for the first time upon the stage, it will be necessary to give some account of them. The question which has been so keenly discussed between the antiquaries of Scotland and Ireland whether the Scots were indigenous Britons, or merely emigrants from Ireland, has long been set at rest, as it has been demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt that they came originally from that island. But, on the other hand, it has been equally demonstrated that the Scots of Ireland, or the *Scoticæ gentes* of Porphyry, as a branch of the great Celtic family, passed over at a very early period from the shores of Britain into Ireland, and before the beginning of the fifth century, had given their name to the whole of that country. Their name, however, does not occur in the Roman annals till the year three hundred and sixty. All the authors of this age agree that Ireland was the proper country of the Scots, and that they invaded the Roman territories in North Britain about the last mentioned epoch. Ammianus, in the year three hundred and sixty-seven, mentions the Scots as an erratic or wandering people, who carried on a predatory system of warfare, and other contemporary authors speak of them as a transmarine people who came from Ireland, their native island. Of this fact there can be no doubt, and it is equally certain that Ireland was the ancient *Scotica* of the Romans. It was not till the year one thousand and twenty that the name of *Scotia* was given to North Britain.

The Picts or Caledonians and Scots being joined by another ally—the Attacots, a warlike clan which had settled on the shores of Dumbarton and Cowal, from the opposite coast of Ireland—made another attack on the Roman possessions in Britain in the year three hundred and sixty-four, on the accession of Valentinian. It required all the valour and skill of the celebrated Theodosius, who was sent to Britain in the year three hundred and sixty-seven, to repel this aggression and to repair the great ravages committed by the invaders. Having been successful in clearing the whole country between the walls, he made it the fifth province in Britain, to which Valentinian gave the name of *Valentia* in honour of Valens, whom he had associated with him in the empire. The successes of Theodosius insured a peaceful pause of nearly thirty years, but in three hundred and ninety-eight the Caledonians or Picts and Scots again renewed their attacks which they continued from time to time. At length, in the year four hundred and forty-six, during the Consulate of Æstius, the Romans, unable any longer to keep their possessions in North Britain, intimated to the Provincials that they could give them no further assistance in resisting the Scots and Picts, abdicated the government, and left them to protect themselves.

CHAPTER II.

Poetry of the Celts—Antiquity and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.

No question of literary controversy has been discussed with greater acrimony and pertinacity, than that regarding the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and never did Saxon and Gael exhibit more bitter enmity in mortal strife than has been shown by the knights of the pen in their different rencontres in the field of antiquarian research. We have no wish to revive a controversy, in regard to which it is scarcely possible to add any thing new; but holding as we do the authenticity of these poems, we shall adduce briefly the arguments in their favour as well as those which have been urged against them; leaving to the reader, whose mind has not yet been made up upon the subject, to draw his own conclusions. But it seems really to be a matter of little importance whether the poems from which Macpherson translated, or any part of them were actually composed by Ossian or not, or at what period the poet flourished, whether in the third, or fourth, or fifth centuries. It is, we apprehend, quite sufficient to show that these poems are of high antiquity, and that they belong to a very remote era.

One of the most remarkable traits in the character of the Celtic tribes, was their strong attachment to poetry, by means of which they not only animated themselves to battle, but braved death with joy in the hope of meeting again their brave ancestors who had fallen in battle. Either unacquainted with letters, or despising them as unworthy of a warlike race, the ancient Celts set apart the *Bards*, whose business it was to compose and recite in verse the military actions of their heroes or chiefs, and by the same means they sought to preserve the memory of their laws, religion and historical annals, which would otherwise have been buried in oblivion. "When the Celts," says Posodonius, "go to war, they take with them associates whom they call Parasites who sing their praises, either in public assemblies, or to those who wish to hear them privately. These poets are called *Bards*." It is well known that the Druids to whom the education of the Celtic youth was committed, spent many years in committing to memory the compositions of the Bards. This peculiarity was not confined to any one of the Celtic nations, but prevailed universally among them. The Bards, according to Buchanan, were held in great honour both among the Gauls and Britons, and he observes that their function and name remained in his time amongst all those nations which used the old British tongue. "They," he adds, "compose poems, and those not inelegant, which the rhapsodists recite, either to the better sort, or to the vulgar, who are very desirous to hear them; and sometimes they sing them to musical instruments." And in speaking of the inhabitants of the Hebrides or Western islands, he says that they sing poems "not inelegant, containing commonly the eulogies of valiant men; and their bards usually treat of no other subject."

Thus the existence of bards from the most remote period among the Celtic population of Scotland is undoubted; and some idea of their importance may be formed from the following observations from the elegant and classical pen of a distinguished scholar. "Although it is well known that the Scots had always more strength and industry to perform great deeds, than care to have them published to the world; yet, in ancient times, they had, and held in great esteem, their own Homers and Maros whom they named bards. These recited the achievements of their brave warriors in heroic measures, adapted to the musical notes of the harp; with these they roused the minds of those present to the glory of virtue, and transmitted patterns of fortitude to posterity. This order of men still exists among the Welsh and ancient Scots (the Highlanders), and they still retain that name (bards) in their native language."[*] So formidable were they considered in rousing the passions against the tyranny of a foreign yoke, by their strains, that Edward I. adopted the cruel policy of extirpating the order of the Welsh bards about the end of the thirteenth century. They continued, however, to exist in England down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "till which period," as Dr. Graham observes, "there was a regular public competition of harpers maintained; and there is, at this day, as Mr. Pennant informs us, in his tour through Wales, a silver harp, awarded during that period, in the possession of the Mostyn family."

The Bardic order was preserved longer in Scotland than in any other country, for it was not till the year 1726, when Niel Macvuirich the last of the bards died, that the race became extinct. He, and his ancestors had for several generations exercised the office of bard in the family of Clanranald.[†] Every great Highland family had their bard,

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[*] "Quamvis intelligunt omnes plus semper virium et industriæ Scotis fuisse ad res gerendas, quam commentationis ad prædicandas, habuerunt tamen antiquitus, et coluerunt suos Homeros et Marones, quos Bardos nominabant. Hi fortium virorum facta versibus heroicis et lyræ modulis aptata concinebant; quibus et præsentium animos acuebant ad virtutis gloriam, et fortitudinis exempla ad posteros transmittebant. Cujusmodi apud Cambros et priscos Scotos nec dum desiere; et nomen illud patrio sermone adhuc retinent." J. Johnston in Præfat. ad Hist. Scot.

[†] The following curious and interesting declaration of Lachlan Mac Vuirich, son of Niel, taken by desire of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian, will throw much light on the bardic office.

In the house of Patrick Nicolson, at Torlum, near Castle Burgh, in the shire of Inverness on the ninth day of August, compeared, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, Lachwhose principal business was to amuse the chieftain and his friends by reciting at entertainments, the immense stores of poetry which he had hoarded up in his memory, besides which he also preserved the genealogy, and recorded the achievements of the family which were thus traditionally and successively handed down from generation to generation.

At what particular period of time the Caledonian bards began to reduce their compositions to writing, cannot now be ascertained; but it seems to be pretty evident that no such practice existed in the Ossianic age, nor, indeed, for several centuries afterwards. To oral tradition,

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lan, son of Niel, son of Lachlan, son of Niel, son of Donald, son of Lachlan, son of Niel *Mòr*, son of Lachlan, son of Donald, of the sirname of Mac Vuirich, before Roderick M‘Neil, Esq. of Barra, and declared, That, according to the best of his knowledge, he is the eighteenth in descent from Muireach, whose posterity had officiated as bards to the family of Clanranald; and that they had from that time, as the salary of their office, the farm of Staoiligary, and four pennies of Drimisdale, during fifteen generations; that the sixteenth descendant lost the four pennies of Drimisdale, but that the seventeenth descendant retained the farm of Staoiligary for nineteen years of his life. That there was a right given them over these lands, as long as there should be any of the posterity of Muireach to preserve and continue the genealogy and history of the Macdonalds, on condition that the bard, failing of male issue, was to educate his brother's son, or representative, in order to preserve their title to the lands; and that it was in pursuance of this custom that his own father, Niel, had been taught to read and write history and poetry by Donald, son of Niel, son of Donald, his father's brother.

He remembers well that works of Ossian written on parchment, were in the custody of his father, as received from his predecessors; that some of the parchments were made up in the form of books, and that others were loose and separate, which contained the works of other bards besides those of Ossian.

He remembers that his father had a book, which was called the *Red Book* made of paper, which he had from his predecessors, and which, as his father informed him, contained a good deal of the history of the Highland clans, together with part of the works of Ossian. That none of those books are to be found at this day, because when they (his family) were deprived of their lands, they lost their alacrity and zeal. That he is not certain what became of the parchments, but thinks that some of them were carried away by Alexander, son of the Rev. Alexander Macdonald, and others by Ronald his son; and he saw two or three of them cut down by tailors for measures. That he remembers well that Clanranald made his father give up the red book to James Macpherson from Badenoch; that it was near as thick as a Bible, but that it was longer and broader, though not so thick in the cover. That the parchments and the red book were written in the hand in which the Gaelic used to be written of old both in Scotland and Ireland, before people began to use the English hand in writing Gaelic; and that his father knew well how to read the old hand. That he himself had some of the parchments after his father's death, but that because he had not been taught to read them, and had no reason to set any value upon them, they were lost. He says that none of his forefathers had the name of Paul, but that there were two of them who were called Cathal.

He says that the red book was not written by one man, but that it was written from age to age by the family of Clan Mhuirich, who were preserving and continuing the history of the Macdonalds, and of other heads of Highland clans.

After the above declaration was taken down, it was read to him, and he acknowledged it was right, in presence of Donald M‘Donald of Balronald, James M‘Donald of Garyhelich, Ewan M‘Donald of Griminish, Alexander M‘Lean of Hoster, Mr. Alexander Nicolson, minister of Benbecula, and Mr. Allan M‘Queen, minister of North-Uist, who wrote this declaration.

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LACHLAN χ MAC VUIRICH.
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RODERICK MAC NIEL, J. P.

therefore, as conveyed through the race of bards, are we indebted for the precious remains of Gaelic song which have reached us. But although the bards were the depositories of the muses, there were not wanting many who delighted to store their memories with the poetical effusions of the bards, and to recite them to their friends. The late captain John Macdonald of Breakish, a native of the island of Skye, declared upon oath, at the age of seventy-eight, that he could repeat, when a boy between twelve or fifteen years of age (about the year 1740), from one to two hundred Gaelic poems differing in length and in number of verses; and that he had learned them from an old man about eighty years of age, who sung them for years to his father, when he went to bed at night, and in the spring and winter before he rose in the morning.* The late Reverend Dr. Stuart, minister of Luss, knew an old highlander in the isle of Skye, who repeated to him for three successive days, and during several hours each day, without hesitation, and with the utmost rapidity many thousand lines of ancient poetry, and would have continued his repetitions much longer, if the Doctor had required him to do so.

A curious illustration of the attachment of the highlanders to their ancient poetry and the preference given to it above all other literary pursuits, is given by Bishop Carsewell, in his preface to the translation into Gaelic of the forms of prayer and administration of the sacraments and catechism of the Christian religion, as used in the reformed church of Scotland, printed at Edinburgh in the year 1567, a work little known and extremely scarce. " But there is" says Bishop Carsewell, "one great disadvantage, which we the Gael of Scotland and Ireland labour under, beyond the rest of the world, that our Gaelic language has never yet been printed, as the language of every other race of men has been. And we labour under a disadvantage which is still greater than every other disadvantage, that we have not the Holy Bible printed in Gaelic, as it has been printed in Latin and in English, and in every other language; and also, that we have never yet had any account printed of the antiquities of our country, or of our ancestors; for though we have some accounts of the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, contained in manuscripts and in the genealogies of bards and historiographers, yet there is great labour in writing them over with the hand, whereas the work which is printed, be it ever so great, is speedily finished. And great is the blindness and sinful darkness and ignorance and evil design of such as teach, and write, and cultivate the Gaelic language that, with the view of obtaining for themselves the vain rewards of this world, they are more desirous and more accustomed to compose vain, tempting, lying, worldly histories, concerning the *Tuatha de dannan*, and concerning warriors and champions, and Fingal the son of Cumhall with his heroes, and concerning many others which I will not at present enumerate or mention, in order to maintain or reprove, than to write and teach, and maintain the faithful words of God, and of the perfect way of truth." This attachment continued unabated till about the middle of the last century, when the measures of government produced a change in many of the ancient habits. "Before this period, the recitation of that poetry (the ancient poetry of the Highlands,) was the universal amusement of every winter fire-side."*

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* Appendix No. I. to the edition of Ossian, published under the sanction of the Highland Society of London.

That such a vast collection of Gaelic poetry, as that which has reached us, should have been handed down by oral tradition may appear extraordinary to those who have not sufficiently reflected on the power of the human memory, when applied and confined to the acquisition of those sublime and lofty effusions of poetic fancy in which the Highlanders took such delight, as to supersede all other mental pursuits. The mere force of habit in persons who, from their childhood, have been accustomed to hear recitals often repeated, which delighted them, will make an indelible impression, not confined to the ideas suggested, or to the images which float in the imagination, as reflected from the mirror of the mind, but extending to the very words themselves. It was not, therefore, without good reason that the Highland Society observe in their Report, already quoted, "that the power of memory in persons accustomed from their infancy to such repetitions, and who are unable to assist or to injure it by writing, must not be judged of by any ideas or any experience possessed by those who have only seen its exercise in ordinary life. Instances of such miraculous powers of memory, as they may be styled by us, are known in most countries where the want of writing, like the want of a sense, gives an almost supernatural force to those by which that privation is supplied." Mr. Wood, in his Essay on the original writings and genius of Homer, remarks, with great justice, that we cannot, in this age of dictionaries and other technical aids to memory, judge what her use and powers were at a time when all a man could know was all he could remember, and when the memory was loaded with nothing either useless or unintelligible. The Arabs, who are in the habit of amusing their hours of leisure by telling and listening to tales, will remember them though very long, and rehearse them with great fidelity after one hearing.†

Besides these and other reasons in favour of the oral transmission of the Gaelic poetry, to which we shall afterwards allude, one more important consideration, as far as we can ascertain, has been entirely overlooked, namely, that to insure a correct transmission of the poems in question, through the medium of oral tradition, it was by no means necessary that one or more individuals should be able to recite all of them. To secure their existence it was only necessary that particular persons should be able to recite with accuracy such parts as they might have committed to memory so as to communicate them to others. Doubtless there would be great differences in the powers of acquisition and retention in different persons, but we have no idea that one person could carry in his memory the whole poetry of Ossian. We know, indeed, a gentleman who says, that if the works of Homer were lost, he could almost supply the Iliad and Odyssey from memory; but, although we are disposed to be rather sceptical on this subject, we have no doubt that if the poems of Burns ceased to exist on paper, every word could be supplied by thousands from mere memory.

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* Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland on Ossian's poems.

† Acerbi's Remarks on Lapland.

Besides these arguments in support of oral tradition, the following reasons are given by the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Baronet,* in support of the preservation of the Poems of Ossian through that medium: 1, The beauty of the poetry, of which it is impossible to form an adequate idea from any translation hitherto given; 2, The partiality which the Highlanders naturally entertained for songs, which contained the traditional history of the greatest heroes, in the ancient annals of their country; 3, It is to be observed that the Bards were for a long time a distinct class or caste, whose whole business it was, either to compose verses themselves, or to recite the poetry of others; 4, Though the poems were not composed in rhyme, yet there was an emphasis laid upon particular syllables of a particular sound in every line, which greatly assisted the memory; 5, The verses were set to particular music, by which the remembrance of the words was greatly facilitated; and, 6, The Highlanders, at their festivals and other public meetings, acted the poems of Ossian, and on such occasions, those who could repeat the greatest number of verses were liberally rewarded. What also tended greatly to preserve the recollection of the Gaelic poetry, was a practice followed by the Highlanders of going by turns to each others houses in every village during the winter season, and reciting or hearing recited or sung the poems of Ossian, and also poems and songs ascribed to other bards.

The first person who made a collection of Gaelic poetry was the Reverend John Farquharson, a Jesuit missionary in Strathglass, about the year 1745, of which collection some interesting information will be afterwards given.

Alexander Macdonald, a schoolmaster at Ardnamurchan, was the next who made a collection of Gaelic poetry, which was published in Gaelic at Edinburgh, in the year 1751. In an English preface Macdonald assigns two reasons for the publication; 1, That it may raise a desire to learn something of the Gaelic language, which he states may be found to contain in its bosom the charms of poetry and rhetoric; and, 2, To bespeak the favour of the public to a great collection of poems, in all kinds of poetry that have been in use among the most cultivated nations, with a translation into English verse, and critical observations on the nature of such writings, to render the work useful to those who do not understand the Gaelic language.

Jerome Stone, a native of the county of Fife, and who had acquired a knowledge of the Gaelic language during some years' residence in Dunkeld, where he kept a school, was the third person who collected several of the ancient poems of the Highlands, and was the first person who especially called public attention to the beauty of these poems in a letter which he addressed "To the Author of the Scots Magazine,"* accompanied with a translation in rhyme of one of them, both of which appeared in that periodical in January, 1756. As Stone was only twenty or twenty-one years of age when he made this translation, and being besides in an obscure situation, and with few opportunities of cultivating his native genius or talents, he could not be supposed capable of giving a very happy or impressive translation of Gaelic poetry, especially when fettered with rhyme, which, even in the ablest hands, and those most accustomed to the construction of English verse, affords always an unfaithful, and generally an imperfect transcript of ancient poetry. His place of residence, too, was unfavourable either to the acquirement of pure Gaelic, or the collection of the best copies of the ancient poetry of the Highlands.†

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* Dissertation on the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, p. 60.

The next and most noted collector of Gaelic poetry was the celebrated James Macpherson, whose spirited translations, or forgeries, as some writers maintain, have consigned his name to immortality in the literary world. The circumstances which gave rise to this collection were as follow:—In the summer of 1759, John Home, the author of Douglas, having met Mr. Macpherson at Moffat, learned from him in conversation that he was possessed of some pieces of ancient Gaelic poetry in the original, one or two of which Mr. Home expressed a desire to see an English translation of as a specimen. Accordingly Mr. Macpherson furnished Mr. Home with two fragments which the latter very much admired, and which he sometime thereafter showed to the celebrated

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* As the letter in question is curious, and displays considerable talent, it is here given entire:—

Dunkeld, Nov. 15th, 1755.

Sir,—Those who have any tolerable acquaintance with the Irish language must know, that there are a great number of poetical compositions in it, and some of them of very great antiquity, whose merit entitles them to an exemption from the unfortunate neglect, or rather abhorrence, to which ignorance has subjected that emphatic language in which they were composed. Several of these performances are to be met with, which, for sublimity of sentiment, nervousness of expression, and high spirited metaphor, are hardly to be equalled among the chief productions of the most cultivated nations. Others of them breathe such tenderness and simplicity, as must be affecting to every mind that is in the least tinctured with the softer passions of pity and humanity. Of this kind is the poem of which I here send you a translation. Your learned readers will easily discover the conformity there is betwixt the tale upon which it is built, and the story of Belerophon, as related by Homer; while it will be no small gratification to the curiosity of some, to see the different manner in which a subject of the same nature is handled by the great father of poetry and a Highland bard. It is hoped the uncommon turn of several expressions, and the seeming extravagance there is in some of the comparisons I have observed in the translation, will give no offence to such persons as can form a just notion of those compositions which are the productions of simple and unassisted genius, in which energy is always more sought after than neatness, and the strictness of connexion less adverted to than the design of moving the passions and affecting the heart.—I am, &c.

† Report of Highland Society referred to.

Dr. Hugh Blair and other literary friends, as valuable curiosities. The Doctor, as well as Mr. Home, was so struck with the high spirit of poetry which breathed in them, that he immediately requested an interview with Macpherson, and having learned from him, that, besides the few pieces of Gaelic poetry which he had in his possession, greater and more considerable poems of the same strain were to be found in the Highlands, and were well known to the natives there; Dr. Blair urged him to translate the other pieces which he had, and bring them to him, promising that he, Dr. Blair, would take care to circulate and bring them out to the public, to whom they well deserved to be made known. Dr. Blair informs us that Macpherson was extremely reluctant and averse to comply with his request, saying, that no translation of his could do justice to the spirit and force of the original; and that besides injuring them by translation, he apprehended that they would be very ill relished by the public as being so different from the strain of modern ideas and of modern, correct, and polished poetry. It was not till after much and repeated importunity on the part of Dr. Blair, and after he had represented to Macpherson the injustice he would do to his native country by keeping concealed those hidden treasures, which, he was assured, if brought forth, would serve to enrich the whole learned world, that he was at length prevailed upon to translate and bring to the Reverend Doctor the several poetical pieces which he had in his possession. These were published in a small volume at Edinburgh in the year 1760, under the title of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland;* to which Dr. Blair prefixed an introduction. "These *Fragments*," says Dr. Blair, "drew much attention and excited, among all persons of taste and letters, an earnest desire to recover if possible, all those considerable remains of Gaelic poetry which were said still to exist in the Highlands."*

Several eminent literary men of the day were extremely desirous to have these literary treasures immediately collected; and Mr. Macpherson was spoken to on the subject and urged by several persons to undertake the search; but he showed extreme unwillingness to engage in it, representing to them his diffidence of success and of public approbation, and the difficulty and expensiveness of such a search as was requisite throughout the remote Highlands. At length, to encourage him to undertake it, a meeting was brought together at a dinner, to which Mr. Macpherson was invited; and Dr, Blair, from whom this account is taken, says he had a chief hand in convoking there many of the first persons of rank and taste in Edinburgh. Patrick, Lord Elibank, took a great lead at that meeting, together with Principal Robertson the Historian, Mr. John Home, Dr. Adam Ferguson and many others, who were all very zealous for forwarding the proposed discovery; and after much conversation with Mr. Macpherson, it was agreed that he should disengage himself from all other employment, and set out without delay on this poetical mission through the Highlands; but, as his circumstances did not admit of his engaging in this at his own expense, that the whole expense he might incur was to be defrayed by a collection raised from the meeting with the aid of such other friends as they might choose to apply to for that purpose. When this meeting was about breaking up, Mr. Macpherson followed Dr. Blair to the door and told him, that from the spirit of the meeting, he now, for the first time, entertained the hope that the undertaking to which he had so often prompted him would be attended with success; that hitherto he had imagined they were merely romantic ideas which the Doctor had held out to him, but now he saw them likely to be realized, and should endeavour to exert himself so as to give satisfaction to all his friends.

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* Letter from Dr. Blair to Henry Mackenzie Esq., in Appendix to Highland Society's Report referred to.

Under this patronage Mr. Macpherson set out on his literary journey to the Highlands in the year 1760; and during his tour he transmitted from time to time to Dr. Blair and his other literary friends, accounts of his progress in collecting, from many different and remote parts, all the remains he could find of ancient Gaelic poetry, either in writing or by oral tradition. In the course of his journey he wrote two letters to the Rev. James M'Lagan, formerly minister of Amalrie, afterwards of Blair in Athole, which, as they throw much light on the subject of these poems, and particularly on the much contested question, whether Macpherson ever collected any manuscripts, are given entire. The first of these letters is dated from Ruthven, 27th October, 1760, and is as follows:—

"Rev. Sir,—You perhaps have heard, that I am employed to make a collection of the ancient poetry in the Gaelic. I have already traversed most of the Isles, and gathered all worth notice in that quarter. I intend a journey to Mull and the coast of Argyle, to enlarge my collection.

"By letters from Edinburgh, as well as gentlemen of your acquaintance, I am informed, that you have a good collection of poems of the kind I want. It would be, therefore, very obliging should you transmit me them as soon as convenient, that my book might be rendered more complete, and more for the honour of our old poetry. Traditions are uncertain; poetry delivered down from memory must lose considerably; and it is a matter of surprise to me, how we have now any of the beauties of our ancient Gaelic poetry remaining.

"Your collection, I am informed, is pure, as you have taken pains to restore the style. I shall not make any apology for this trouble, as it will be for the honour of our ancestors, how many of their pieces of genius will be brought to light. *I have met with a number of old manuscripts in my travels; the poetical part of them I have endeavoured to secure.*

"If any of that kind falls within your hearing, I beg it of you, to have them in sight.

"I shall probably do myself the pleasure of waiting on you before I return to Edinburgh. Your correspondence in the meantime will be very agreeable. You will excuse this trouble from an entire stranger, and believe me, &c. (Signed) James M'Pherson.

"Inform me of what you can of the tradition of the poems: direct to me by Edinburgh and Ruthven, inclosed to Mr. Macpherson, postmaster here."

The second letter is dated from Edinburgh, 16th January, 1761, and runs thus:—

"REV. SIR,—I was favoured with your letter inclosing the Gaelic poems, for which I hold myself extremely obliged to you. *Duan a Ghairibh* is less poetical and more obscure than *Teantach mor na Feinc*. The last is far from being a bad poem, were it complete, and is particularly valuable for the ancient manners it contains. I shall reckon myself much obliged to you for any other pieces you can send me. It is true I have the most of them from other hands, but the misfortune is, that I find none expert in the Irish orthography, so that an obscure poem is rendered doubly so, by their uncouth way of spelling. It would have given me real pleasure to have got your letter before I left the Highlands, as in that case I would have done myself the pleasure of waiting on you; but I do not despair but something may soon cast up that may bring about an interview, as I have some thoughts of making a jaunt to Perthshire. Be that, however, as it will, I shall be always glad of your correspondence; and hope that you will give me all convenient assistance in my present undertaking.

"*I have been lucky enough to lay my hands on a pretty complete poem, and truly epic, concerning Fingal.* The antiquity of it is easily ascertained, and it is not only superior to any thing in that language, but reckoned not inferior to the more polite performances of other nations in that way. I have some thoughts of publishing the original, if it will not clog the work too much.

"I shall be always ready to acknowledge the obligation you have laid upon me, and promise I will not be ungrateful for further favours.—It would give me pleasure to know how I can serve you, as I am, &c.
(Signed) "JAMES M'PHERSON."

The districts through which Mr. Macpherson travelled were chiefly the north-western parts of Inverness-shire, the Isle of Skye, and some of the adjoining islands; "places, from their remoteness and state of manners at that period, most likely to afford, in a pure and genuine state, the ancient traditionary tales and poems, of which the recital then formed, as the Committee has before stated, the favourite amusement of the long and idle winter evenings of the Highlanders."* Before returning to Edinburgh Mr. Macpherson paid a visit to an early acquaintance, the Rev. Andrew Gallie, then missionary at Badenoch, who was a proficient in the Gaelic language, to whom, and to Mr. Macpherson of Strathmashie in Badenoch, he exhibited the poems and manuscripts which he had collected during his tour. "They consisted," says Mr. Gallie, "of several volumes, small octavo, or rather large duodecimo, in the Gaelic language and characters, being the poems of Ossian, and other ancient bards. I remember perfectly," continues the Reverend Gentleman, "that many of those volumes were, at the close, said to have been collected by Paul Macmhuirich, Bard Clanraonuil, and about the beginning of the 14th century. Mr. Macpherson and I were of opinion, that though the bard collected them, yet that they must have been writ by an ecclesiastic, for the characters and spelling were most beautiful and correct. Every poem had its first letter of its first word most elegantly flourished and gilded, some red, some yellow, some blue, and some green: the material writ on seemed to be a limber yet coarse and dark vellum: the volumes were bound in strong parchment: Mr. Macpherson had them from Clanronald."* Mr. Macpherson, on the occasion of his visit to Mr. Gallie, availed himself of the able assistance of that gentleman, and of his namesake Mr. Macpherson of Strathmashie, in collating the different editions or copies of the poems he had collected, and in translating difficult passages and obsolete words.

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* Report of the Committee of the Highland Society.

On his return to Edinburgh from his poetical tour, Mr. Macpherson took lodgings in a house at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, immediately below that possessed by his chief patron, Dr. Blair, and immediately set about translating from the Gaelic into English. He soon afterwards, viz., in 1761, published one volume in quarto, containing FINGAL, an epic poem, in six books, and some other detached pieces of a similar kind. He published, in the year 1762, another epic poem called TEMORA, of one of the books or divisions of which he annexed the original Gaelic, being the only specimen he ever published, though at his death he left *L.*1000 to defray the expense of a publication of the originals of the whole of his translations, with directions to his executors for carrying that purpose into effect. Various causes contributed to delay their appearance till the year 1807, when they were published under the sanction of the Highland Society of London.

Such is the brief history of Macpherson's connexion with those remarkable poems, which have excited the admiration of the literary world, and given occasion to a controversy which, for nearly half a century, agitated the breasts of philologists and antiquaries, and which even now does not seem to be set at rest; for we find, that, in a modern publication,† a writer of great penetration and extensive erudition, thus speaks of these poems: "Some fragments of the songs of the Scottish Highlanders, of very uncertain antiquity, appear to have fallen into the hands of Macpherson, a young man of no mean genius, unacquainted with the higher criticism applied to the genuineness of ancient writings, and who was too much a stranger to the studious world to have learnt those refinements which extend probity to literature as well as to property. Elated by the praise not unjustly bestowed on some of these fragments, instead of insuring a general assent to them by a publication in their natural state, he unhappily applied his talents for skilful imitation to complete poetical works in a style similar to the fragments, and to work them into the unsuitable shape of epic and dramatic poems.

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* Letter from Mr. Gallie to Charles Macintosh, Esq., W. S., dated March 12th, 1799, inserted in Report referred to.

† History of England. By the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, LL.D. M. P., vol. i. p. 86.

" He was not aware of the impossibility of poems, preserved only by tradition, being intelligible after thirteen centuries to readers who knew only the language of their own times; and he did not perceive the extravagance of peopling the Caledonian mountains, in the fourth century, with a race of men so generous and merciful, so gallant, so mild, and so magnanimous, that the most ingenious romances of the age of chivalry could not have ventured to represent a single hero as on a level with their common virtues. He did not consider the prodigious absurdity of inserting as it were a people thus advanced in moral civilization between the Britons, ignorant and savage as they are painted by Cæsar, and the Highlanders, fierce and rude as they are presented by the first accounts of the chroniclers of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Even the better part of the Scots were, in the latter period, thus spoken of:—' In Scotland ye shall find no man lightly of honour or gentleness: they be like wylde and savage people.'* The great historian who made the annals of Scotland a part of European literature, had sufficiently warned his countrymen against such faults, by the decisive observation that their forefathers were unacquainted with the art of writing, which alone preserves language from total change, and great events from oblivion.† Macpherson was encouraged to overleap these and many other improbabilities by youth, talent, and applause: perhaps he did not at first distinctly present to his mind the permanence of the deception. It is more probable, and it is a supposition countenanced by many circumstances, that after enjoying the pleasure of duping so many critics, he intended one day to claim the poems as his own; but if he had such a design, considerable obstacles to its execution arose around him. He was loaded with so much praise that he seemed bound in honour to his admirers not to desert them. The support of his own country appeared to render adherence to those poems, which Scotland inconsiderately sanctioned, a sort of national obligation. Exasperated, on the other hand, by the, perhaps, unduly vehement, and sometimes very coarse attacks made on him, he was unwilling to surrender to such opponents. He involved himself at last so deeply as to leave him no decent retreat. Since the keen and searching publication of Mr. Laing, these poems have fallen in reputation, as they lost the character of genuineness. They had been admired by all the nations, and by all the men of genius in Europe. The last incident in their story is perhaps the most remarkable. In an Italian version, which softened their defects, and rendered their characteristic qualities faint, they formed almost the whole poetical library of Napoleon a man who, whatever may be finally thought of him in other respects, must be owned to be, by the transcendant vigour of his powers, entitled to a place in the first class of human minds. No other imposture in literary history approaches them in the splendour of their course."

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* Berner's Froisart, xi. 7. Lond. 1812.

† Buchan. Rer. Scotic. lib ii. *in intio.*

A sentence so severe and condemnatory, proceeding from an author of such acknowledged ability as Sir James Mackintosh, and who we presume had fully considered the question, must have considerable effect; but we apprehend it is quite possible that minds of the first order may, even in a purely literary question, be led astray by prepossessions. That Macpherson endeavoured to complete some of the poetical fragments he collected, in his *translation*, may, we think, be fairly admitted; and, indeed, the Committee of the Highland Society, with that candour which distinguished their investigation in answering the second question to which their inquiries were directed, namely, How far the collection of poetry published by Mr. Macpherson was genuine, considered that point as rather difficult to answer decisively. The Committee reported, that they were inclined to believe that Mr. Macpherson "was in use to supply chasms, and to give connexion, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what in his opinion was below the standard of good poetry. To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties it is impossible for the Committee to determine. The advantages he possessed, which the Committee began its inquiries too late to enjoy, of collecting from the oral recitation of a number of persons, now no more, a very great number of the same poems, on the same subjects, and then collating those different copies or editions, if they may be so called, rejecting what was spurious or corrupted in one copy, and adopting from another something more genuine and excellent in its place, afforded him an opportunity of putting together what might fairly enough be called an original whole, of much more beauty, and with much fewer blemishes, than the Committee believes it *now* possible for any person, or combination of persons, to obtain." But this admission, when all the other circumstances which are urged in favour of the authenticity of these poems are considered, assuredly does not detract in any material degree from their genuineness; more particularly when the history of Mr. Farquharson's collection of Gaelic poetry, shortly to be noticed, is taken into account; a collection with which the Committee were totally unacquainted, till it was brought to light by the patriotic exertions of Sir John Sinclair, seconded by those of the late highly respected Bishop Cameron.

While we readily subscribe to the position as to the impossibility of poems, preserved only by tradition, being intelligible after thirteen centuries to readers who knew only the language of their own times, we cannot agree to the assumption that the Gaelic of the Highlands, as it was spoken in the Ossianic era, has been so materially altered or corrupted as to be unintelligible to the Gaelic population of the present age. That some alterations in the language may have taken place there can be no doubt; but, in an original and purely idiomatic language, these must have been necessarily few and unimportant. No fair analogy can be drawn between an original language, as the Gaelic unquestionably is, and the modern tongues of Europe, all, or most of which, can be deduced from their origin and traced through their various changes and modifications; but who can detect any such in the Gaelic? "A life of St. Patrick," says the Rev. Dr. John Smith,* "written in the sixth century, in Irish verse, is still intelligible to an Irishman; and a poem of near one hundred verses, of which I have a copy, and which was composed about the same time by St. Columba, though for ages past little known or repeated, will be understood, except a few words, by an ordinary Highlander." And if such be the case as to poetical compositions, which had lain dormant for an indefinite length of time, can we suppose that those handed down uninterruptedly from father to son through a long succession of generations, could by any possibility have become unintelligible? "The preservation of any language from total change" does not, we apprehend, depend upon the art of writing alone, but rather upon its construction and character, and on its being kept quite apart from foreign admixture. Owing to the latter circumstance all the European languages, the Gaelic alone excepted, have undergone a total change notwithstanding the art of writing. In connexion with this fact it may be observed, that the purest Gaelic is spoken by the unlettered natives of Mull and Skye, and the remote parts of Argyleshire and Inverness-shire; and it has been truly observed, that "an unlettered Highlander will feel and detect a violation of the idiom of his language more readily than his countryman who has read Homer and Virgil."†

The high state of refinement and moral civilization depicted in the poems of Ossian affords no solid objection against their authenticity. The same mode of reasoning might with great plausibility be urged against the genuineness of the Iliad and Odyssey. Fiction is essential to the character of a true poet; and we need not be surprised that one so imaginative and sublime as Ossian should people his native glens with beings of a superior order.

We have already alluded to a collection of Gaelic poems made by Mr. Farquharson, which unfortunately does not now exist. The history of this collection being very interesting, as throwing a flood of light on the Ossianic question, and supporting, in an essential manner, the views of the defenders of the authenticity of Ossian's poems, we hope we shall be excused for drawing the attention of the reader to the documents which detail the circumstances relating to that collection. Sir John Sinclair Baronet, having accidentally heard that Dr. Cameron, the Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, could furnish some interesting information regarding the authenticity of Ossian, with that praiseworthy zeal which has ever distinguished the honourable Baronet, addressed the following card to the Bishop, dated Charlotte Square, Edinburgh 7th February, 1806.

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* Letter to Henry Mackenzie, Esq., in Report referred to.

† Essay on the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems, by Dr. Patrick Graham, p. 103.

"Sir John Sinclair presents his compliments to Bishop Cameron. Has accidentally heard that the Bishop can throw some new light upon the controversy regarding the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and takes the liberty, therefore, of requesting his attention to the subjoined queries.

"1. Does the Bishop ever recollect to have seen, or heard of any ancient Gaelic manuscripts in France?

"2. Did they contain any of the poems of Ossian, and what were they?

"3. Did the Bishop compare them with Macpherson's translation, and did it seem to be a just one?

"4. Can the Bishop recollect any other person or persons, now living, who saw those manuscripts?

"5. Where did he see them; and is there any chance of those being yet recovered, or copies of them obtained?"

To which application, Bishop Cameron returned for answer, that he had taken the necessary steps for acquiring and laying before Sir John the most satisfactory account he could, of a manuscript Gaelic collection, which contained a very considerable part of what was afterwards translated and published by Macpherson—that the collector had died in Scotland some years before—that the manuscript had been lost in France; but there was at least one alive, who, being much pleased with the translation, although he did not understand the original, saw them frequently compared, and had the manuscript in his hands—and that Sir John's queries, and whatever else could throw any light on the subject, would be attended to.

In answer to a second application from Sir John, the Bishop regretted that the information he had hitherto received, concerning the manuscript of Ossian's poems, was not so complete as he expected—and that the MS. was irreparably lost—that the Rev. James Macgillivray declared, that he remembered the manuscript perfectly well; that it was in folio, large paper, about three inches thick, written close, and in a small letter—the whole in Mr. John Farquharson's handwriting—that Mr. Macgillivray went to Douay College, in 1763, where Mr Farquharson was at the time Prefect of Studies—that Gaelic poetry and the contents of the MS. were frequently brought upon the carpet—that about 1766, Mr. Glendonning of Parton sent Macpherson's translation of the poems of Ossian to Mr. Farquharson—that the attention of every one was then drawn to the MS. in proportion to the impression made upon their minds by the translation. Mr. Macgillivray saw them collated hundreds of times—that the common complaint was, that the translation fell very far short of the energy and beauty of the original—and Mr. Macgillivray was convinced that the MS. contained *all* the poems translated by Macpherson. 1. Because he recollected very distinctly having heard Mr. Farquharson say, after having read the translation, that *he had all these poems in his collection.* 2. Because he never saw him at a loss to find the original in the MS. when any observation occurred upon any passage in the translation—that he knew the poems of Fingal and Temora were of the number, for he saw the greater part of both collated with the translation, and he heard Mr. Farquharson often regret that Macpherson had not found or published several poems contained in his MS., and of no less merit than any of those laid before the public—that Mr. Farquharson came to Scotland in 1773, leaving his MS. in the Scots' College of Douay, where Mr. Macgillivray had occasion to see it frequently during his stay there till 1775; but, he said, *it had got into the hands of young men who did not understand the Gaelic, and was much tattered, and that several leaves had been torn out*—that the late Principal of that College, who was then only a student there, remembered very well having seen the leaves of the mutilated manuscript torn out to kindle the fire in their stove.

Bishop Cameron believed the collection was made before the middle of last century. He was personally acquainted with Mr. Farquharson from 1773 to 1780, and the poems were often the subject of their conversation, that whatever opinion the literary world might form of them, it was not easy to foresee that Macpherson should be seriously believed to be the author of them, and it was hoped he would publish the originals. In that persuasion perhaps few Highlanders would have copied them, for the value of any trifling variation.

Bishop Cameron afterwards acquainted Sir John, that he considered the testimony of Mr. Macgillivray, on the subject of Mr. Farquharson's collection of Gaelic poems, as of the greatest weight with him, for many reasons. The impression made upon Mr. Macgillivray by the translation enhanced his veneration for the original. The manuscript appeared to him, in a very different light, from that in which it was seen by those who had from their infancy been accustomed to hear the contents of it recited or sung by illiterate men, for the entertainment of the lower classes of Society—that the account then given by Mr. Macgillivray, was the same which he gave him thirty years ago; for he, Bishop Cameron, took notes of it then, and had frequently repeated it since on his authority.

On receipt of the communication alluded to, Sir John drew up the following queries which he transmitted to Bishop Cameron to be communicated to his friends.

"Queries for the Rev. Dr. John Chisholm, and for the Rev. James Macgillivray, to be answered separately.

"1. Did you recollect a manuscript of Gaelic poetry, at the college of Douay in Flanders?

"2. At what time do you recollect receiving that manuscript?

"3. Was it an ancient or modern manuscript?

"4. By whom was it supposed to be written, and at what period?

"5. Did it contain other poems, and of equal or inferior merit?

"6. To whom were the poems ascribed?

"7. Did you compare the Celtic manuscript with Macpherson's translation, and what similarity existed between them?

"8. To what extent did you make the comparison, or was it made in your presence?

"9. Were the Gaelic scholars at Douay perfectly satisfied with the result of the comparison?

"10. Was there any communication of the circumstance made to any in Great Britain, so far as your knowledge goes?

"11. How long did the manuscript remain at the College of Douay?

"12. What was the cause of the loss thereof?

"13. Is there any chance of recovering a copy, or any part of it?

"14. Are there any other persons in Scotland who saw the manuscript, and can certify the comparison above-mentioned?

"15. Did you ever hear of any other manuscript of Ossian, either in France, or in Rome?

"16. Do you entertain any doubt respecting the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and that Mr. Macpherson was merely the translator thereof?

"17. Do you think that his translation did justice to the original?

To these queries Bishop Chisholm replied as follows:—

1. That he recollected the manuscript in question. 2. That he remembered having seen it in the hands of the Rev. Mr. John Farquharson, a Jesuit, in the years 1766–67, &c., but could not then read it. 3. Mr. Farquharson wrote it all when (4.) missionary in Strathglass, before and after the year 1745. 5. It contained, as Mr. Farquharson said, Gaelic poems not inferior to either Virgil or Homer's poems, according to his judgment, called (6.) by him Ossian's poems. 7. The Bishop did not, but Mr. Farquharson did, compare the Celtic manuscripts with Macpherson's translation, and he affirmed the translation was inferior to the original, and (8.) he said so of the whole of Mr. James Macpherson's translation. 9. There was not one scholar at Douay, that could read the Gaelic in his, Bishop Chisholm's, time. 10. Mrs. Frazer of Culbokie spoke of the manuscript to him on his return to Scotland, and told him she had taught Mr. Farquharson to read the Gaelic on his arrival in Scotland, in which his progress in a short time exceeded her own. She likewise had a large collection, of which she read some passages to him, when he could scarcely understand the Gaelic, and which escaped his memory since; the manuscript was in fine large Irish characters, written by Mr. Peter Macdonel, chaplain to Lord Macdonel of Glengary, after the Restoration, who had taught Mrs. Frazer, and made such a good Gaelic scholar of her: she called this collection *a Bolg Solair*, that Mr. Frazer of Culbokie, her grandson, could give no account of it. 11. The manuscript was

at Douay, 1777, when the Bishop left that place. 12. That he could not say what might have been done with it since; it was then much damaged, that Mr. John Farquharson, in Elgin, formerly prefect of studies, and at the time of the French Revolution, Principal of the Scotch College, was the only one that could give any account of it, if he remembered it. 13. The Bishop feared that neither it nor any part of it could be recovered. 14. Mr. Farquharson, Mr. James Macgillivray, Mr. Ronald Macdonald, and the Bishop had seen it. The 15th query was answered in the negative. 16. The Bishop never doubted the authenticity of Ossian's poems, and never thought Macpherson any thing but a translator. 17. By what he had seen of the original he believed it was impossible for Macpherson to do justice to it; that it was likewise his opinion, he had it in his power to do more justice to it than he had done, and was convinced he had not taken up the meaning of the original in some passages. The Bishop added that Mr. Macgillivray was a great proficient in poetry, and was much admired for his taste, that he never saw one more stubborn and stiff in denying the merit of Highland poets, till Macpherson's translation appeared, which, when compared with Mr. Farquharson's collection, made a convert of him; and none then admired Ossian's more than he.

Mr. Macgillivray in answering Sir John's communication stated, that Mr. Farquharson was a man of an excellent taste in polite literature, and a great admirer of the ancient poets. When he went to Strathglass, where he lived upwards of thirty years, he knew very little of the Erse language, and was obliged to begin a serious study of it; that he was greatly assisted in this study by that Mrs. Frazer of Culbokie, who passed for the best Erse scholar in that part of the country. From this lady he learnt the language grammatically, and to read and write it; she likewise gave him a high opinion of Erse poetry, by the many excellent compositions in that language, with which she made him acquainted; that in consequence of this, when he became master of the language he collected every thing of the kind he could meet with, and of such collections was formed the MS. in question.

He first saw the MS. in the possession of Mr. Farquharson, when he was a student in the Scotch College of Douay, and afterwards at Dinant in the county of Liege, Mr. Farquharson being then prefect of studies. That it remained in Mr. Farquharson's possession from the year 1763, when Mr. M'G. went first to the college, until 1773, when he and Mr. Farquharson left Dinant, the latter to return to Scotland, and the former to prosecute his studies at Douay. That Mr. Farquharson, on his return to Scotland, passed by Douay where he left his MS. That Mr. M'G. saw it there till the summer of 1775 when he left Douay, and was at that time in a much worse condition than he had ever seen it before: that it had got into the hands of the students, none of whom, he believed, could read it: that it was much tattered in many places, and many leaves had been torn out. That from the manner in which it was then treated, very little care had been taken of it afterwards; but allowing that what remained of it had been carefully kept, it must have perished with every thing else in that house, during the French Revolution. That the MS. was a large folio about three inches thick, and entirely in Mr. Farquharson's own handwriting. As it consisted wholly of poems collected by himself, it was written pretty close, so that it must have contained a great deal. Mr. M‘G. could not say positively how Mr. Farquharson had collected the poems; that many of them certainly must have been obtained from hearing them recited, and he had a sort of remembrance that Mr. F. frequently mentioned his having got a great many of them from Mrs. Frazer, and indeed it must have been so, as she first gave him a relish for Gaelic poetry, by the fine pieces with which she made him acquainted. That Mr. M‘G. could say nothing at all of the particular pieces which Mr. F. got from her, or from any other person, as he did not remember to have heard him specify any thing of the kind. Mr. Macgillivray farther observes, that in the year 1766 or 1767, Mr. Farquharson first saw Mr. Macpherson's translation of Ossian. It was sent to him by Mr. Glendoning of Parton. That he remembered perfectly well his receiving it, although he did not recollect the exact time, but Mr. Farquharson said, when he had read it, that he had all the translated poems in his collection. That Mr. M‘G. had an hundred times seen him turning over his folio, when he read the translation, and comparing it with the Erse; and he could positively say, that he saw him in this manner go through the whole poems of Fingal and Temora. Although he could not speak so precisely of his comparing the other poems in the translation with his manuscript, Mr. M‘G. was convinced he had them, as he spoke in general of his having all the translated poems; and he never heard him mention that any poem in the translation was wanting in his collection; whereas he has often heard him say that there were many pieces in it, as good as any that had been published, and regret that the translator had not found them, or had not translated them. Mr. M‘G. does not remember to have ever heard Mr. F. tax Mr. Macpherson's translation with deviating essentially from the sense of the original, which he would not have failed to have done, had he found grounds for it; for he very frequently complained that it did not come up to the strength of the original, and to convince his friends of this, he used to repeat the Erse expressions, and to translate them literally, comparing them with Macpherson's. This difference, however, he seemed to ascribe rather to the nature of the two languages, than to any inaccuracy or infidelity in the translator.

With regard to the time at which Mr. Farquharson collected the poems he had, it was evident that it must have been during his residence in Strathglass, as he brought them from Scotland to Douay with him. Mr. M‘G. did not know the very year he came to Douay, but he was sure it was before 1760, and he always understood that Mr. F. had collected them long before that time. When Mr. Farquharson first received Macpherson's translation, Mr. M'G. was studying poetry and rhetoric, and he thought that nothing could equal the beauties of the ancient poets, whom he was then reading. He says that he used with a sort of indignation, to hear Mr. Farquharson say, that there were Erse poems equal in merit to the pieces of the ancients, whom he so much admired; but when he saw the translation, he began to think his indignation unjust, and consequently paid more attention to the comparison which Mr. F. made of it with his own collection, than he would otherwise have done.

"This is all the information," says Mr. Macgillivray, "I can give relative to Mr. Farquharson's manuscript; I have often regretted, since disputes began to run so high about the authority of Ossian's poems, that I did not ask Mr. Farquharson a thousand questions about them, which I did not think of then, and to which, I am sure, he could have given me the most satisfactory answers; at any rate, what I have so often heard from him, has left on my mind so full a conviction of the authenticity of the poems, or at least that they are no forgery of Macpherson's, that I could never since hear the thing called in question, without the greatest indignation. It is certain that Mr. Farquharson made his collection before Macpherson's time, and I am sure that he never heard of Macpherson till he saw his book. I sincerely wish that persons of more judgment, and more reflection than I had at the time, had had the same opportunities of seeing and hearing what I did, and of receiving from Mr. Farquharson, whose known character was sincerity, the information he could have given them; in that case, I believe, they would have been convinced themselves, and I make no doubt but they would have been the means of convincing the most incredulous."

Bishop Cameron, after sending the communications alluded to, to Sir John Sinclair, informed him that besides Dr. Chisholm and Mr. Macgillivray, two other persons had been named, who were students in the Scots College of Douay, in the year 1773, when Mr. Farquharson, returning to Scotland, from Dinant, spent some days amongst his countrymen, and left his manuscript with them—that the first of these two afterwards president of the College, and then residing in Elgin, had declared to the Bishop, that he remembered the MS., that no one in the College could read it, and that he had seen the leaves torn out of it, as long as it lasted, to light the fire.

That the second, the Rev. Ronald Macdonald, residing in Uist, declared, that he had a clear remembrance of having seen the manuscript. But it was after his return to Scotland in 1780, after he had acquired a more perfect knowledge of the Gaelic, when he discovered that the poems of Ossian were not so common, or so fresh in the memory of his countrymen, when the public began to despair of Mr. Macpherson's publishing his original text, and when some people doubted, or affected to doubt, the existence of an original, it was then Mr. Macdonald formed some idea of the value of the manuscript, and often expressed his regret that he had not brought it to Scotland, for he was confident no objection would have been made to his taking it.

The following extracts from the Bishop's last letter to Sir John, are curious and interesting:—

" From the year 1775, when he came to Scotland, to 1780, when I went to Spain, where I resided more than twenty years, Mr. Macgillivray and I lived in a habit of intimacy and friendship. Our interviews were frequent, and we were not strangers to Macpherson's translation of the poems of Ossian. It was then Mr. Macgillivray gave me the first account of the manuscript. The Rev. John Farquharson, to whom it belonged, lived at that time with his nephew, Mr. Farquharson of Inverey, at Balmorral. Amongst many others who visited in that respectable family, it is probable Lord Fife may still recollect the venerable old man, and bear testimony of the amiable candour and simplicity of his manners. I knew him, and he confirmed to me all that my friend, Mr. Macgillivray, had told me. He added, that when he was called to Douay, I believe about the year 1753, he had left another collection of Gaelic poems in Braemar. He told me by whom and in what manner it had been destroyed; and made many humorous and just observations, on the different points of view, in which different people may place the same object. He seemed to think that similar, and even fuller collections might still be formed with little trouble. He was not sensible of the rapid, the incredible, the total change, which had taken place in the Highlands of Scotland, in the course of a few years.

" The Poems of Ossian, were sometimes the subject of my conversation with my friends in Spain. I wished to see them in a Spanish dress. The experiment was made; but the public reception of the specimen did not encourage the translator to continue his labour. The author of a very popular work on the Origin, Progress, and present state of Literature, had confidently adopted the opinion of those, who thought, or called Mr. Macpherson, the author, not the translator, of the poems; and the opinion became common amongst our literati. This gave me occasion to communicate to my friends, the grounds of my opinion. To that circumstance, I ascribe my having retained a distinct memory of what I have now related; and upon that account alone, I have taken the liberty of troubling you with this perhaps no less unimportant than tedious relation.

" The Right Rev. Dr. Eneas Chisholm, informs me, that the late Mr. Archibald Frazer, major in the Glengary Fencibles, son of Mrs. Frazer, Culbokie, so renowned for her Gaelic learning, assured him, that his mother's manuscripts had been carried to America. Her son, Simon, emigrated thither with his family, in 1773. He had received a classical education, and cultivated the taste which he had inherited for Gaelic poetry. When the American war broke out, Simon declared himself for the mother country. He became an officer in the

British service, was taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon, where he was said to have been very cruelly used, and where he died; I understood two of his sons, William and Angus, are now in Canada, but I can learn nothing of the fate of his manuscripts."

In consequence of the allusion by Bishop Chisholm to the Rev. John Farquharson who had been President of the Scotch College at Douay, as knowing something of his namesake's collection, Sir John Sinclair requested that he would send him all the particulars he could possibly recollect as to the MS. alluded to, and his opinion regarding the authenticity of Ossian. He also wished to be informed if there was a chance of recovering the whole, or any part of the Douay MS.? or if any copy of any part of it was extant? To which request Mr. Farquharson replied, that he perfectly recollected to have seen in 1775 and 1776 the MS. mentioned, but being no Gaelic scholar, all that he could attest was his having repeatedly heard the compiler assert, it contained various Gaelic songs, a few fragments of modern composition, but chiefly extracts of Ossian's poems, collected during his long residence in Strathglass, previous to the rebellion of Forty-five; and to have seen him compare the same with Macpherson's *translation*, and exclaiming frequently at its *inaccuracy*; that the MS. might be about three inches thick, large paper, scarce stitched, some leaves torn, others lost, and of course little heeded, as the Highland Society's and Sir John Sinclair's patriotic exertions were not then thought of. What its subsequent fate had been, he could not positively say; for, thrown carelessly amongst other papers into a corner of the college archives, no care whatever had been taken of it, being in a manner *en feuilles detachées*, in a handwriting scarcely legible, and of a nature wholly unintelligible.

The documents referred to establish beyond the possibility of doubt, that long before the name of Macpherson was known to the literary world, a collection of manuscript Poems in Gaelic did exist which passed as the Poems of Ossian, and that they were considered by competent judges as not inferior to the poems of Virgil or Homer: they demonstrate the absurdity of the charge that Macpherson was the author of the poems he published, and annihilate the rash and unfounded assertion of the colossus of English literature, Dr. Samuel Johnson, that "the poems of Ossian never existed in any other form than that which we have seen," in Macpherson's translation and "that the editor or author never could show the original, nor can it be shown by any other."* Whether the celebrated Lexicographer, had he lived to witness the publication of the Gaelic manuscripts under the sanction of the Highland Society of London, would have changed his opinion is a question which cannot be solved; nor is it necessary to speculate on the subject. Every unprejudiced mind must now be satisfied of the authenticity of these poems, and may adopt "the pleasing supposition that Fingal lived and that Ossian sung."

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* Journey to the Western Islands, ed. 1798, p. 205.

The most formidable objection against the genuineness of the poems of Ossian, and which has been urged with great plausibility, is the absence of all allusions to religion. "Religion," says Mr. Laing, "was avoided as a dangerous topic that might lead to detection. The gods and rites of the Caledonians were unknown. From the danger, however, or the difficulty of inventing a religious mythology, the author has created a savage society of refined atheists; who believe in ghosts, but not in deities, and are either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the existence of superior powers. In adopting Rousseau's visions concerning the perfection of the savage state, which was then so popular, Macpherson, solicitous only for proper machinery, has rendered the Highlanders a race of unheard-of infidels, who believed in no gods but the ghosts of their fathers."

It is certainly not easy to account for this total want of religious allusions, for to suppose that at the era in question the Caledonians were entirely destitute of religious impressions, or in other words, a nation of atheists is contrary to the whole history of the human race. That the druidical superstition was the religion of all the Celtic tribes is placed beyond all doubt, and that the influence and power of imperial Rome gradually weakened and finally extinguished that system is equally certain. The extinction of that superstition took place long before the supposed era of Ossian, but to imagine that all recollection of the ancient belief had also been obliterated, is to suppose what is far from probable. Indeed, the well known traditions respecting the disputes between the Druids, and Trathal and Cormac, ancestors to Fingal, in consequence of the attempts of the former to deprive Trenmor, grandfather to Fingal, of the office of Vergobretus or chief Magistrate which was hereditary in his family, show plainly that Ossian could not be ignorant of the tenets of the Druids; and as the Fingalian race from the circumstance noticed were the enemies of the Druids, the silence of Ossian respecting them and their tenets is not much to be wondered at.

It cannot, however, be denied that this silence has puzzled the defenders of the poems very much, and many reasons have been given to account for it. The reason assigned by Dr. Graham of Aberfoil in his valuable Essay appears to be the most plausible. "We are informed," says he, "by the most respectable writers of antiquity, that the Celtic hierarchy was divided into several classes, to each of which its own particular department was assigned. The Druids, by the consent of all, constitute the highest class; the Bards seem to have been the next in rank; and the Eubages the lowest. The higher mysteries of religion, and probably, also, the science of the occult powers of nature, which they had discovered, constituted the department of the Druids. To the Bards, again, it is allowed by all, were committed the celebration of the heroic achievements of their warriors, and the public record of the history of the nation. But we know, that in every polity which depends upon mystery, as that of the Druids undoubtedly did, the inferior orders are sedulously prevented from encroaching on the pale of those immediately above them, by the mysteries which constitute their peculiar badge. Is it not probable, then, that the Bards were expressly prohibited from encroaching upon the province of their superiors by intermingling religion, if they had any knowledge of its mysteries, which it is likely they had not, with the secular objects of their song? Thus, then, we seem warranted to conclude upon this subject, by the time that Ossian flourished, the higher order of this hierarchy had been destroyed; and in all probability the peculiar mysteries which they taught had perished along with them: and even if any traces of them remained, such is the force of habit, and the veneration which men entertain for the institutions in which they have been educated, that it is no wonder the Bards religiously forbore to tread on ground from which they had at all times, by the most awful sanctions been excluded. In this view of the subject, it would seem, that the silence which prevails in these poems, with regard to the higher mysteries of religion, instead of furnishing an argument against their authenticity, affords a strong presumption of their having been composed at the very time, in the very circumstances, and by the very persons to whom they have been attributed."

But although the poems of Ossian are marked by an abstinence from religious mysteries, they abound with a beautiful, because simple, and natural mythology, which demonstrates that the ancient Caledonians were not only *not* devoid of religious sentiment, but were deeply impressed with the belief of a future state of existence. "Ossian's mythology is, to speak so," says Dr. Blair, "the mythology of human nature; for it is founded on what has been the popular belief, in all ages and countries, and under all forms of religion, concerning the appearances of departed spirits." "It were indeed difficult," observes Professor Richardson, "if not impossible in the history of any people, to point out a system of unrevealed, and unphilosophical religion, so genuine and so natural, so much the effect of sensibility, affection, and imagination, operating, unrestrained by authority, unmodified by example, and untinctured with artificial tenets, as in the mythology o the poems of Ossian."*

But it is unnecessary to enlarge further on this subject. The publication of the original poems, so long withheld from the world by the unaccountable conduct of Macpherson, has settled the question of their authenticity, and there are few persons now so sceptical as not to be convinced that these poems are of very high antiquity.

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* Appendix, No. 2, to Dr. Graham's Essay.

CHAPTER III.

PICTISH PERIOD, ANNO 446 TO 843.

Picts and Caledonians—Chronological Table of the Pictish Kings—The Scoto-Irish or Dalriads—Settlement of the Dalriads in Argyle, in five hundred and three, under Lorn, Fergus, and Angus—Conversion of the Caledonians, or Picts, to Christianity by St. Columba—Inauguration of Aidan, King of Scots, in Iona—Death of St. Columba—Summary of Pictish History—Wars with the Scots—Arrival of the Vikingr or Pirate Kings—Summary of the history of the Scoto-Irish Kings—Accession of Kenneth to the Pictish Throne—Government of the Scoto-Irish—Their Judges and Laws—Courts of Justice—Mode of Living—Practice of Fosterage—Genealogy and Chronology of the Scoto-Irish Kings.

We now enter upon what is called the Pictish period of Caledonian history, which embraces a course of three hundred and ninety-seven years, viz., from the date of the Roman abdication of the government of North Britain, in the year four hundred and forty-six, to the subversion of the Pictish government in the year eight hundred and forty-three. This interval of time is distinguished by two important events in the history of North Britain—the arrival and settlement of the Dalriads, or Scoto-Irish, on the shores of Argyle, in the year five hundred and three, and the introduction of Christianity by St. Columba into the Highlands, in five hundred and sixty-three, both of which events will be fully noticed in the sequel.

Many conjectures have been hazarded as to the derivation of the term *Pict*, to which there seems no necessity to revert here; but of this there can be no doubt, that the Picts were Celts, and that they were no other than a part of the race of the ancient Caledonians under another name. Of the twenty-one distinct tribes which inhabited North Britain, at the time of the Roman invasion, as we have observed, the most powerful was that of the *Caledonii*, or Caledonians, who inhabited the whole of the interior country, from the ridge of mountains which separates Inverness and Perth on the south, to the range of hills that forms the forest of Balnagowan in Ross, on the north, comprehending all the middle parts of Inverness and of Ross: but in process of time the whole population of North Britain, were designated by the generic appellation of Caledonians though occasionally distinguished by some classic writers, proceeding on fanciful notions, by the various names of Maeatæ, Dicaledones, Vecturiones, and Picti.

At the time of the Roman abdication, the Caledonians, or Picts, were under the sway of a chieftain, named Drust, the son of Erp, who, for his prowess in his various expeditions against the Roman provincials, has been honoured by the Irish Annalists, with the name of *Drust of he hundred battles.* History, however, has not done him justice, for it as left little concerning him on record. In fact, little is known of the Pictish history for upwards of one hundred years, immediately after the Roman abdication. Although some ancient chronicles afford us lists of the Pictish Kings, or Princes, a chronological table of whom, according to the best authorities, is here subjoined:—

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PICTISH KINGS.

Series.	THEIR NAMES, AND FILIATIONS.	Date of Accession.	Duration of Reigns.	Period of their Deaths.
1	DRUST, the son of Erp			451
2	TALORC, the son of Aniel	451	4 years.	455
3	NACTON MORBET, the son of Erp	455	25 ...	480
4	DREST Gurthinmoch	480	30 ...	510
5	GALANAU ETELICH	510	12 ...	522
6	DADREST	522	1 ...	523
7	DREST, the son of Girom	523	1 ...	524
	DREST, the son of Wdrest, with the former	524	5 ...	529
	DREST, the son of Girom, alone	529	5 ...	534
8	GARTNACH, the son of Girom	534	7 ...	541
9	GEALTRAIM, the son of Girom	541	1 ...	542
10	TALORG, the son of Muircholaich	542	11 ...	553
11	DREST, the son of Munait	553	1 ...	554
12	GALAM, with Aleph	554	1 ...	555
	GALAM, with Bridei	555	1 ...	556
13	BRIDEI, the son of Mailcon	556	30 ...	586
14	GARTNAICH, the son of Domelch	586	11 ...	597
15	NECTU, the nephew of Verb	597	20 ...	617
16	CINEOCH, the son of Luthrin	617	19 ...	636
17	GARNARD, the son of Wid	636	4 ...	640
18	BRIDEI, the son of Wid	640	5 ...	645
19	TALORC, their brother	645	12 ...	657
20	TALLORCAN, the son of Enfret	657	4 ...	661
21	GARTNAIT, the son of Donnel	661	6½ ...	667
22	DREST, his brother	667	7 ...	674
23	BRIDEI, the son of Bili	674	21 ...	695
24	TARAN, the son of Entifidich	695	4 ...	699
25	BRIDEI, the son of Dereli	699	11 ...	710
26	NECHTON, the son of Dereli	710	15 ...	725
27	DREST, and Elpin	725	5 ...	730
28	UNGUS, the son of Urguis	730	31 ...	761
29	BRIDEI, the son of Urguis	761	2 ...	763
30	CINIOD, the son of Wredech	763	12 ...	775
31	ELPIN, the son of Bridei	775	3½ ...	779
32	DREST, the son of Talorgan	779	5 ...	784
33	TALORGAN, the son of Ungus	784	2½ ...	786
34	CANAUL, the son of Tarla	786	5 ...	791
35	CONSTANTIN, the son of Urguis	791	30 ...	821
36	UNGUS (Hungus), the son of Urguis	821	12 ...	833
37	DREST, the son of Constantine, and Talorgan, the son of Wthoil	833	3 ...	836
38	UUEN, the son of Ungus	836	3 ...	839
39	WRAD, the son of Bargoit	839	3 ...	842
40	BRED	842	1 ...	843

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* See Chalmers' Caledonia, Vol. I. p. 206. Innes' Critical Enquiry, Vol. I. from 111 to 117, &c. &c.

But before proceeding further with the Pictish history, it is proper, in the order of time, to give some details concerning the settlement of the Dalriads, and the introduction of Christianity among the Highland Clans. And with regard to the first of these events we beg to refer the reader to the short notice given of the *Scots* in the first chapter, which will serve as a preliminary to what follows.

The Scoto-Irish, a branch of the great Celtic family, are generally supposed to have found their way into Ireland from the western shores of North Britain, and to have established themselves at a very early period in the Irish *Ulladh*, the Ulster of modern times. They appear to have been divided into two tribes or clans, the most powerful of which was called Cruithne or Cruithnich; a term said to mean eaters of corn or wheat, from the tribe being addicted to agricultural pursuits. The quarrels between these two rival tribes were frequent, and grew to such a height of violence, about the middle of the third century, as to call for the interference of Cormac, who then ruled as king of Ireland; and it is said that Cairbre-Riada, the general and cousin of king Cormac, conquered a territory in the north-east corner of Ireland, of about thirty miles in extent, possessed by the Cruithne. This tract was granted by the king to his general, and was denominated Dal-Riada, or the *portion* of Riada, over which Cairbre and his posterity reigned for several ages, under the protection of their relations, the sovereigns of Ireland.* The Cruithne of Ireland and the Picts of North Britain being of the same lineage and language, kept up, according to O'Connor, a constant communication with each other; and it seems to be satisfactorily established that a colony of the Dalriads or Cruithne of Ireland, had settled at a very early period in Argyle, from which they were ultimately expelled and driven back to Ireland about the period of the abdication, by the Romans, of the government of North Britain, in the year four hundred and forty-six.

In the year five hundred and three, a new colony of the Dalriads or Dalriadini, under the direction of three brothers, named Lorn, Fergus, and Angus, the sons of Erc, the descendant of Cairbre-Riada, settled in the country of the British Epidii, near the Epidian promontory of Richard and Ptolemy, named afterwards by the colonists *Ceantir* or *head-land*, now known by the name of Cantyre. History has thrown but little light on the causes which lead to this settlement, afterwards so important in the annals of Scotland: and a question has even been raised whether it was obtained by force or favour. In proof of the first supposition it has been observed,† that the head-land of Cantyre, which forms a very narrow peninsula and runs far into the Deucaledonian sea, towards the nearest coast of Ireland, being separated by lofty mountains from the Caledonian continent, was in that age very thinly peopled by the Cambro-Britons; that these descendants of the Epidii were little connected with the central clans and still less considered by the Pictish government, which, perhaps, was not yet sufficiently refined to be very jealous of its rights, or to be promptly resentful of its wrongs; and that Drest-Gurthinmoch then reigned over the Picts, and certainly resided at a great distance, beyond Drum-Albin. It is also to be observed, in further corroboration of this view, that Lorn, Fergus, and Angus, brought few followers with them; and though they were doubtless joined by subsequent colonists, they were, for some time, occupied with the necessary, but uninteresting labours of settlement within their appropriate districts. Ceantir was the portion of Fergus, Lorn possessed Lorn to which he gave his name, and Angus is supposed to have colonized Ila, for it was enjoyed by Muredach, the son of Angus, after his decease. Thus these three princes or chiefs had each his own tribe and territory, according to the accustomed usage of the Celts; a system which involved them frequently in the miseries of civil war, and in questions of disputed succession.

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* O'Flaherty's Ogygia; Ogygia vindicated, pp. 163, 4 & 5. O'Connor's Dissertation, pp. 196, 7.

† Chalmer's Caledonia, Vol. I. p. 275.

There is no portion of history so obscure, or so perplexed as that of the Scoto-Irish kings, and their tribes, from their first settlement, in the year five hundred and three, to their accession to the Pictish throne in eight hundred and forty-three. Unfortunately no contemporaneous written records appear ever to have existed of that dark period of our annals, and the efforts which the Scotch and Irish antiquaries have made to extricate the truth from the mass of contradictions in which it lies buried, have rather been displays of national prejudice than calm researches by reasonable inquirers. The annals, however, of Tigernach, and of Ulster, and the useful observations of O'Flaherty and O'Connor, along with the brief chronicles and historical documents, first brought to light by the industrious Innes, in his Critical Essay, (a work praised even by Pinkerton,) have thrown some glimpses of light on a subject which had long remained in almost total darkness, and been rendered still more obscure by the fables of our older historians. Some of the causes which have rendered this part of our history so perplexed are thus stated by Chalmers in his Caledonia. "The errors and confusion, which have been introduced into the series, and the history, of the Scottish kings, have chiefly originated from the following causes:—1st. The sovereignty was not transmitted by the strict line of hereditary descent. There were, as we shall see, three great families, who, as they sprung from the royal stock, occasionally grew up into the royal stem; two of these were descended from Fergus I. by his grandsons, Comgal and Gauran; the third was descended from Lorn, the brother of Fergus. This circumstance naturally produced frequent contests and civil wars, for the sovereignty, which, from those causes, was sometimes split; and the representatives of Fergus, and Lorn, reigned independently over their separate territories, at the same time. The confusion, which all this had produced, can only be cleared up, by tracing, as far as possible, the history of these different families, and developing the civil contests which existed among them. 2d. Much perplexity has been produced by the mistakes and omissions of the Gaelic bard, who composed the Albanic Duan, particularly, in the latter part of the series, where he has, erroneously, introduced several suppositious kings, from the Pictish catalogue. These mistakes having been adopted by those writers, whose subject was rather to support a system, than to unravel the history of the Scottish monarchs, have increased, rather than diminished the confusion."

Although the Dalriads had embraced Christianity before their arrival in Argyle, they do not appear to have been anxious to introduce it among the Caledonians or Picts. Their patron saint was Ciaran, the son of a carpenter. He was a prelate of great fame, and several churches in Argyle and Ayrshire were dedicated to him. The ruins of Kil-keran, a church dedicated to Ciaran, may still be seen in Campbelton in Cantyre. At Kil-kiaran in Ilay, Kil-kiaran in Lismore, and Kil-keran in Carrick, there were chapels dedicated, as the names indicate, to Ciaran. Whatever were the causes which prevented the Dalriads from attempting the conversion of their neighbours, they were destined at no distant period, from the era of the Dalriadic settlement, to receive the blessings of the true religion, from the teaching of St. Columba, a monk of high family descent, and cousin of Scoto-Irish kings. It was in the year five hundred and sixty-three, when he was forty-two years of age, that he took his departure from his native land, to labour in the pious duty of converting the Caledonians to the faith of the gospel. On arriving among his kindred on the shores of Argyle, he cast his eyes about that he might fix on a suitable site for a monastery, which he meant to erect, from which were to issue forth the apostolic missionaries destined to assist him in the work of conversion, and in which also the youth set apart for the office of the holy ministry were to be instructed. St. Columba, with eyes brimful of joy, espied a solitary isle lying in the Scottish sea, near the south-west angle of Mull, then known by the simple name *I*, signifying in Irish an island, afterwards changed by the venerable Bede into *Hy*, latinized by the monks into *Iona*, and again honoured with the name of I-columb-cil, the isle of St. Columba's retreat or cell. No better station or one more fitted for its purpose could have been selected than this islet during such barbarous times; but events, which no human prudence could foresee, rendered the situation afterwards most unsuitable; for during the ravages of the Danes, in the eighth and ninth centuries, Iona was particularly exposed to their depredations, and suffered accordingly.

In pursuance of his plan, St. Columba settled with twelve disciples in Hy. "They now," says Bede, "neither sought, nor loved, any thing of this world," true traits in the missionary character. For two years did they labour with their own hands erecting huts and building a church. These monks lived under a very strict discipline which St. Columba had established, and they recreated themselves, after their manual and devotional labours closed, by reading and transcribing the Holy

Scriptures from the Latin or Vulgate translation. Having formed his infant establishment, the pious missionary set out on his apostolic tour among the Picts. Judging well that if he could succeed in converting Bridei, the son of Mailcon who then governed the Picts and had great influence among them, the arduous task he had undertaken of bringing over the whole nation to the worship of the true God would be more easily accomplished, he first began with the king, and by great patience and perseverance succeeded in converting him. Whether the Saint was gifted with miraculous powers as many excellent writers maintain, is a question on which we do not wish to enter; but we cannot subscribe to the remark of Chalmers, that "the power of prophecy, the gift of miracles, which were arrogated by Columba, and are related by his biographers, are proofs of the ignorance and simplicity of the age." Doubtless the Picts at the time we are treating of were extremely ignorant; but if a belief in miracles is to be held as a proof of ignorance and simplicity, how are we to account for it amongst a highly refined and civilized people? The question whether miracles ceased after the Apostolic age, is a question not of opinion but of fact; for, assuredly, there is no limitation to be found in Scripture of the duration of miraculous gifts, which God in his good providence may grant whenever He may deem proper. The learned Grotius in his Commentary on Mark xvi. 17 and 18, says, "As the latter ages, also, are full of testimonies of the same thing, I do not know by what reason some are moved to restrain that gift (of miracles) to the first ages only. Wherefore, if any one would even now preach Christ, in a manner agreeable to him, to nations that know him not, I make no doubt but the force of the promise will still remain." As it is not our intention to defend the alleged miracles of St. Columba, we shall merely quote the testimony of the celebrated Dr. Conyers Middleton, on the historical proofs in support of miracles, which we do the more readily as he stoutly maintained the cessation of miraculous powers after the Apostolic age: "As far as church historians can illustrate or throw light upon any thing, there is not a single point in all history, so constantly, explicitly, and unanimously affirmed by them all, as the continual succession of those (miraculous) powers through all ages, from the earliest father that first mentions them, down to the time of the Reformation; which same succession is still farther deduced by persons of the most eminent character, for their probity, learning, and dignity in the Roman church to this very day: so that the only doubt that can remain with us is, whether the church historians are to be trusted or not? For if any credit be due to them in the present case, it must reach either to all or to none, because the reason of believing them in any one age will be found to be of equal force in all, so far as it depends on the characters of the persons attesting, or the nature of the things attested."

The conversion of Bridei was immediately followed by that of his people, and St. Columba soon had the happiness of seeing the blessings of Christianity diffused among a people who had not before tasted its sweets. Attended by his disciples he traversed the whole of the

Pictish territories, and even penetrated into the islands of Orkney, spreading every-where the light of faith by instructing the people in the truths of the Gospel. To keep up a succession of the teachers of religion, he established monasteries in every district, and from these issued, for many ages, Apostolic men to labour in that part of the vineyard of Christ. These monasteries or cells were long subject to the Abbey of Iona.

Conal, the fifth king of the Scots in Argyle, the kinsman of St. Columba, and under whose auspices he entered on the work of conversion, and to whom it is said he was indebted for Hy, died in five hundred and seventy-one. His successor Aidan went over to Hyona in five hundred and seventy-four, and was there ordained and inaugurated by the Abbot according to the ceremonial of the *liber vitreus*, the cover of which is supposed to have been encrusted with chrystal. F. Martene, a learned benedictine, says in his work, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, that this inauguration of Aidan is the most ancient account that, after all his researches, he had found as to the benediction, or inauguration of kings. There can be no doubt, however, that the ceremony was practised long before the time of Aidan.

St. Columba died on the 9th of June, five hundred and ninety-seven, after a glorious and well spent life, thirty-four years of which he had devoted to the instruction of the nation he had converted. His influence was very great with the neighbouring princes, and they often applied to him for advice, and submitted to him their differences which he frequently settled by his authority. His memory was long held in reverence by the Scots and Caledonians, and numerous churches in North Britain were dedicated to him.

To return to the history of the Picts, we have already observed that little is known of Pictish history for more than a hundred years after the Roman abdication; but at the time of the accession of Bridei in five hundred and fifty-six to the Pictish throne, some light is let in upon that dark period of the Pictish annals. The reign of that prince was distinguished by many warlike exploits, but above all by his conversion and that of his people to Christianity, which indeed formed his greatest glory. His chief contests were with the Scoto-Irish or Dalriads, whom he defeated in five hundred and fifty-seven, and slew Gauran their king. Bridei died in the year five hundred and eighty-six, and for several ages his successors carried on a petty system of warfare, partly foreign and partly domestic. Passing over a domestic conflict, at Lindores in six hundred and twenty-one, under Cineoch the son of Luthrin, and the trifling battle of Ludo-Feirn in six hundred and sixty-three among the Picts themselves, we must nevertheless notice the important battle of Dun-Nechtan, fought in the year six hundred and eighty-five, between the Picts under Bridei, the son of Bili, and the Saxons, under the Northumbrian Egfrid. The Saxon king, it is said, attacked the Picts without provocation, and against the advice of his court. Crossing the Forth from Lothian, the *Bernicia* of that age, he entered Strathern and penetrated through the defiles of the Pictish kingdom, leaving fire and desolation in his train. His career was stopt at Dun-Nechtan, the hill-fort of Nechtan, the Dunnichen of the present times; and by a neighbouring lake long known by the name of Nechtan's mere, did Egfrid and his Saxons fall before Bridei and his exasperated Picts. This was a sad blow to the Northumbrian power; yet the Northumbrians, in six hundred and ninety-nine, under Berht, an able leader, again ventured to try their strength with the Picts, when they were once more defeated by Bridei, the son of Dereli, who had recently mounted the Pictish throne. The Picts were, however, finally defeated by the Saxons, in seven hundred and ten, under Beorthfryth, in Mananfield, when Bridei, the Pictish king, was killed.

The wars between the Picts and Northumbrians were succeeded by various contests for power among the Pictish princes which gave rise to a civil war. Ungus, honoured by the Irish Annalists with the title of great, and Elpin, at the head of their respective partizans, tried their strength at Moncrib, in Strathern, in the year seven hundred and twenty-seven, when the latter was defeated; and the conflict was again renewed at Duncrei, when victory declared a second time against Elpin, who was obliged to flee from the hostility of Ungus. Nechtan next tried his strength with Ungus, in seven hundred and twenty-eight, at Moncur, in the Carse of Gowrie, but he was defeated, and many of his followers perished. Drust, the associate of Elpin in the Pictish government, also took the field the same year against the victorious Ungus, but he was slain in a battle fought at Drumderg, an extensive ridge on the western side of the river Ila. Talorgan, the son of Congus, was defeated by Brude, the son of Ungus, in seven hundred and thirty; and Elpin, who, from the time of his last defeat, till that year, had remained a fugitive and an outlaw, now lost his life at Pit Elpie, within the parish of Liff, near the scene of his flight in seven hundred and twenty-seven. This Elpin is not to be confounded, as some fabulous writers have done, with the Scottish Alpin who fell at Laicht-Alpin in the year eight hundred and thirty-six.

Having now put down rebellion at home, the victorious Ungus commenced hostilities against the Dalriads, or Scoto-Irish, in the year seven hundred and thirty-six. Muredach, the Scottish king was not disposed to act on the defensive but carried the war into the Pictish territories. Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, however, defeated him in a bloody engagement in which many principal persons fell. The Scots were again worsted in another battle in seven hundred and forty by Ungus, who in the same year repulsed an attack of the Northumbrians under Eadbert. In the year seven hundred and fifty, he defeated the Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom, in the well fought battle of Cath-O, in which his brother Talorgan was killed. Ungus, who was certainly by far the most powerful and ablest of the Pictish monarchs, died in seven hundred and sixty-one. A doubtful victory was gained by Ciniod the Pictish king over Aodh-fin, the Scottish king, in seven hundred and sixty-seven. Constantin, having overcome Canaul, the son of Tarla in seven hundred and ninety-one, succeeded him in the throne.*

Up to this period, the pirate kings of the northern seas, or the *Vikingr*, as they were termed, had confined their ravages to the Baltic; but, in the year seven hundred and eighty-seven, they for the first time appeared on the east coast of England. Some years afterwards they found their way to the Caledonian shores, and during the ninth century they ravaged the Hebrides. In eight hundred and thirty-nine, the *Vikingr* entered the Pictish territories. A murderous conflict ensued between them and the Picts under Uen their king, in which both he and his only brother Bran, as well as many of the Pictish chiefs, fell. This event hastened the downfal of the Pictish monarchy: and as the Picts were unable to resist the arms of Kenneth, the Scottish king, he carried into execution, in the year eight hundred and forty-three, a project he had long entertained, of uniting the Scots and Picts, and placing both crowns on his head. The ridiculous story about the total extermination of the Picts by the Scots has long since been exploded. They were recognized as a distinct people even in the tenth century, but before the twelfth they lost their characteristic nominal distinction by being amalgamated with the Scots, their conquerors.

The Scoto-Irish after their arrival in Argyle did not long continue under the separate authority of the three brothers, Lorn, Fergus, and Angus. They were said to have been very far advanced in life before leaving Ireland, and the Irish chroniclers assert that St. Patrick gave them his benediction before his death, in the year four hundred and ninety-three. The statement as to their advanced age derives some support from their speedy demise after they had laid the foundations of their settlements, and of a new dynasty of kings destined to rule over the kingdom of Scotland. Angus was the first who died, leaving a son, Muredach, who succeeded him in the small government of Ila. After the death of Lorn the eldest brother, Fergus, the last survivor, became sole monarch of the Scoto-Irish; but he did not long enjoy the sovereignty, for he died in five hundred and six. In an ancient Gaelic poem or genealogical account of the Scoto-Irish kings, Fergus† is honoured with the appellation *ard*. which means either that he was a *great* sovereign or the first in dignity.

Fergus was succeeded by his son Domangart or Dongardus, who died in five hundred and eleven, after a short but troubled reign of about five years. His two sons Comgal and Gabhran or Gauran, successively enjoyed his authority. Comgal had a peaceful reign of four and twenty years, during which he extended his settlements. He left a son named Conal, but Gauran his brother, notwithstanding, ascended the throne in the year five hundred and thirty-five without opposition. Gauran reigned two and twenty years, and, as we have already observed, was slain in a battle with the Picts under Bridei their king.

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* See the Ulster Annals where an account is given of all these conflicts.

† The proper Irish name it seems is *Feargus,* derived from the *fearg* of the Irish language, signifying a warrior or champion. Many Irish chieftains were so named.

Conal, the son of Comgal then succeeded in five hundred and fifty-seven, and closed a reign of fourteen years in five hundred and seventy-one; but a civil war ensued between Aidan, the son of Gauran, and Duncha, the son of Conal, for the vacant crown, the claim to which was decided on the bloody field of Loro, in five hundred and seventy-five, where Duncha was slain. Aidan, the son of Gauran, was formally inaugurated by St. Columba in Iona, in five hundred and seventy-four. Some years thereafter Aidan assisted the Cumbrian-Britons against the Saxons. He defeated the latter at Fethanlea, on Stanmore, in Northumberland, in five hundred and eighty-four, and again in five hundred and ninety, at the battle of Leithredh, in which his two sons, Arthur and Eocha-fin, were slain, with upwards of three hundred of his men; a circumstance which renders the supposition probable, that the armies of those times were far from numerous, and that the conflicts partook little of the regular system of modern warfare. Another battle was fought at Kirkinn in five hundred and ninety-eight, between Aidan and the Saxons, in which he appears to have had the disadvantage and in which he lost Domangart his son; and in six hundred and three he was finally defeated by the Northumbrians under Æthilfrid at the battle of Dawstane in Roxburghshire. The wars with the Saxons weakened the power of the Dalriads very considerably, and it was not till after a long period of time that they again ventured to meet the Saxons in the field.

During a short season of repose Aidan, attended by St. Columba, went to the celebrated council of Drum-keat in Ulster, in the year five hundred and ninety. In this council he claimed the principality of Dalriada, the land of his fathers, and obtained an exemption from doing homage to the kings of Ireland, which his ancestors, it would appear, had been accustomed to pay. Aidan died in six hundred and five, at the advanced age of eighty, and was buried in the church of Kil-keran, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the midst of Campbelton.

Aidan was succeeded in the throne by his son Eocha-bui, or Eocha the yellow-haired, who reigned sixteen years. In six hundred and twenty he got involved in a war with the Cruithne of Ulster. His son Kenneth-Caer, the tanist or heir apparent, was appointed to the command of the army destined to act against these Cruithne. A battle was fought at Ardcoran in which Kenneth was successful, and in which Tiachna, the son of the Ultonian monarch was slain. The same year was distinguished by another battle gained over the same people at Kenn, by Donal-breac, the son of Eocha'-bui. Eocha' died soon afterwards, when his son Kenneth-cear, or the awkward, assumed the monarchical dignity; but he was killed in a battle against the Irish Cruithne, at Fedhaevin, in six hundred and twenty-one, after a short reign of three months.

Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Lorn who ever mounted the throne, now succeeded. He was, according to Usher, crowned by Conan, the Bishop of Sodor; but neither his own reign nor that of his predecessor is marked by any important events. He died in six hundred and thirty-seven, after a reign of sixteen years.

Donal, surnamed *breac* or freckled, the son of Eocha'-bui, of the race of Gauran, succeeded Ferchar in six hundred and thirty-seven. He was a warlike prince and had distinguished himself in the wars against the Cruithne of Ireland. Congal-Claon, the son of Scanlan, the king of the Cruithne in Ulster, having slain Suibne-mean, the king of Ireland, was attacked by Domnal II., supreme king of Ireland, who succeeded Suibne, and was defeated in the battle of Duncetheren, in six hundred and twenty-nine. Congal sought refuge in Cantyre, and having persuaded Donal-breac, the kinsman of Domnal, to join him in a war against Domnal, they invaded Ireland with a heterogeneous mass of Scoto-Irish, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, commanded by Donal and his brothers. Cealach, the son of Maelcomh, the nephew of the reigning king, and as tanist or heir apparent, the leader of his army, attacked Donal-breac in the plain of Moyrath in six hundred and thirty-seven, and completely defeated him after an obstinate and bloody engagement. Congal, the murderer of his sovereign, met his merited fate, and Donal-breac was obliged to secure his own and his army's safety by a speedy return to Cantyre. St. Columba had always endeavoured to preserve an amicable understanding between the Cruithne of Ulster and the Scoto-Irish, and his injunctions were, that they should live in constant peace; but Donal disregarded this wise advice and paid dearly for disregarding it. He was not more successful in an enterprize against the Picts, having been defeated by them in the battle of Glenmoreson during the year six hundred and thirty-eight. He ended his days at Straith-cairmaic on the Clyde, by the sword of Hoan, one of the reguli of Strathcluyd, in the year six hundred and forty-two. The same destiny seems to have pursued his issue, for his son Cathasuidh fell by the same hand in six hundred and forty-nine.

Conal II., the grandson of Conal I., who was also of the Fergusian race of Congal, next ruled over the tribes of Cantyre and Argyle; but Dungal of the race of Lorn, having obtained the government of the tribe of Lorn, questioned the right of Conal. He did not, however, carry his pretensions far, for Conal died, in undisturbed possession of his dominions, in six hundred and fifty-two, after a reign of ten years. To Donal-duin, or the brown, son of Conal, who reigned thirteen years, succeeded Maolduin, his brother, in six hundred and sixty-five. The family feuds which had long existed between the Fergusian races of Comgal and Tauran, existed in their bitterest state during the reign of Maolduin. Domangart the son of Donal-breac was murdered in six hundred and seventy-two, and Conal the son of Maolduin was assassinated in six hundred and seventy-five.

Ferchar-*fada*, or the *tall*, apparently of the race of Lorn, and either the son or grandson of Ferchar, who died in six hundred and seventy three, seized the reins of government upon the death of Maolduin Donal, the son of Conal and grandson of Maolduin, was assassinated in six hundred and ninety-five, with the view, no doubt, of securing Ferchar's possession of the crown, which he continued to wear amidst family feuds and domestic troubles for one and twenty years. On the death of Ferchar, in seven hundred and two, the sceptre passed again to the Fergusian race in the person of Eocha'-rineval, remarkable for his Roman nose, the son of Domangart, who was assassinated in six hundred and seventy-two. The reign of this prince was short and unfortunate. He invaded the territories of the Britons of Strathcluyd and was defeated on the banks of the Leven in a bloody conflict. Next year he had the misfortune to have his sceptre seized by a prince of the rival race of Lorn.

This prince was Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada. He succeeded Eocha' in seven hundred and five. He was of an excellent disposition, but after reigning one year, was dethroned by his brother, Selvach, and obliged, in seven hundred and six, to take refuge in Ireland. Selvach attacked the Britons of Strathcluyd, and gained two successive victories over them, the one at Lough-coleth in seven hundred and ten, and the other at the rock of Mionuire in seven hundred and sixteen. At the end of twelve years, Ainbhcealach returned from Ireland, to regain a sceptre which his brother had by his cruelties shown himself unworthy to wield, but he perished in the battle of Finglein, a small valley among the mountains of Lorn in seven hundred and nineteen. Selvach met a more formidable rival in Duncha-beg, who was descended from Fergus, by the line of Congal: he assumed the government of Cantyre and Argail, and confined Selvach to his family settlement of Lorn. These two princes, appear to have been pretty fairly matched in disposition and valour, and both exerted themselves for the destruction of one another, a resolution which brought many miseries upon their tribes. In an attempt which they made to invade the territories of each other in seven hundred and nineteen, by means of their currachs, the novel scene of a naval combat ensued off Ardaness on the coast of Argyle, which was maintained on both sides with as determined perseverance and bravery, as were ever displayed in modern times by the English and the Dutch. Selvach though superior in skill, was overcome by the fortune of Duncha; but Selvach was not subdued. The death of Duncha in seven hundred and twenty-one, put an end to his designs; but Eocha' III. the son of Eocha'-rineval, the successor of Duncha, being as bent on the overthrow of Selvach as his predecessor, continued the war. The rival chiefs met at Air-Gialla in seven hundred and twenty-seven, where a battle was fought, which produced nothing but irritation and distress. This lamentable state of things was put an end to by the death of Selvach in seven hundred and twenty-nine. This event enabled Eocha' to assume the government of Lorn, and thus the Dalriadian kingdom, which had been alternately ruled by chiefs of the houses of Fergus and Lorn, became again united under Eocha'. He died in seven hundred and thirty-three, after a reign of thirteen years, during nine of which he ruled over Cantyre and Argail, and four over all the Dalriadic tribes.

Eocha' was succeeded in the kingdom by Muredach, the son of Ainbhceallach of the race of Lorn, called by the gaelic bard Muredhaigh *Mhaith*, or Muredagh *the good.* His reign was short and unfortunate In revenge for an act of perfidy committed by Dungal, the son of Selvach, who had carried off Forai, the daughter of Brude, and the niece of Ungus, the great Pictish king, the latter, in the year seven hundred and thirty-six, led his army from Strathern, through the passes of the mountains into Lorn, which he wasted with fire and sword. He seized Duna, the chief residence of the Lorn dynasty in Mid-Lorn, and burned Creic, another fortress, and having taken Dungal and Feradach, the two sons of Selvach, prisoners, he carried them to Forteviet, his capital, in fetters. Muredach collected his forces, and went in pursuit of his retiring enemy, and having overtaken him at Cnuic-Coirbre, a battle ensued, in which the Scots were repulsed with great slaughter. Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, commanded the Picts on this occasion, and pursued the flying Scots. In this pursuit Muredach is supposed to have perished, after a reign of three years.

Eogban or Ewan, the son of Muredach, took up the fallen succession in seven hundred and thirty-six, and died in seven hundred and thirty-nine, in which year the Dalriadic sceptre was assumed by Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha' III. and grandson of Eocha'-rineval, descended from the Fergusian race of Guaran. This sovereign is called by the Gaelic bard, Aodh na *Ardf-hlaith*, or Hugh, *the high or great king*, a title which he appears to have well merited, from his successful wars against the Picts. In seven hundred and forty, he measured his strength with the celebrated Ungus; but victory declared for neither, and during the remainder of Ungus' reign, he did not attempt to renew hostilities. After the death of Ungus in seven hundred and sixty-one, Aodh-fin declared war against the Picts, whose territories he entered from Upper Lorn, penetrating through the passes of Glenorchy and Braid-Alban. In seven hundred and sixty-seven, he reached Forteviot, the Pictish capital in Strathern, where he fought a doubtful battle with Ciniod the Pictish king. As the Picts had seized all the defiles of the mountains by which he could effect a retreat, his situation became extremely critical: but he succeeded by great skill and bravery, in rescuing his army from their peril, and leading them within the passes of Upper Lorn, where the Picts did not venture to follow him. Aodh-fin died in seven hundred and sixty-nine, after a splendid reign of thirty years.

Fergus II., son of Aodh-fin, succeeded to the sceptre on the demise of his father, and died after an unimportant reign of three years. Selvach II., the son of Eogan, assumed the government in seven hundred and seventy-two. His reign, which lasted twenty-four years, presents nothing very remarkable in history.

A new sovereign of a different lineage, now mounted the throne of the Scots in seven hundred and ninety-six, in the person of Eocha'-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin of the Guaran race. Eocha' IV. is known also by the latinized appellation of Achaius. On his accession, he found a civil war raging in his dominions, which he took no means to allay, but the rival chieftains could not be kept in check, and probably Eocha' thought he best consulted his own interest and the stability of his throne by allowing them to waste their strength upon one another. The story of the alliance between Achaius and Charlemagne, has been shown to be a fable, which, notwithstanding, continues to be repeated by superficial writers. He, however, entered into an important treaty with the Picts, by marrying Urgusia, the daughter of Urguis, an alliance which enabled his grandson Kenneth, afterwards to claim and acquire the Pictish sceptre, in right of Urgusia his grandmother. Achaius died in eight hundred and twenty-six, after a happy and prosperous reign of thirty years.

He was succeeded by Dungal, the son of Selvach II. of the race of Lorn, being the last of that powerful family which swayed the Dalriadic sceptre. After a feeble reign of seven years, he died in eight hundred and thirty-three.

Alpin, the last of the Scoto-Irish kings, and the son of Eocha' IV. and of Urgusia, now mounted the throne. He was killed in eight hundred and thirty-six, near the site of Laicht castle, on the ridge which separates Kyle from Galloway. Having landed with a force on the coast of Kyle, within the bay of Ayr, he laid waste the country between the Ayr and the Doon, before the native chiefs could assemble a sufficient force to oppose him; but being met by them near the spot just mentioned, he met his fate, from the weapon of an enraged chief. The fiction that Alpin fell in a battle with the Picts, when asserting his right to the Pictish throne, has long been exploded.

In eight hundred and thirty-six, Kenneth, the son of Alpin, succeeded his father. He is called, by the Gaelic bard so often alluded to, *Chion-asith Chruaidh*, signifying Kenneth *the hardy*. He was a prince of a warlike disposition, and of great vigour of mind and body. He avenged the death of his father, by frequent inroads among the people dwelling to the south of the Clyde; but the great glory of his reign, consists in his achievements against the Picts, which secured for him and his posterity the Pictish sceptre. The Pictish power had, previous to the period of Kenneth's accession, been greatly enfeebled by the inroads of the Danish Vikingr; but it was not till after the death of Uven, the Pictish king, in eight hundred and thirty-nine, after a distracted reign of three years, that Kenneth made any serious attempt to seize the Pictish diadem. On the accession of Wred, the last of the Pictish kings, Kenneth laid claim to the Pictish throne in right of Urgusia, his grandmother; and after an arduous struggle, he wrested the sceptre from the hand of Wred, in eight hundred and forty-three, after he had reigned over the Scots seven years. In noticing the opinion of those writers who suppose that the Picts rather subdued the Scots, than that they were subdued by their Scoto-Irish rivals, Chalmers observes that "there are two *moral certainties*, which forbid the adopting of this theory, or the believing of that system: it is morally certain, that the language which was spoken by the people, on the north of the Clyde and Forth, was Cambro-British, till the close of the Pictish period, in eight hundred and forty-three, A.D.: it is also morally certain that the prevailing language, within the same country, throughout the Scottish period, from eight hundred and forty three to ten hundred and ninety-seven, A.D., was the Scoto-Irish, the speech of Kenneth, and his people."*

The history of the Scoto-Irish kings afford few materials either amusing or instructive; but it was impossible, from the connexion between that history, and the events that will follow in detail, to pass it over in silence. The Scoto-Irish tribes appear to have adopted much the same form of Government, as existed in Ireland at the time of their departure from that kingdom; the sovereignty of which, though nominally under one head, was in reality a *pentarchy*, which allowed four provincial kings to dispute the monarchy of the fifth. This system was the prolific source of anarchy, assassinations, and civil wars. The Dalriads were constantly kept in a state of intestine commotion and mutual hostility by the pretensions of their rival chiefs, or princes of the three races, who contended with the common sovereign for pre-eminence or exemption. The *dlighe-tanaiste*, or law of tanistry, which appears to have been generally followed as in Ireland, as well in the succession of kings as in that of chieftains, rather increased than mitigated these disorders; for the claim to rule not being regulated by any fixed law of hereditary succession, but depending upon the capricious will of the tribe, rivals were not found wanting to dispute the rights so conferred. There was always, both in Ireland and in Argyle, an heir presumptive to the Crown chosen, under the name of *tanist*, who commanded the army during the life of the reigning sovereign, and who succeeded to him after his demise. Budgets, and committees of supply, and taxes, were wholly unknown in those times among the Scots, and the monarch was obliged to support his dignity by voluntary contributions of clothes, cattle, furniture, and other necessaries.

Among the Scots, the tenure of lands ceased with the life of the possessors, and women could not even possess an inch of ground under the Brehon law. So late as the reign of Alexander II., the Galloway-men rose, almost *en masse*, to support the pretensions of a bastard son against the claims of three legitimate daughters of their late lord, a revolt which it required all the power of the sovereign to put down. The portion allotted to daughters on marriage, and denominated Sprè in Irish, consisted of cattle.

We have elsewhere observed, that writing, during the existence of the Druids, was unknown to the Celtic tribes, and that their history, laws and religion were preserved by tradition. There is reason to believe, that tradition supplied the place of written records for many ages after the extinction of the Druidical superstition. Hence among the Scots, traditionary usages and local customs, long supplied the place of positive or written laws. It is a mistake to suppose, as some writers have done, that the law consisted in the mere will of the Brehon or judge. The office of Brehon was no doubt hereditary, and it is quite natural to infer, that under such a system of jurisprudence, the *dictum* of the judge might not always comport with what was understood to be the *common law* or practice; but from thence, to argue that the will of the judge was to be regarded as the law itself, is absurd, and contrary to every idea of justice. As the principle of the rude jurisprudence of the Celtic tribes had for its object, the reparation, rather than the prevention of crimes, almost every crime, even of the blackest kind, was commuted by a mulct or payment. Tacitus observes in allusion to this practice, that it was "a temper wholesome to the commonwealth, that homicide and lighter transgressions were settled by the payment of horses or cattle, part to the king or community, part to him or his friends who had been wronged." The law of Scotland long recognised this system of compensation. The fine was termed, under the Brehon law, *eric*, which not only signifies a reparation, but also a fine, a ransom, a forfeit. Among the Albanian Scots it was called *cro*, a term preserved in the *Regiam Majestatem*, which has a whole chapter showing "the *cro* of ilk man, how mikil it is."* This law of reparation, according to O'Connor, was first promulgated in Ireland, in the year one hundred and sixty-four.† According to the *Regiam Majestatem*, the *cro* of a villain was sixteen cows; of an earl's son or thane, one hundred; of an earl, one hundred and forty; and that of the king of Scots, one thousand cows, or three thousand *oras*, that is to say, three oras for every cow.

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* Caledonia, Vol. I. pp. 304 and 305. In proof of this opinion, he refers to the change by the Scots of the British word *Aber* into the Scoto-Irish *Inver* in ancient Chartularies,

Besides a share of the fines imposed, the Brehon or judge obtained a piece of arable land for his support. When he administered justice, he used to sit sometimes on the top of a hillock or heap of stones, sometimes on turf, and sometimes even on the middle of a bridge, surrounded by the suitors, who, of course, pleaded their own cause. We have already seen, that under the system of the Druids, the offices of religion, the instruction of youth, and the administration of the laws, were conducted in the open air; and hence the prevalence of the practice alluded to. But this practice was not peculiar to the Druids; for all nations, in the early stages of society, have followed a similar custom. The Tings of the Scandinavians, which consisted of circular enclosures of stone without any covering, and within which both the judicial and legislative powers were exercised, afford a striking instance of this. According to Pliny,‡ even the Roman Senate first met in the open air, and the sittings of the Court of the Areopagus, at Athens, were so held. The present custom of holding courts of justice in halls is not of very remote antiquity in Scotland, and among the Scoto-Irish, the baron bailie long continued to dispense justice to the Baron's vassals from a moothill or eminence, which was generally on the bank of a river, and near to a religious edifice.

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* Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. † O'Connor's Dissert. ‡ Lib. viii. c. 45

In the rude state of Scoto-Irish society, learning and the arts could receive little encouragement. Architecture was but little regarded; the materials employed in the construction of houses consisting only of wattles, of which slight articles were built, even the celebrated Abbey of Iona, from which issued the teachers of religion for many ages. The comforts of stone and lime buildings were long unknown to the Scoto-Irish. As they were without manufactures, their clothing must necessarily have been very scanty. "The clothing even of the Monks," says Chalmers, "consisted of the skins of beasts, though they had woollen, and linen, which they knew how to obtain from abroad by means of traffic: the variegated plaid was introduced in latter times. Venison, and fish, and seals, and milk, and flesh, were the food of the people. The monks of Iona, who lived by their labour, had some provision of corn, and perhaps the chiefs, who lived in strengths. But, it is to be recollected, that the monks were every-where, for ages, the improvers themselves, and the instructors of others, in the most useful arts. They had the merit of making many a blade of grass grow where none grew before. Even Iona had orchards, during the rugged times of the ninth century, till the Vikingr brutishly ruined all. Whatever the Scoto-Irish enjoyed themselves, they were willing to impart to others. The most unbounded hospitality was enjoined by law, and by manners, as a capital virtue."*

Of the various customs and peculiarities which distinguished the ancient Irish, as well as the Scoto-Irish, none has given rise to greater speculation than that of *fosterage;* which consisted in the mutual exchange, by different families, of their children for the purpose of being nursed and bred. Even the son of the chief was so entrusted during pupilarity with an inferior member of the clan. An adequate reward was either given or accepted in every case, and the lower orders, to whom the trust was committed, regarded it as an honour rather than a service. "Five hundred kyne and better," says Campion, "were sometimes given by the Irish to procure the nursing of a great man's child." A firm and indissoluble attachment always took place among foster-brothers, and it continues in consequence to be a saying among Highlanders, that "affectionate to a man is a friend, but a foster-brother is as the life-blood of his heart." Camden observes, that no love in the world is comparable by many degrees to that of foster-brethren in Ireland.† The close connexion which the practice of *fosterage* created between families, while it frequently prevented civil feuds, often led to them. But the strong attachment thus created was not confined to foster-brothers: it also extended to their parents. Spenser relates of the foster-mother to Murrough O'Brien, that, at his execution, she sucked the blood from his head, and bathed her face and breast with it, saying that it was too precious to fall to the earth.

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* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. 1.

† Holland's Camden, Ireland, p. 116.

The family, which had been fortunate to bring up the chief, were greatly beloved and respected by him, and the foster-brothers were promoted in his household to places of trust and confidence. The remuneration for fosterage was often a matter of paction, and, in modern times, became, in some cases, the subject of an especial written agreement; but, in general, an understood practice prevailed in particular districts. "In Mull, the father sends with his child a certain number of cows, to which the same number is added by the fosterer; the father appropriating a proportionate extent of country, without rent, for their pasturage. If every cow brings a calf, half belongs to the fosterer and half to the child; but if there be only one calf between two cows, it is the child's; and when the child returns to the parents, it is accompanied by all the cows given both by the father and by the fosterer, with half of the increase of the stock by propagation. These beasts are considered as a portion, and called macaladh cattle, of which the father has the produce, but is supposed not to have the full property, but to owe the same number to the child, as a portion to the daughter, or a stock for the son."*

It is unnecessary, at this stage of our labours, to enter upon the subject of clanship, as we mean to reserve our observations thereon till we come to the history of the clans, when we shall also notice some peculiarities or traits of the Highlanders not hitherto mentioned. We shall conclude this chapter by giving

A GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SCOTO-IRISH KINGS, FROM THE YEAR 503 TO 843.

Series.	NAMES AND FILIATIONS.	Date of Accession.	Duration of Reigns.	Demise.
		A. D.	Years.	A. D.
	Loarn, the son of Erc, reigned contemporary with Fergus	In 503	3	In 506
1	Fergus, the son of Erc			
2	Domangart, the son of Fergus	506	5	511
3	Comgal, the son of Domangart	511	24	535
4	Gauran, the son of Domangart	535	22	557
5	Conal, the son of Comgal	557	14	571
6	Aidan, the son of Gauran	571	34	605
7	Eoacha'-Bui, the son of Aidan	605	16	621
8	Kenneth-Cear, the son of Eoacha'-Bui	621	¼	621
9	Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Lorn	621	16	637
10	Donal-Breac, the son of Eoacha'-Bui	637	5	642
11	Conal II., the grandson of Conal I.	642	10	652
12	Dungal reigned some years with Conal	...	...	...
13	Donal-Duin, the son of Conal	652	13	665

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* Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides.

Series.	NAMES AND FILIATIONS.	Date of Accession.	Duration of Reigns.	Demise.
		A.D.	Years.	A.D.
14	Maol-Duin, the son of Conal	In 665	16	In 681
15	Ferchar-Fada, the grandson of Ferchar I.	681	21	702
16	Eoacha'-Rinevel, the son of Domangart, and the grandson of Donal-breac	702	3	705
17	Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada	705	1	706
18	Selvach, the son of Ferchar-fada, reigned over Lorn, from 706 to 729	...	...	...
19	Duncha-Beg reigned over Cantyre and Argail, till 720	706	27	733
20	Eocha' III., the son of Eoacha'-rinevel, over Cantyre and Argail, from 720 to 729; and also over Lorn from 729 to 733	...	...	...
21	Muredach, the son of Ainbhcealach	733	3	736
22	Eogan, the son of Muredach	736	3	739
23	Aodh-Fin, the son of Eoacha' III.	739	30	769
24	Fergus, the son of Aodh-fin	769	3	772
25	Selvach II., the son of Eogan	772	24	796
26	Eoacha'-Annuine IV., the son of Aodh-fin	796	30	826
27	Dungal, the son of Selvach II.	826	7	833
28	Alpin, the son of Eoacha'-annuine IV.	833	3	836
29	Kenneth, the son of Alpin	836	7	843

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTTISH PERIOD, ANNO 843 to 1097.

Pictavian Kingdom—Attacks of the Danish Vikingr—Death of Kenneth Macalpin—Defeat of the Danes by Constantine III.—Battles of Brunanburg, of the Bands, and of Luncarty—New Inroads of the Danes—Their defeat—Usurpation of Macbeth—Malcolm Ceanmore—Accession of Donal-bane—Music and Musical Instruments of the Highlanders—Learning and Civilization—Chronological Table of the Scottish Kings, Anno 843—1097.

The accession of Kenneth, son of Alpin, to the Pictish throne, led to a union of the two crowns, or of two separate nations into one monarchy; but this union gave the Scots an ascendancy, which enabled them, afterwards, to give their name to the whole of North Britain. The coalition, or rather amalgamation of the Scots and Picts under one sovereign, was greatly facilitated from their being of the same common origin, and speaking respectively the Gaelic and British tongues, the differences between which were immaterial; for nothing tends more to keep up a separation between the inhabitants of a country, than a marked distinction in their language. The consolidation of the Scottish and Pictish power, under the direction of one supreme Chief, enabled these nations not only to repel foreign aggression, but afterwards to enlarge their territories beyond the Forth, which had hitherto formed, for many ages, the Pictish boundary on the south. *Pictavia*, or the country of the Picts, is said to have been anciently divided into six kingdoms or states; but, passing over these fictitious monarchies, we may observe, that, at the time of the union in question, it consisted of the whole of the territory north of the Forth, with the exception of that on the western coast, extending from the Clyde on the south, to Loch-Ew and Loch-Maree on the north, and from the sea on the west, to Drumalban on the east; which latter territory and the adjacent isles were possessed by the Scots.

Although the power of the tribes to the north of the Forth was greatly augmented by the union which had taken place; yet all the genius and warlike energy of Kenneth were necessary to protect him and his people from insult. Ragnor Lodbrog with his fierce Danes infested the country round the Tay on the one side, and the Strathclyde Britons on the other, wasted the adjoining territories, and burnt Dunblane. Yet Kenneth overcame these embarrassments, and made frequent incursions into the Saxon territories in Lothian, and caused his foes to tremble. After a brilliant and successful reign, Kenneth died at Forteviot, or Abernethy, the Pictish capital, on the sixth day of February, in the year eight hundred and fifty-nine, having ruled the Scots seven years, and the Scots and Picts jointly sixteen years, being a reign of twenty-three years. Kenneth was a prince of a very religious disposition, and, in the midst of his cares, did not forget the interests of religion. He built a church in Dunkeld, to which, in eight hundred and fifty, he removed the relics of St. Columba from Iona. He is celebrated also as a legislator, and it is extremely probable that the union of the two nations rendered some legislative enactments for their mutual government necessary; but no authentic traces of such laws now appear, the Macalpine laws which have been attributed to the son of Alpin being clearly apocryphal.

Kenneth left a son, named Constantine, and a pious daughter, Maolmhuire,* celebrated by the Irish annalists. But Constantine did not immediately succeed his father, for the sceptre was assumed by Donal III. his uncle, son of Alpin. The Gaelic bard calls him, "Dhomhnaill dhreachruaid," or Donal of the *ruddy countenance.* He died at his palace of Balachoir, in the year eight hundred and sixty-three, after a short reign of four years. It is said that the Scoto-Irish chiefs, during this reign, re-enacted the laws of Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha III. at Forteviot.

Constantine, the son of Kenneth, succeeded his uncle Donal, and soon found himself involved in a dreadful conflict with the Danish pirates. Having, after a contest, which lasted half a century, established themselves in Ireland, and obtained secure possession of Dublin, the Vikingr directed their views towards the western coasts of Scotland, which they laid waste. These ravages were afterwards extended to the whole of the eastern coast, and particularly to the shores of the Frith of Forth; but although the invaders were often repulsed, they never ceased to return and renew their attacks. In the year eight hundred and eighty-one, Constantine, in repelling an attack of the pirates at the head of his people, was slain near a rampart called the Danes' dyke, in the parish of Crail. The Gaelic bard thus alludes to that event.

" ———————Gona bhrigh
" Don churaidh do Chonstantin:"
The hero Constantine bravely fought,
Throughout a lengthened reign.

Aodh or Hugh, *the fair haired,* succeeded his brother Constantine in eight hundred and eighty-one. His reign was unfortunate, short, and troublesome. Grig, an artful Chieftain, who was Maormor of the country between the Dee and the Spey, having raised the standard of insurrection, Aodh endeavoured to put it down, but did not succeed;

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* This name signifies in Gaelic the devotee of Mary. This lady was married, 1. to Aodh-Finlaith, who reigned in Ireland between 863 and 879; 2. to his successor, Flann-Sionna, who reigned from 897 to 916. *Ogygia,* p. 434. She had several sons who reigned in Ireland; and a daughter Ligach, who married Congal, the king of Ireland. She died in 923.

and having been wounded in the bloody field of Strathallan, he was carried to Inverurie, where he died, after lingering two months, having held the sceptre only one year.

Grig, the worthless chief who had waged war with his sovereign, now assumed the crown, and, either to secure his wrongful possession, or from some other motive, he associated with him in the government, Eoacha, son of *Ku*, the British king of Strathclyde, and the grandson, by a daughter, of Kenneth Macalpin. After a reign of eleven years, both Eoacha and Grig were forced to abdicate, and gave way to

Donal IV. who succeeded them in eight hundred and ninety-three. During his reign the kingdom was infested by the piratical incursions of the Danes. Although they were defeated by Donal in a well contested action at Collin, on the Tay, they nevertheless returned under Ivar O'Ivar, from Ireland, in the year nine hundred and four, but they were gallantly repulsed, and their leader killed in a threatened attack on Forteviot, by Donal, who unfortunately also perished in defence of his people, after a reign of eleven years.

Constantine III., the son of Aodh, a prince of a warlike and enterprizing character, next followed. He had to sustain, during an unusually long reign, the repeated attacks of the Danes. In one invasion they plundered Dunkeld, and in nine hundred and eighty, they attempted to obtain the grand object of their designs, the possession of Forteviot in Strathern, the Pictish capital; but in this design, they were again defeated and forced to abandon the country. The Danes remained quiet for a few years, but in nine hundred and eighteen their fleet entered the Clyde, from Ireland, under the command of Reginald, where they were attacked by the Scots in conjunction with the Northern Saxons whom the ties of common safety had now united for mutual defence. Reginald is said to have drawn up his Danes in four divisions; the first headed by Godfrey O'Ivar; the second by Earls; the third by Chieftains, and the fourth by Reginald himself, as a reserve. The Scots, with Constantine at their head, made a furious attack on the first three divisions, which they forced to retire. Reginald's reserve not being available to turn the scale of victory against the Scots, the Danes retreated during the night, and embarked on board their fleet.

After this defeat of the Danes, Constantine enjoyed many years' repose. A long grudge had existed between him and Æthelstane, son of Edward, the elder, which at last came to an open rupture. Having formed an alliance with several princes and particularly with Anlof, king of Dublin as well as of Northumberland, and son-in-law of Constantine; the latter collected a large fleet in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven, with which he entered the Humber. The hope of plunder had attracted many of the Vikingr to Constantine's standard, and the sceptre of Æthelstane seemed now to tremble in his hand. But that monarch was fully prepared for the dangers with

near the river Almond, in Perthshire, where Constantine lost his life, in nine hundred and ninety-five.

Kenneth IV., surnamed *Grim*, from the strength of his body, the son of Duff, now obtained the sceptre which he had coveted; but he was disturbed in the possession thereof by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., heir presumptive to the crown, and *regulus* or prince of Cumberland. By the interposition of Fothad, one of the Scottish bishops, the parties were, for some time, prevented from coming to blows, and it is said that a treaty was concluded, by which it was stipulated that Kenneth should wear the crown during his life, and that Malcolm and his heirs should succeed in future as intended by Kenneth III. But this treaty proved in the end only a truce, for Malcolm again took the field, and decided his claim to the crown in a bloody battle at Monivaird, in Strathern, in which Kenneth, after a noble resistance, received a mortal wound. This happened in the year one thousand and three, after Kenneth had reigned eight years.

Malcolm II. now ascended the vacant throne, stained with the blood of the brave Kenneth; but he was not destined to enjoy repose. Of him the Gaelic bard has said—

"Trocha blaidhain *breacaid* rainn
Ba righ *manaidh*, Maolcholaim."
Thirty years of *variegated* reign;
Was king *by fate* Malcolm.

The Danes, who had now obtained a firm footing in England, directed their attention in an especial manner to Scotland, which they were in hopes of subduing. They had hitherto been defeated in every attempt they had made to establish themselves in the north; but having become powerful by their vast possessions in England, they considered that they now had great chances of success in their favour. Accordingly, immense preparations were made by the celebrated Sweyn to invade Scotland. He ordered Olaus, his viceroy in Norway, and Enet in Denmark, to raise a powerful army, and to equip a suitable fleet. Sigurd, the Earl of Orkney, carried on an harrassing and predatory warfare on the shores of the Moray Frith, which he continued even after a matrimonial alliance he formed with Malcolm, by marrying his daughter; but this was no singular trait in the character of a Vikingr, who plundered friends and foes with equal pleasure. The scene of Sigurd's operations was chosen by his brother northmen for making a descent, which they effected near Speymouth. They carried fire and sword through Moray, and laid siege to the fortress of Nairne, one of the strongest in the north. The Danes were forced to raise the siege for a time, by Malcolm, who encamped his army in a plain near Killfos or Kinloss. In this position he was attacked by the invaders, and after a severe action, was forced to retreat, after being seriously wounded. Nairne then surrendered, but the whole garrison were hanged, notwithstanding a capitulation which stipulated for their lives and properties.

Having mustered all his forces, Malcolm, in the ensuing spring, marched north with his army, and encamped at Mortlach. This was in the year one thousand and ten. The Danes advanced to meet the Scots, and a dreadful and fierce conflict ensued, the result of which was long dubious. At length the northmen gave way and victory declared for Malcolm. Had the Danes succeeded they would in all probability have obtained as permanent a footing in North Britain as they did in England; but the Scottish kings were determined, at all hazards, never to suffer them to pollute the soil of Scotland by allowing them even the smallest settlement in their dominions. In gratitude to God for his victory, Malcolm, in pursuance of a vow which it is said he made on the field of battle, endowed a religious house at Mortlach with its appropriate church erected near the scene of action. Pope Benedict afterwards confirmed this endowment, and Mortlach soon became the residence of a bishop.

The Danes were not discouraged by this defeat. On the contrary, that, as well as some disasters which they met with on the coasts of Angus and Buchan, exasperated Sweyn who formed a determination to seek revenge by another descent. He therefore, despatched Camus, an able general, who effected a landing with his army on the coast of Angus, near to Panbride, but he had advanced but a very few miles when he was met by Malcolm, who attacked him with great fury and intrepidity. After a bloody contest the army of Camus gave way and their leader sought safety in flight, but he was closely pursued and was killed by a stroke from a battle-axe which cleft his skull asunder. The place of his overthrow is indicated by a monumental stone called *Camus'-Cross.*[*]

No defeat, however, could subdue the persevering attempts of the Danes, to subject North Britain to their sway. They renewed their enterprize again by landing on the coast of Buchan, about a mile west from Slaines Castle, in the parish of Cruden, but they were attacked and defeated by the Maormor of the District. The site of the field of battle has been ascertained by the discovery of human bones left exposed by the shifting or blowing of the sand. From the circumstance of a chapel having been erected in this neighbourhood dedicated to St. Olaus, the site of which has become invisible, by being covered with sand, the assertion of some writers that a treaty was entered into with the Danes, who were then Christians, by which it was stipulated, that the field of battle should be consecrated by a Bishop as a burying-place for the Danes who had fallen in battle, and that a church should be then built and priests appointed in all time coming to say masses for the souls of the slain, seems very probable. Another stipulation it is said was made, by which the Danes agreed to evacuate the Burgh-head of Moray, and finally to leave every part of the kingdom, which they accordingly did in the year one thousand and fourteen.

[*] A huge skeleton was dug up many years ago near Camus'-Cross supposed to have been that of Camus. It was lying in a sepulchre which was erected with four stones.

Some time after this Malcolm was engaged in a war with the Northumbrians, and, having led his army in one thousand and eighteen, to Carham, near Werk, on the southern bank of the Tweed, where he was met by Uchtred, the Earl of Northumberland, a desperate battle took place which was contested with great valour on both sides. The success was doubtful on either side, though Uchtred claimed a victory, but he did not long enjoy the fruits of it, as he was soon thereafter assassinated when on his road to pay obeisance to the great Canute. Endulf, the brother and successor of Uchtred, justly dreading the power of the Scots, was induced to cede Lothian to Malcolm for ever, who, on this occasion, gave oblations to the churches and gifts to the clergy, who in return transmitted his name to posterity. He was designed, par excellence, *rex victoriosissimus.*

The last struggle with which Malcolm was threatened, was with the celebrated Canute, who, for some cause or other not properly explained, entered Scotland in the year one thousand and thirty-one; but these powerful parties appear not to have come to action. Canute's expedition appears, from what followed, to have been fitted out, to compel Malcolm to do homage for Cumberland, for it is certain that Malcolm engaged to fulfil the conditions on which his predecessors had held that country, and that Canute thereafter returned to England.

But the reign of Malcolm was not only distinguished by foreign wars, but by civil contests between rival chiefs. Finlegh, the Maormor of Ross, and the father of Macbeth, was assassinated in one thousand and twenty, and about twelve years thereafter, Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, grandfather of Lulach, was, in revenge for Finlegh's murder, burnt within his castle, with fifty of his men.

At length after a splendid reign of thirty years, Malcolm slept with his fathers, and his body was transferred to Iona, and interred with due solemnity among the remains of his predecessors. The story of his assassination is a mere fiction.

Malcolm was undoubtedly a prince of great acquirements. He made many improvements in the internal policy of his kingdom, and in him religion always found a guardian and protector. But although Malcolm is justly entitled to this praise, he by no means came up to the standard of perfection assigned him by fiction.

Duncan, son of Bethoc, one of the daughters of Malcolm II., succeeded his grandfather in the year one thousand and thirty-three. He had to sustain several severe conflicts with the Danes, whom he finally repulsed from his dominions, and in virtue of the engagements of his grandfather, with Canute, he entered Northumberland in one thousand and thirty-five, and attacked Durham, but was forced to retire with loss, according to an old English historian.* The unhappy fate of Duncan is too familiar to render any detail of the circumstances of that event necessary. The scene of Macbeth's perfidy was not at Inverness, as some writers have erroneously laid it, but at Bothgowanan, near Elgin. Duncan had reigned only six years when he was assassinated by Macbeth, leaving two infant sons, Malcolm and Donal, by a sister of Siward, the Earl of Northumberland. The former fled to Cumberland, and the latter took refuge in the Hebrides on the death of their father.

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* Simeon, Dun. p. 33.

Macbeth, "snorting with the indigested fumes of the blood of his sovereign," immediately seized the gory sceptre. As several fictions have been propagated concerning the history and genealogy of Macbeth, we may mention that, according to the most authentic authorities, he was by birth Thane of Ross, and by his marriage with the Lady Gruoch, became also Thane of Moray, during the minority of Lulach, the infant son of that lady, by her marriage with Gilcomgain, the Maormor, or Thane of Moray. Lady Gruoch was the daughter of Boedhe, son of Kenneth IV.; and thus Macbeth united in his own person many powerful interests which enabled him to take quiet possession of the throne of the murdered sovereign. He of course found no difficulty in getting himself inaugurated at Scone, under the protection of the clans of Moray and Ross, and the aid of those who favoured the pretensions of the descendants of Kenneth IV.

Various attempts were made on the part of the partizans of Malcolm, son of Duncan, to dispossess Macbeth of the Throne. The most formidable was that of Siward, the powerful Earl of Northumberland, and the relation of Malcolm, who, at the instigation or command of Edward the Confessor, led a numerous army into Scotland in the year one thousand and fifty-four. They marched as far north as Dunsinnan, where they were met by Macbeth, who commanded his troops in person. A furious battle ensued, but Macbeth fled from the field after many displays of courage. The Scots lost 3000 men, and the Saxons 1,500, including Osbert, the son of Siward. Macbeth retired to his fastnesses in the north, and Siward returned to Northumberland; but Malcolm continued the war till the death of Macbeth, who was slain by Macduff, Thane of Fife, in revenge for the cruelties he had inflicted on his family, at Lumphanan, on the fifth day of December in the year one thousand and fifty-six.

Macbeth was unquestionably a person of great vigour, and well fitted to govern in the age in which he lived; and had he obtained the crown by fair and honourable means, his character might have stood well with posterity. He appears to have entertained some sentiments of compunction on account of his many crimes, for which he offered some expiation by deeds of charity and benevolence, and particularly by grants to the church; but it is to be feared that his heart remained unchanged.

Lulach, the great-grandson of Kenneth IV., who fell at the battle of Monivaird in the year one thousand and three, being supported by the powerful influence of his own family, and that of the deceased monarch, ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five or twenty-six; but his reign lasted only a few months he having fallen in battle at Essie, in Strathbogie, on the third day of April, one thousand and fifty-seven, in defending his crown against Malcolm. The body of Lulach was interred along with that of Macbeth, in Iona, the common sepulchre, for many centuries, of the Scottish kings.

Malcolm III., better known in history by the name of Malcolm Ceanmore, or *great head*, vindicated his claim to the vacant throne after a two years' struggle. His first care was to recompense those who had assisted him in obtaining the sovereignty, and it is said that he created new titles of honour, by substituting earls for thanes; but this has been disputed, and there are really no sure data from which a certain conclusion can be drawn.

In the year one thousand and fifty-nine, Malcolm paid a visit to Edward the Confessor, during whose reign he lived on amicable terms with the English; but after the death of that monarch he made a hostile incursion into Northumberland, and wasted the country. He even violated the peace of St. Cuthbert in Holy Island.

William, Duke of Normandy, having overcome Harold in the battle of Hastings, on the fourteenth day of October, one thousand and sixty-six; Edgar Ætheling saw no hopes of obtaining the crown and took his departure from England along with his mother and sisters for Hungary: but they were driven by adverse winds into the Frith of Forth, and took refuge in a small port, which was afterwards named the Queen's-ferry, in memory of Queen Margaret. Malcolm on hearing of the distress of the illustrious strangers, left his royal palace at Dunfermline to meet them, and invited them to Dunfermline, where they were hospitably entertained. Margaret, one of Edgar's sisters, was a princess of great virtues and accomplishments: and she at once won the heart of Malcolm.

The offer of his hand was accepted, and their nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity and splendour. This Queen was a blessing to the king, and to the nation, and appears to have well merited the appellation of *Saint*. There are few females in history who can be compared with Queen Margaret.

It is quite unnecessary, and apart from the object of the present work, to enter into any details of the wars between Malcolm and William the Conqueror, and William Rufus. Suffice it to say, that both Malcolm and his eldest son Edward were slain in an attack on Alnwick Castle, on the thirteenth day of November, one thousand and ninety-three, after a reign of thirty-six years. Queen Margaret, who was on her death-bed, when this catastrophe occurred, died shortly after she received the intelligence with great composure and resignation to the will of God. Malcolm had six sons, viz., Edward, who was killed along with his father, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Alexander and David, and two daughters, Maud, who was married to Henry I. of England, and Mary, who married Eustache, count of Boulogne. Of the sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David, successively came to the crown.

On the demise of Malcolm, Donal-bane his brother, assumed the government; but Duncan, the son of Malcolm, who had lived many years in England, and held a high military rank under William Rufus, invaded Scotland with a large army of English and Normans, and forced Donal to retire for safety to the Hebrides. Duncan, whom some writers suppose to have been a bastard, and others a legitimate son of Malcolm, by a former wife, enjoyed the crown only six months, having been assassinated by Maolpeder, the Maormor of the Mearns, at Menteith, at the instigation, it is believed, of Donal. Duncan left, by his wife Ethreda, daughter of Gospatrick, a son, William, sometimes surnamed Fitz-Duncan.

Donal-bane again seized the sceptre, but he survived Duncan only two years. Edgar Ætheling having assembled an army in England, entered Scotland, and made Donal prisoner in an action which took place, in September one thousand and ninety-seven. He was imprisoned by orders of Edgar, and died at Roscobie in Forfarshire, after having been deprived of his eyesight, according to the usual practice of the age. The series of the Scoto-Irish Kings may be said to have ended with Donal-bane.

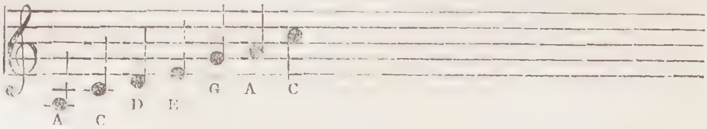
The accession of Kenneth to the Pictish throne, and the consequent union of the Scots and Picts, introduced, throughout the whole extent of the Pictish dominions, many usages which were peculiar to the Scoto-Irish. Some of these would require the force of a positive law to establish them, while others would be gradually amalgamated with the Pictish customs. The authenticity of the *Macalpine laws* has been questioned; but, without entering into a discussion upon such a dubious question, we think there can be no doubt that the new sovereign would find it necessary to make some regulations for the government of the two nations he had united. It certainly appears that the Brehon law of the Scoto-Irish was introduced among the Picts under Kenneth. By this law every chief, or *flath*, had a Brehon, or judge, within his district, and this office was hereditary, descending to the sons of the judge, who were brought up to the study of the law. The law of tanistry, which limited the right of succession to the crown to the royal line, but did not confine that succession to any direct series, was another characteristic in the new government, which superseded the Pictish law of succession. This law which left the succession open to competition, and the only exception from which seems to have been, when a tanist, or heir presumptive, was appointed during the life of the reigning monarch, naturally produced innumerable disorders in the state, and weakened the government, and hence the many civil strifes, tumults, and assassinations we have witnessed during the whole sway of the Scoto-Irish kings.

We have already alluded to the poetry of the Celts. And here it may not be out of place to take some notice of their music, which seems to have been cultivated with greater success by the Scots, than by the Picts. A question has been raised by the genealogists of music, whether she is the mother or daughter of poetry, or, in other words, whether music or poetry be the older art. Such a discussion appears to be neither instructive nor amusing, and may therefore be passed over with this simple remark, that the kindred and sister arts of poetry and music, are undoubtedly almost coeval in their origin. Among the Celts the science of music was cultivated with great care, and formed a branch of the education of the Bards. Some remains of the songs of the Druids are said still to exist,* and it is alleged that the chaunting of the Druidical precepts in times of paganism, was imitated by the early Christians. This is indeed extremely probable. The primitive Christians did not, for many ages, devote their attention to the improvement of the melody of the church, and in the east they are supposed to have long followed the music of the synagogue. The Gregorian chaunt, as used in the Catholic churches at Vespers, is conjectured to be nearly the same as that used by the Jews, with some trifling variations, made by St. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, and afterwards still farther improved by Pope Gregory the Great, from whom the music derives its present name.†

The great characteristics of the Gaelic music, are, its simplicity, tenderness, and expression. All the ancient music is distinguished by the first quality; for the complex movements and intricate notes of modern composers were unknown to antiquity: but the latter qualities, which may be termed *national*, in as much as they are dependant upon the genius and character of a people, and the structure of language, are peculiar attributes of the music of the Highlanders. "The Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish, have all melodies of a simple sort, which, as they are connected together by cognate marks, evince at once their relationship and antiquity."‡

The ancient Scottish scale consists of six notes, as shown in the annexed exemplification, No. 1. The lowest note, A, was afterwards added to admit of the minor key in wind instruments. The notes in the Diatonic scale, No. 2, were added about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and when music arrived at its present state of perfection, the notes in the Chromatic scale, No. 3, were further added. Although many of the Scottish airs have had the notes last mentioned introduced into them, to please modern taste, they can be played without them, and without altering the character of the melody. Any person who understands the ancient scale can at once detect the later additions.

No 1.



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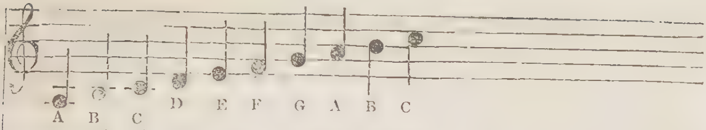
* Logan's Scottish Gaël. Vol. II.

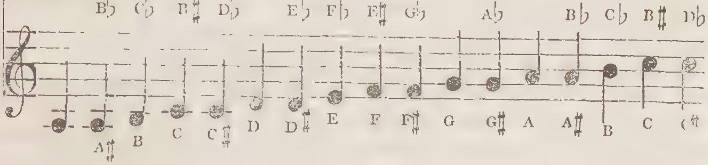
† The Gregorian song consists of eight tones, of which four are called authentic, and four are said to be plagal. The former are confined to an octave; the plagal descends from the lower octave to the fourth below.

‡ Caledonia I. 476

No. 2.



No. 3.



The Gaelic music consists of different kinds or species. 1. Martial music, the Golltraidheacht of the Irish, and the Prosnachadh Cath of the Gaël, consisting of a spirit-stirring measure, short and rapid. 2. The Geantraidheacht, or plaintive, or sorrowful, a kind of music to which the Highlanders are very partial. The Coronach or lament, sung at funerals, is the most noted of this sort. 3. The Suantraidheacht, or composing, calculated to calm the mind, and to lull the person to sleep. 4. Songs of peace, sung at the conclusion of a war. 5. Songs of victory sung by the bards before the king on gaining a victory. 6. Love songs. These last, form a considerable part of the national music, the sensibility and tenderness of which excites the passion of love, " and stimulated by its influence, the Gaël indulge a spirit of the most romantic attachment and adventure which the peasantry of perhaps no other country exhibit."*

" The ancient Gaël were fond of singing, whether in a sad or cheerful frame of mind. Bacon justly remarks, ' that music feedeth that disposition which it findeth:' it was a sure sign of brewing mischief, when a Caledonian warrior was heard to ' hum his surly song.' This race. in all their labours, used appropriate songs, and accompanied their harps with their voices. At harvest the reapers kept time by singing; at sea the boatmen did the same; and while the women were graddaning, performing the luaghadh, or at other rural labour, they enlivened their work by certain airs called luineags. When milking, they sung a certain plaintive melody, to which the animals listened with calm attention. The attachment which the natives of celtic origin have to their music, is strengthened by its intimate connexion with the national songs. The influence of both on the Scots' character is confessedly great—the pictures of heroism, love, and happiness, exhibited in their songs, are indelibly impressed on the memory, and elevate the mind of the humblest peasant. The songs, united with their appropriate music, affect the sons of Scotia, particularly when far distant from their native glens and majestic mountains, with indescribable feelings, and excite a spirit of the most romantic adventure. In this respect, the Swiss, who inhabit a country of like character, and who resemble the Highlanders in many particulars, experience similar emotions. On hearing the national ranz de vaches, their bowels yearn to revisit the ever dear scenes of their youth. So powerfully is the amor patriæ awakened by this celebrated air, that it was found necessary to prohibit its being played under pain of death among the troops, who would burst into tears on hearing it, desert their colours, and even die.

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* Logan II. 252–3.

"No songs could be more happily constructed for singing during labour, than those of the Highlanders, every person being able to join in them, sufficient intervals being allowed for breathing time. In a certain part of the song, the leader stops to take breath, when all the others strike in and complete the air with a chorus of words and syllables, generally without signification, but admirably adapted to give effect to the time. In singing during a social meeting, the company reach their plaids or handkerchiefs from one to another, and swaying them gently in their hands, from side to side, take part in the chorus as above. A large company thus connected, and see-sawing in regular time, has a curious effect; sometimes the bonnet is mutually grasped over the table. The low country manner is, to cross arms and shake each other's hands to the air of "auld lang syne," or any other popular and commemorative melody. Fhir a bhata, or, the boatmen, is sung in the above manner, by the Highlanders with much effect. It is the song of a girl whose lover is at sea, whose safety she prays for, and whose return she anxiously expects. The greater proportion of Gaëlic songs, whether sung in the person of males or females, celebrate the valour and heroism, or other manly qualifications, of the Clans." *

Connected with the Gaelic music, the *musical instruments* of the Celts remain to be noticed; but we shall confine our observations to the harp and to the bag-pipe, the latter of which has long since superseded the former in the Highlands. The harp is the most noted instrument of antiquity, and was in use among many nations. It was, in particular, the favourite instrument of the Celts. The Irish were great proficients in harp music, and they are said to have made great improvements on the instrument itself. So honourable was the occupation of a harper among the Irish, that none but freemen were permitted to play on the harp, and it was reckoned a disgrace for a gentleman not to have a harp, and be able to play on it. The royal household always included a harper, who bore a distinguished rank. Even kings did not disdain to relieve the cares of royalty by touching the strings of the harp; and we are told by Major, that James I., who died in fourteen hundred and thirty-seven, excelled the best harpers among the Irish, and the Scotch Highlanders. But harpers were not confined to the houses of kings, for every chief had his harper, as well as his bard.

The precise period when the harp was superseded by the bag-pipe, it is not easy to ascertain. Roderick Morrison, usually called Rory Dall, or the blind, was one of the last native harpers. He was harper to the laird of M'Leod. On the death of his master, Morrison led an itinerant life, and in sixteen hundred and fifty, he paid a visit to Robertson of Lude, on which occasion he composed a porst or air, called Suipar chiurn na Leod, or Lude's Supper, which, with other pieces, is still preserved. M'Intosh, the compiler of the Gaelic Proverbs, relates the following anecdote of Mr. Robertson, who, it appears, was a harp player himself of some eminence. "One night, my father, James M'Intosh, said to Lude, that he would be happy to hear him play upon the harp, which, at that time, began to give place to the violin. After supper, Lude and he retired to another room, in which there was a couple of harps, one of which belonged to Queen Mary. James, says Lude, here are two harps; the largest one is the loudest, but the small one is the sweetest, which do you wish to hear played? James answered the small one, which Lude took up, and played upon, till daylight."

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* [illegible]

The last harper, as is commonly supposed, was Murdoch M'Donald, harper to M'Lean of Coll. He received instructions in playing from Rory Dall, in Sky, and afterwards in Ireland, and from accounts of payments made to him, by M'Lean, still extant, Murdoch seems to have continued in his family till the year seventeen hundred and thirty-four, when he appears to have gone to Quinish, in Mull, where he died.

The history of the *bag-pipe* is curious and interesting, but such history does not fall within the scope of this work. Although a very ancient instrument it does not appear to have been known to the Celtic nations. It was in use among the Trojans, Greeks and Romans; but how or in what manner it came to be introduced into the Highlands, is a question which cannot be solved. Two suppositions have been started on this point, either that it was brought in by the Romans, or by the Northern Nations. The latter conjecture appears to be the most probable, for we cannot possibly imagine, that if the bag-pipe had been introduced so early, as the Roman epoch, no notice should have been taken of that instrument, by the more early annalists and poets. But if the bag-pipe was an imported instrument, how does it happen that the great Highland pipe is peculiar to the Highlands, and is perhaps the only national instrument in Europe? If it was introduced by the Romans, or by the people of Scandinavia, how has it happened that no traces of that instrument in its present shape are to be found anywhere except in the Highlands? There is, indeed, some plausibility in these interrogatories, but they are easily answered by supposing, what is very probable, that the great bag-pipe, in its present form, is the work of modern improvement, and that, originally, the instrument was much the same, as is still seen in Belgium and Italy.

The effects of this national instrument in arousing the feelings of those who have, from infancy, been accustomed to its wild and warlike tones are truly astonishing. "In halls of joy, and in scenes of mourning it has prevailed; it has animated her (Scotland's) warriors in battle, and welcomed them back after their toils, to the homes of their love and the hills of their nativity. Its strains were the first sounded on the ears of infancy, and they are the last to be forgotten, in the wanderings of age. Even Highlanders will allow that it is not the gentlest of instruments; but when far from their mountain homes, what sounds, however melodious, could thrill round their heart like one burst of their own wild native pipe? The feelings which other instruments awaken, are general and undefined, because they talk alike to Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Highlanders, for they are common to all; but the bag-pipe is sacred to Scotland, and speaks a language which Scotsmen only feel. It talks to them of home and all the past, and brings before them, on the burning shores of India, the wild hills and oft frequented streams of Caledonia; the friends that are thinking of them, and the sweethearts and wives that are weeping for them there! and need it be told here, to how many fields of danger and victory its proud strains have led! There is not a battle that is honourable to Britain in which its war blast has not sounded. When every other instrument has been hushed by the confusion and carnage of the scene, it has been borne into the thick of battle, and, far in the advance, its bleeding but devoted bearer, sinking on the earth, has sounded at once encouragement to his countrymen and his own coronach."* Many interesting anecdotes connected with the use of this instrument on the field of battle will be given when we come to treat of the military history of the modern Highlanders.

History has thrown little light on the state of learning in the Highlands during the Pictish and Scottish periods; but, judging from the well-attested celebrity of the college of Icolm-kill, which shed its rays of knowledge over the mountains and through the glens of Caledonia, we cannot doubt that learning did flourish in some degree among the Scots and Picts. The final destruction of the venerable abbey of Iona, by the Danish pirates, unfortunately checked for a time the progress of civilization, and swept away, as is supposed, the proofs collected by the monks in support of the learning of those times, and to which, if they had been preserved, the historian of future ages would have appealed. No man, no scholar, no christian can visit the hallowed ruins of Iona without awakening associations, the most powerful and affecting. Dr. Johnson, the great and inflexible moralist, thus describes the emotions he felt on visiting this celebrated spot: "We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy, as would conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force on the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warm among the ruins of Iona."

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* Preface to Macdonald's Ancient Martial Music of Scotland.

As illustrative of the details contained in the foregoing chapter, it has been judged expedient to annex the following

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SCOTTISH KINGS, FROM 843 TO 1097, ADJUSTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Date of Accessions.	Duration of Reign.	Demise.
	A.D.	Years.	A.D.
Kenneth Macalpine over the Scots and Picts	843	16	859
Donal Macalpin	859	4	863
Constantine II., son of Kenneth	863	18	881
Aodh, or Hugh, the son of Kenneth	881	1	882
Eocha, or Achy or Grig, jointly	882	11	893
Donal IV., the son of Constantine	893	11	904
Constantine III., the son of Aodh	904	40	944
Malcolm I., son of Donal IV.	944	9	953
Indulf, the son of Constantine III.	953	8	961
Duf, the son of Malcolm I.	961	4½	965
Culen, the son of Indulf	965	4½	970
Kenneth III., the son of Malcolm I.	970	24	994
Constantine IV., the son of Culen	994	1½	995
Kenneth IV., surnamed Grim, the son of Duf	995	8	1003
Malcolm II., the son of Kenneth III.	1003	30	1033
Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II.	1033	6	1039
Macbeth, the son of Finlech	1039	17	1056
Lulach, the son of Gruoch and Gilcomgain	1056	4½	1057
Malcolm-Ceanmore, the son of Duncan	1057	36-8Months.	1093
Donal-Bane, the son of Duncan	1093	½	1094
Duncan II., the son of Malcolm III.	1094	½	1094
Donal-Bane, again	1094	3	1097

CHAPTER V.

Philological demarcation between the Highlands and Lowlands—Anglo-Saxon colonization of the Highlands—Characteristics of the Highlanders—Care shown by them in educating their Children—Highland Garb—Dress of the women—Antiquity of Tartan—Superstitions of the Highlanders—Kelpies, Urisks, Daoine Shi, &c.—Second Sight—Weddings—Matrimonial fidelity—Punishment of the breach thereof—Reciprocal attachment of Parents and Children—Disgrace and Punishment of Bankruptcy—Fidelity in performing engagements—Courage—Love of Country—Contempt of Death—Hospitality.

We have now arrived at an era in our history, when the line of demarcation between the inhabitants of the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland begins to appear, and when, by the influx of a Gothic race into the former, the language of that part of North Britain is completely revolutionized, when a new dynasty or race of sovereigns ascends the throne, and when a great change takes place in the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

At the epoch which closes the last chapter, the Gaëlic was the almost universal language of North Britain. In proof of this, reference has been made to proper names, or names of persons and places, which were all Gaëlic during that period, as may be seen by consulting the ancient chartularies and chronicles, the annals of Ulster, and the register of the Priory of St Andrews. In the Lowlands, however, some places still retain the British appellations conferred on them by the aboriginal inhabitants of North Britain. The cause of this may be owing to the close affinity between the same names in the British and Gaëlic; and to this circumstance, that the Gaëlic language did not obtain such a complete mastery over the British in the Lowlands as in the Highlands.

Although the Anglo-Saxon colonization of the Lowlands of Scotland does not come exactly within the design of the present work; yet, as forming an important feature in the history of the Lowlands of Scotland as contradistinguished from the Highlands, a slight notice of it may not be uninteresting.

At the time when the Romans invaded North Britain, the whole population of both ends of the island consisted of a Celtic race, the descendants of its original inhabitants. Shortly after the Roman abdication of North Britain in the year four hundred and forty-six, which was soon succeeded by the final departure of the Romans from the British shores, the Saxons, a people of Gothic origin, established themselves upon the Tweed, and afterwards extended their settlements to the Frith of Forth and to the banks of the Solway and the Clyde. About the beginning of the sixth century the Dalriads, as we have seen, landed in Kintyre and Argyle from the opposite coast of Ireland, and colonized these districts, from whence, in the course of little more than two centuries, they overspread the Highlands and western islands, which their descendants have, ever since, continued to possess. Towards the end of the eighth century, a fresh colony of Scots from Ireland settled in Galloway among the Britons and Saxons, and having overspread the whole of that country, were afterwards joined by detachments of the Scots of Kintyre and Argyle, in connexion with whom they peopled that peninsula. Besides these three races, who made permanent settlements in Scotland, the Scandinavians colonized the Orkney and Shetland islands, and also established themselves on the coasts of Caithness and Sutherland.

But notwithstanding these early settlements of the Gothic race, the era of the Saxon colonization of the Lowlands of Scotland is, with more propriety, placed in the reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, who, by his marriage with a Saxon princess, and the protection he gave to the Anglo-Saxon fugitives who sought for an asylum in his dominions from the persecutions of William the Conqueror, and his Normans, laid the foundations of those great changes which took place in the reigns of his successors. Malcolm, in his warlike incursions into Northumberland and Durham, carried off immense numbers of young men and women, who were to be seen in the reign of David I. in almost every village and house in Scotland. The Gaëlic population was quite averse to the settlement of these strangers among them, and it is said that the extravagant mode of living introduced by the Saxon followers of Queen Margaret, was one of the reasons which led to their expulsion from Scotland, in the reign of Donalbane, who rendered himself popular with his people by this unfriendly act.

This expulsion was, however, soon rendered nugatory, for on the accession of Edgar, the first sovereign of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty, many distinguished Saxon families with their followers settled in Scotland, to the heads of which families the king made grants of land of considerable extent. Few of these foreigners appear to have come into Scotland during the reign of Alexander I. the brother and successor of Edgar; but vast numbers of Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings, established themselves in Scotland in the reign of David I. That prince had received his education at the court of Henry I. and had married Maud or Matildes, the only child of Waltheof earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror on the mother's side. This lady had many vassals, and when David came to the throne in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-four, he was followed, successively, by a thousand Anglo-Normans, to whom he distributed lands, on which they and their followers settled. Most of the illustrious families in Scotland originated from this source.

Malcolm Ceanmore had, before his accession to the throne, resided for some time in England as a fugitive, under the protection of Edward the Confessor, where he acquired a knowledge of the Saxon language; which language, after his marriage with the princess Margaret, became that of the Scottish court. This circumstance made that language fashionable among the Scottish nobility, in consequence of which and of the Anglo-Saxon colonization under David I., the Gaëlic language was altogether superseded in the Lowlands of Scotland in little more than two centuries after the death of Malcolm. A topographical line of demarcation was then fixed as the boundary between the two languages, which has ever since been kept up, and presents one of the most singular phenomena ever observed in the history of philology.

The change of the seat of government by Kenneth on ascending the Pictish throne, from Inverlochay, the capital of the Scots, to Abernethy, also followed by the removal of the marble chair, the emblem of sovereignty, from Dunstaffnage to Scone, appears to have occasioned no detriment to the Gaëlic population of the Highlands; but when Malcolm Ceanmore transferred his court about the year one thousand and sixty-six to Dunfermline, which also became, in place of Iona, the sepulchre of the Scottish kings, the rays of royal bounty, which had hitherto diffused its protecting and benign influence over the inhabitants of the Highlands, were withdrawn, and left them a prey to anarchy and poverty. "The people," says General David Stewart, "now beyond the reach of the laws, became turbulent and fierce, revenging in person those wrongs for which the administrators of the laws were too distant and too feeble to afford redress. Thence arose the institution of chiefs, who naturally became the judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their clansmen and followers, and who were surrounded by men devoted to the defence of their rights, their property, and their power; and accordingly the chiefs established within their own territories a jurisdiction almost wholly independent of their liege lord."*

The connexion which Malcolm and his successors maintained with England, estranged still farther the Highlanders from the dominion of the sovereign and the laws; and their history, after the Gaëlic population of the Lowlands had merged into and adopted the language of the Anglo-Saxons, presents, with the exception of the wars between rival clans, which will be noticed afterwards, nothing remarkable till their first appearance on the military theatre of our national history in the campaigns of Montrose, Dundee, and others. Of these campaigns and other interesting military achievements of the modern Highlanders, we intend to give the details; but before entering upon that important and highly interesting portion of our labours, we mean to bring under the notice of the reader such objects of general interest connected with the ancient state of the Highlands, and the character and condition of the Highlanders in former times, as may be considered interesting either in a local or national point of view.

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* Sketches, I. 20.

The early history of the Highlanders presents us with a bold and hardy race of men, filled with a romantic attachment to their native mountains and glens, cherishing an exalted spirit of independence, and firmly bound together in septs or clans by the ties of kindred. Having little intercourse with the rest of the world, and pent up for many centuries within the Grampian range, the Highlanders acquired a peculiar character, and retained or adopted habits and manners differing widely from those of their Lowland neighbours. "The ideas and employments, which their seclusion from the world rendered habitual,—the familiar contemplation of the most sublime objects of nature,—the habit of concentrating their affections within the narrow precincts of their own glens, or the limited circle of their own kinsmen,—and the necessity of union and self-dependence in all difficulties and dangers, combined to form a peculiar and original character. A certain romantic sentiment, the offspring of deep and cherished feeling, strong attachment to their country and kindred, and a consequent disdain of submission to strangers, formed the character of independence; while an habitual contempt of danger was nourished by their solitary musings, of which the honour of their clan, and a long descent from brave and warlike ancestors, formed the frequent theme. Thus, their exercises, their amusements, their modes of subsistence, their motives of action, their prejudices and their superstitions, became characteristic, permanent, and peculiar.

"Firmness and decision, fertility in resources, ardour in friendship, and a generous enthusiasm, were the result of such a situation, such modes of life, and such habits of thought. Feeling themselves separated by Nature from the rest of mankind, and distinguished by their language, their habits, their manners, and their dress, they considered themselves the original possessors of the country, and regarded the Saxons of the Lowlands as strangers and intruders."*

Like their Celtic ancestors, the Highlanders were tall, robust, and well formed. Early marriages were unknown among them, and it was rare for a female who was of a puny stature and delicate constitution to be honoured with a husband. The following observations of Martin on the inhabitants of some of the western islands may be generally applied to the Highlanders:—"They are not obliged to art in forming their bodies, for Nature never fails to act her part bountifully to them; perhaps there is no part of the habitable globe where so few bodily imperfections are to be seen, nor any children that go more early. I have observed several of them walk alone before they were ten months

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* Stewart's Sketches, I. 7, 8.

[illegible]

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There was nothing a Highlander took so much delight in as the improvement of his personal appearance by the aid of dress. The point of personal decoration being once secured, it mattered not, says General Stewart, that his dwelling was mean, his domestic utensils scanty, and of the simplest construction, and his house and furniture merely such as could be prepared by his own hands. Yet, with all his gay tendencies, the Highlander looked upon the occupations of the tailor and weaver with profound contempt, and as fit only for sickly and effeminate persons. He did not disdain, however, to be his own shoemaker, cooper, and carpenter, all of which he considered honourable professions, when confined at least to the supply of his own domestic necessities. We shall now give a description of the different parts of the Highland costume:—

The Breacan-feile, literally, the chequered covering, is the original garb of the Highlanders, and forms the chief part of the costume; but it is now almost laid aside in its simple form. It consisted of a plain piece of tartan from four to six yards in length, and two yards broad. The plaid was adjusted with great nicety, and made to surround the waist in great plaits or folds, and was firmly bound round the loins with a leathern belt in such a manner that the lower side fell down to the middle of the knee joint, and then, while there were the foldings behind, the cloth was double before. The upper part was then fastened on the left shoulder with a large brooch or pin, so as to display to the most advantage the tastefulness of the arrangement, the two ends being sometimes suffered to hang down; but that on the right side, which was necessarily the longest, was more usually tucked under the belt. In battle, in travelling, and on other occasions, this added much to the commodiousness and grace of the costume. By this arrangement, the right arm of the wearer was left uncovered and at full liberty; but in wet or very cold weather the plaid was thrown loose, by which both body and shoulders were covered. To give free exercise for both arms in case of need, the plaid was fastened across the breast by a large silver bodkin, or circular brooch, often enriched with precious stones, or imitations of them, having mottos engraved, consisting of allegorical and figurative sentences.* Although the belted plaid was peculiar to the Highlanders, it came gradually to be worn by some of the inhabitants of the Lowland districts adjoining the Highlands; but it was discontinued about the end of the last century.

As the Breacan was without pockets, a purse, called *sporan* by the Highlanders, was fastened or tied in front, which was very serviceable. This purse was made of goats' or badgers' skin, and sometimes of leather, and was neither so large nor so gaudy as that now in use. People of rank or condition ornamented their purses sometimes with a silver mouthpiece, and fixed the tassels and other appendages with silver fastenings; but in general the mouthpieces were of brass, and the cords employed were of leather neatly interwoven. The sporan was divided into several compartments. One of these was appropriated for holding a watch, another money, &c. The Highlanders even carried their shot in the sporan occasionally, but for this purpose they commonly carried a wallet at the right side, in which they also stowed when travelling, a quantity of meal and other provisions. This military knapsack was called *dorlach* by the Highlanders.

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* Stewart's Sketches, I. 74.

The use of stockings and shoes is comparatively of recent date in the Highlands. Originally they encased their feet in a piece of untanned hide, cut to the shape and size of the foot, and drawn close together with leather thongs, a practice which is observed by the descendants of the Scandinavian settlers in the Shetland islands even to the present day; but this mode of covering the feet was far from being general, as the greater part of the population went barefooted. Such was the state of the Highlanders who fought at Killicrankie; and Birt, who wrote upwards of a century ago, says that he visited a well-educated and polite Laird, in the north, who wore neither shoes nor stockings, nor had any covering for his feet. A modern writer observes, that when the Highland regiments were embodied during the French and American wars, hundreds of the men were brought down without either stockings or shoes.

The stockings, which were originally of the same pattern with the plaid, were not knitted, but were cut out of the web, as is still done in the case of those worn by the common soldiers in the Highland regiments; but a great variety of fancy patterns are now in use. The garters were of rich colours, and broad, and were wrought in a small loom, which is now almost laid aside. Their texture was very close, which prevented them from wrinkling, and displayed the pattern to its full extent. On the occasion of an anniversary cavalcade, on Michaelmas day, by the inhabitants of the island of North Uist, when persons of all ranks and of both sexes appeared on horseback, the women, in return for presents of knives and purses given them by the men, presented the latter "with a pair of fine garters of divers colours."†

The bonnet, of which there were various patterns, completed the national garb, and those who could afford had also, as essential accompaniments, a dirk, with a knife and fork stuck in the side of the sheath, and sometimes a spoon, together with a pair of steel pistols.

The garb, however, differed materially in quality and in ornamental display, according to the rank or ability of the wearer. The short coat and waistcoat worn by the wealthy, were adorned with silver buttons, tassels, embroidery, or lace, according to the taste or fashion of the times; and even "among the better and more provident of the lower ranks," as General Stewart remarks, silver buttons were frequently found, which had come down to them as an inheritance of long descent. The same author observes, that the reason for wearing these buttons, which were of a large size and of solid silver, was, that their value might defray the expense of a decent funeral in the event of the wearer falling in battle, or dying in a strange country and at a distance from his friends. The officers of Mackay's and Munroe's Highland regiments, who served under Gustavus Adolphus in the wars of sixteen hundred and twenty-six, and sixteen hundred and thirty-eight, in addition to rich buttons, wore a gold chain round the neck, to secure the owner, in case of being wounded or taken prisoner, good treatment, or payment for future ransom.

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† Martin's Western Islands, 2d Edit. p. 80.

Although shoe buckles now form a part of the Highland costume, they were unknown in the Highlands one hundred and fifty years ago. The ancient Highlanders did not wear neckcloths. Their shirts were of woollen cloth, and as linen was long expensive, a considerable time elapsed before linen shirts came into general use. We have heard an old and intelligent Highlander remark, that rheumatism was almost, if not wholly, unknown in the Highlands until the introduction of linen shirts.

It is observed by General Stewart, that "among the circumstances which influenced the military character of the Highlanders, their peculiar garb was conspicuous, which, by its freedom and lightness, enabled them to use their limbs, and to handle their arms with ease and celerity, and to move with great speed when employed with either cavalry or light infantry. In the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in the civil wars of Charles I., and on various other occasions, they were often mixed with the cavalry, affording to detached squadrons the incalculable advantage of support from infantry, even in their most rapid movements." "I observed," says the author of 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' speaking of the Scots army in sixteen hundred and forty, "I observed that these parties had always some foot with them, and yet if the horses galloped or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage. These were those they call Highlanders; they would run on foot with all their arms, and all their accoutrements, and kept very good order too, and kept pace with the horses, let them go at what rate they would."

Among the different costumes with which we are acquainted, none can stand comparison with the Highland garb for gracefulness. The nice discernment and correct taste of Eustace preferred it to the formal and gorgeous drapery of the Asiatic costume. Its *utility*, now that such a complete change has been effected in the manners and condition of the people, may be questioned, but it must be admitted on all hands, that a more suitable dress for the times when it was used, could not have been invented.

The dress of the women seems to require some little notice. Till marriage, or till they arrived at a certain age, they went with the head bare, the hair being tied with bandages or some slight ornament, after which they wore a head-dress, called the curch, made of linen, which was tied under the chin; but when a young woman lost her virtue and character she was obliged to wear a cap, and never afterwards to appear bare-headed. Martin's observations on the dress of the females of the western islands, may be taken as giving a pretty correct idea of that worn by those of the Highlands. "The women wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head-dress was a fine kerchief of linen, strait about the head. The plaid was tied before on the breast, with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of one hundred merks value; the whole curiously engraved with various animals. There was a lesser buckle which was worn in the middle of the larger. It had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, of a lesser size." The plaid, which, with the exception of a few stripes of red, black, or blue, was white, reached from the neck almost to the feet; it was plaited, and was tied round the waist by a belt of leather, studded with small pieces of silver.

The antiquity of the tartan has been called in question by several writers, who have maintained that it is of modern invention; but they have given no proofs in support of their assertion. We have seen that an author who wrote as far back as the year fifteen hundred and ninety seven, mentions this species of cloth; and in the account of charge and discharge of John, Bishop of Glasgow, Treasurer to King James III. in fourteen hundred and seventy one, the following entries occur:—

"An elne and ane halve of blue tartane to lyne his gowne of cloth of gold, ...	£1	10	6
"Four elne and ane halve of tartane for a sparwurt aboun his credill, price ane elne, 10s.	2	5	0
"Halve ane elne of duble tartane to lyne collars to her lady the Quene, price 8 shillings."			

It is therefore absurd to say that tartan is a modern invention.

When the great improvements in the process of dyeing by means of chemistry, are considered, it will appear surprising, that without any knowledge of this art, and without the substances now employed, the Highlanders should have been able, from the scanty materials which their country afforded, to produce the beautiful and lasting colours which distinguished the old Highland tartan, some specimens of which are understood still to exist, and which retain much of their original brilliancy of colouring. "In dyeing and arranging the various colours of their tartans, they displayed no small art and taste, preserving at the same time the distinctive patterns (or sets, as they were called) of the different clans, tribes, families, and districts. Thus, a Macdonald, a Campbell, a Mackenzie, &c. was known by his plaid; and, in like manner, the Athole, Glenorchy, and other colours of different districts, were easily distinguishable. Besides those general divisions, industrious housewives had patterns, distinguished by the set, superior quality, and fineness of cloth, or brightness and variety of the colours. In those times, when mutual attachment and confidence subsisted between the proprietors and occupiers of land in the Highlands, the removal of tenants, except in remarkable cases, rarely occurred; and, consequently, it was easy to preserve and perpetuate any particular set or pattern, even among the lower orders."*

The Highlanders, in common with most other nations, were much addicted to superstition. The peculiar aspect of their country, in which nature appears in its wildest and most romantic features, exhibiting at a glance sharp and rugged mountains, with dreary wastes—wide-stretched lakes, and rapid torrents, over which the thunders and lightnings, and tempests, and rains, of heaven, exhaust their terrific rage, wrought upon the creative powers of the imagination, and from these appearances, the Highlanders "were naturally led to ascribe every disaster to the influence of superior powers, in whose character the predominating feature necessarily was malignity towards the human race."†

The most dangerous and most malignant creature was the *kelpie*, or water-horse, which was supposed to allure women and children to his subaqueous haunts, and there devour them. Sometimes he would swell the lake or torrent beyond its usual limits, and overwhelm the unguarded traveller in the flood. The shepherd, as he sat upon the brow of a rock in a summer's evening, often fancied he saw this animal dashing along the surface of the lake, or browsing on the pasture-ground upon its verge.

The *urisks*, who were supposed to be of a condition somewhat intermediate between that of mortal men and spirits, "were a sort of *lubbary* supernaturals, who, like the *brownies* of England, could be gained over by kind attentions to perform the drudgery of the farm; and it was believed that many families in the Highlands had one of the order attached to it."‡ The urisks were supposed to live dispersed over the Highlands, each having his own wild recess; but they were said to hold stated assemblies in the celebrated cave called *Coire-nan-Uriskin*, situated near the base of Ben-Venue, in Aberfoyle, on its northern shoulder. It overhangs Loch Katrine "in solemn grandeur," and is beautifully and faithfully described by Sir Walter Scott.§

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* Stewart's Sketches, vol. I. p. 76. † Graham's Sketches of Perthshire. ‡ Ibid.

§ "It was a wild and strange retreat,
As e'er was trod by outlaw's feet.
The dell, upon the mountain's crest,
Yawned like a gash on warrior's breast;
Its trench had staid full many a rock,
Hurl'd by primeval earthquake shock
From Ben-Venue's grey summit wild,
And here, in random ruin piled,
They frowned incumbent o'er the spot,
And formed the rugged sylvan grot.

The *urisks,* though generally inclined to mischief, were supposed to relax in this propensity, if kindly treated by the families which they haunted. They were even serviceable in some instances, and in this point of view were often considered an acquisition. Each family regularly set down a bowl of cream for its urisk, and even clothes were sometimes added. The urisk resented any omission or want of attention on the part of the family; and tradition says, that the urisk of *Glaschoil,* a small farm about a mile to the west of Ben-Venue, having been disappointed one night of his bowl of cream, after performing the task allotted him, took his departure about day-break, uttering a horrible shriek, and never again returned.

The *Daoine Shith,* or Shi' *(men of peace),* or as they are sometimes called, *Daoine matha* (good men), come next to be noticed. Dr P. Graham considers the part of the popular superstitions of the Highlands which relates to these imaginary persons, and which is to this day retained, as he observes, in some degree of purity, as "the most beautiful and perfect branch of Highland mythology."

Although it has been generally supposed that the mythology of the Daoine Shi' is the same as that respecting the fairies of England, as portrayed by Shakspeare, in the Midsummer Night's Dream, and perhaps, too, of the Orientals, they differ essentially in many important points.

The Daoine Shi', or men of peace, who are the *fairies* of the Highlanders, "though not absolutely malevolent, are believed to be a peevish repining race of beings, who, possessing themselves but a scanty portion of happiness, are supposed to envy mankind their more complete and substantial enjoyments. They are supposed to enjoy, in their

The oak and birch, with mingled shade,
At noontide there a twilight made,
Unless where short and sudden shone
From straggling beam on cliff or stone,
With such a glimpse as prophet's eye
Gains on thy depth, Futurity.
No murmur wak'd the solemn still,
Save tinkling of a fountain rill;
But when the wind chafed with the lake,
A sullen sound would upward break,
With dashing hollow voice, that spoke
The incessant war of wave and rock.
Suspended cliffs, with hideous sway,
Seem'd nodding o'er the cavern grey.
From such a den the wolf had sprung,
In such a wild cat leaves her young;
Yet Douglas and his daughter fair
Sought for a space their safety there.
Grey Superstition's whisper dread,
Debarred the spot to vulgar tread;
For there, she said, did fays resort,
And satyrs hold their sylvan court,
By moon-light tread their mystic maze,
And blast the rash beholder's gaze."
Lady of the Lake, c. iii. s. 26.

subterraneous recesses, a sort of shadowy happiness, a tinsel grandeur, which, however, they would willingly exchange for the more solid joys of mortals." * Green was the colour of the dress which these men of peace always wore, and they were supposed to take offence when any of the mortal race presumed to wear their favourite colour. The Highlanders ascribe the disastrous result of the battle of Killiecrankie to the circumstance of Viscount Dundee having been dressed in green on that ill-fated day. This colour is even yet considered ominous to those of his name who assume it.

The abodes of the Daoine Shi' are supposed to be below grassy eminences or knolls, where, during the night, they celebrate their festivities by the light of the moon, and dance to notes of the softest music.† Tradition reports that they have often allured some of the human race into their subterraneous retreats, consisting of gorgeous apartments, and that they have been regaled with the most sumptuous banquets and delicious wines. Their females far exceed the daughters of men in beauty. If any mortal shall be tempted to partake of their repast, or join in their pleasures, he at once forfeits the society of his fellow-men, and is bound down irrevocably to the condition of a Shi'ich, or man of peace.

" A woman," says a Highland tradition, " was conveyed, in days of yore, into the secret recesses of the men of peace. There she was recognised by one who had formerly been an ordinary mortal, but who had, by some fatality, become associated with the Shi'ichs. This acquaintance, still retaining some portion of human benevolence, warned her of her danger, and counselled her, as she valued her liberty, to abstain from eating or drinking with them for a certain space of time. She complied with the counsel of her friend; and when the period assigned was elapsed, she found herself again upon earth, restored to the society of mortals. It is added, that when she had examined the viands which had been presented to her, and which had appeared so tempting to the eye, they were found, now that the enchantment had been removed, to consist only of the refuse of the earth."

Some mortals, however, who had been so unhappy as to fall into the snares of the Shi'ichs, are generally believed to have obtained a release from Fairyland, and to have been restored to the society of their friends. Ethert Brand, according to the legend, was released by the intrepidity of his sister, as related by Sir Walter Scott in the fourth Canto of the Lady of the Lake:—

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* Graham's Sketches.

† The belief in *Fairies* is a popular superstition among the Shetlanders. The margin of a small lake called the Sandy Loch, about two miles from Lerwick, is celebrated for having been their favourite resort. It is said that they often walk in procession along the sides of the loch in different costumes. Some of the natives used frequently, when passing by a knoll, to stop and listen to the music of the fairies, and when the music ceased, they would hear the rattling of the pewter plates which were to be used at supper. The fairies sometimes visit the Shetland barns, from which they are usually ejected by means of a *flail*, which the proprietor wields with great agility, thumping and threshing in every direction.

"She crossed him thrice that lady bold:
He rose beneath her hand,
The fairest knight on Scottish mould,
Her brother, Ethert Brand!"

A recent tradition gives a similar story, except in its unfortunate catastrophe, and is thus related by Dr Patrick Grahame in his "Sketches of Perthshire."

The Rev. Robert Kirk, the first translator of the Psalms into Gaelic verse, had formerly been minister at Balquidder; and died minister of Aberfoyle, in 1688, at the early age of 42. His gravestone, which may be seen near the east end of the church of Aberfoyle, bears the inscription which is given underneath.‡ He was walking, it is said, one evening in his night-gown, upon the little eminence to the west of the present manse, which is still reckoned a *Dun*-shi'. He fell down dead, as was believed; but this was not his fate:—

"It was between the night and day,
When the fairy king has power,
That he sunk down (but not) in sinful fray,
And, 'twixt life and death, was snatched away,
To the joyless Elfin bower."

Mr Kirk was the near relation of Mr Graham of Duchray, the ancestor of the present General Graham Stirling. Shortly after his funeral, he appeared in the dress in which he had sunk down, to a mutual relation of his own and of Duchray. "Go," said he to him, "to my cousin Duchray, and tell him that I am not dead; I fell down in a swoon, and was carried into Fairy-land, where I now am. Tell him, that when he and my friends are assembled at the baptism of my child —for he had left his wife pregnant—I will appear in the room, and that if he throws the knife which he holds in his hand over my head, I will be released, and restored to human society." The man, it seems, neglected for some time, to deliver the message. Mr Kirk appeared to him a second time, threatening to haunt him night and day till he executed his commission, which at length he did. The day of the baptism arrived. They were seated at table. Mr Kirk entered, but the laird of Duchray, by some unaccountable fatality, neglected to perform the prescribed ceremony. Mr Kirk retired by another door, and was seen no more. It is firmly believed that he is, at this day, in Fairy-land.

Another legend in a similar strain is also given as communicated by a very intelligent young lady:—

"A young man roaming one day through the forest, observed a number of persons, all dressed in green, issuing from one of those round eminences which are commonly accounted fairy hills. Each of them, in succession, called upon a person by name, *to fetch his horse*. A caparisoned steed instantly appeared; they all mounted, and sallied forth into the regions of the air. The young man, like Ali Baba in the Arabian Nights, ventured to pronounce the same name, and called for his horse. The steed immediately appeared; he mounted, and was soon joined to the fairy choir. He remained with them for a year, going about with them to fairs and weddings, and feasting, though unseen by mortal eyes, on the victuals that were exhibited on those occasions. They had, one day, gone to a wedding, where the cheer was abundant. During the feast the bridegroom *sneezed.* The young man, according to the usual custom, said, ' God bless you.'* The fairies were offended at the pronunciation of the sacred name, and assured him, that if he dared to repeat it they would punish him. The bridegroom *sneezed* a second time. He repeated his *blessing;* they threatened more than tremendous vengeance. He *sneezed* a third time; he *blessed* him as before. The fairies were enraged; they tumbled him from a precipice, but he found himself unhurt, and was restored to the society of mortals."

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‡ Robertus Kirk, A. M, Linguæ Hibernii(c)æ lumen, Obiit, &c.

The Shi'ichs, or men of peace, are supposed to have a design against new-born children, and women in childbed, whom, it is still universally believed, they sometimes carry off into their secret recesses. To prevent this abduction, women in childbed are closely watched, and are not left alone, even for a single moment, till the child is baptized, when the Shi'ichs are supposed to have no more power over them.†

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* Dr Graham has some curious observations on this practice. It is mentioned by Apuleius in his Metamorphosis of the Golden Ass; and in the Greek Anthologia, this custom is recorded in a verse, which speaks of the withholding of this blessing by an evil-minded person:—

——*Ουδε λεγει, ξεν σωσον εαν πταρῃ.*
Lib. II. § *εις δυσειδεις.*

" Nor does he say, Jupiter save him, if he should sneeze."

In the seventeenth book of Homer's Odyssey, Penelope, led by the account given by Eumæus of a stranger that had just arrived, to entertain some hopes of the return of Ulysses, expresses her expectations, when her son Telemachus sneezes aloud. Auguring favourably from this omen, Penelope smiles, and gives orders to conduct the stranger to the palace.

" She spoke. Telemachus then sneez'd aloud;
Constrained, his nostril echo'd through the crowd,
The smiling queen the happy omen blest."

From the existence of the practice of blessing among the Siamese, it has been inferred, with some degree of probability, that it is of oriental origin, and was brought into Europe along with the druidical superstition. Father Tachard, in his *Voyage de Siam,* abridged by Le Clerc in his *Bibliotheque Universelle de l'Annee,* 1687, thus relates the belief of the Siamese as to this practice. " The Siamese believe that, in the other world, there is an angel, whose name is Prayompaban, who has a book before him, in which the life of every individual upon earth is written; he is incessantly employed in reading this book; and when he arrives at the page which contains the history of any particular person, that person infallibly sneezes. This, say the Siamese, is the reason why we sneeze upon earth; and that we are in use to wish a long and happy life to those who sneeze."

† The Fairies of Shetland appear to be bolder than the Shi'ichs of the Highlands,

The following tradition will illustrate this branch of the popular superstition respecting the Shi'ichs: A woman whose new-born child had been conveyed by them into their secret abodes, was also carried thither herself, to remain, however, only until she should suckle her infant. She one day, during this period, observed the Shi'ichs busily employed in mixing various ingredients in a boiling cauldron; and as soon as the composition was prepared, she remarked that they all carefully anointed their eyes with it, laying the remainder aside for future use. In a moment when they were all absent, she also attempted to anoint her eyes with the precious drug, but had time to apply it to one eye only, when the Daoine Shi returned. But with that eye, she was henceforth enabled to see every thing as it really passed in their secret abodes; she saw every object, not as she had hitherto done, in deceptive splendour and elegance, but in its genuine colours and form. The gaudy ornaments of the apartment were reduced to the naked walls of a gloomy cavern. Soon after, having discharged her office, she was dismissed to her own home. Still, however, she retained the faculty of seeing with her medicated eye, every thing that was done, any where in her presence, by the deceptive art of the order. One day, amidst a throng of people, she chanced to observe the Shi'ich, or man of peace, in whose possession she had left her child, though to every other eye invisible. Prompted by maternal affection, she inadvertently accosted him, and began to inquire after the welfare of her child. The man of peace, astonished at thus being recognised by one of mortal race, sternly demanded how she had been enabled to discover him. Awed by the terrible frown of his countenance, she acknowledged what she had done. He spit into her eye, and extinguished it for ever.

The Shi'ichs, it is still believed, have a great propensity for attending funerals and weddings, and other public entertainments, and even fairs. They have an object in this; for it is believed that, though invisible to mortal eyes, they are busily employed in carrying away the substantial articles and provisions which are exhibited, in place of which they substitute shadowy forms, having the appearance of the things so purloined. And so strong was the belief in this mythology, even till a recent period, that some persons are old enough to remember, that some individuals would not eat any thing presented on the occasions alluded to, because they believed it to be unsubstantial and hurtful.

As the Shi'ichs are always supposed to be present on all occasions, though invisible, the Highlanders, whenever they allude to them, do so

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for they are believed to carry off young children even after baptism, taking care, however, to substitute a cabbage stock, or something else in lieu, which is made to assume the appearance of the abstracted child. The unhappy mother must take as much care of this phantom as she did of her child, and on no account destroy it, otherwise, it is believed, the fairies will not restore her child to her. "This is not my bairn," said a mother to a neighbour who was condoling with her on the wasted appearance of her infant, then sitting on her knee,—"this is not my bairn—may the d—l rest where my bairn now is!"

in terms of respect. This is, however, done as seldom as possible, as they endeavour to avoid conversing about them as much as possible; and when the Shi'ichs are casually mentioned, the Highlanders add some propitiatory expression of praise to avert their displeasure, which they greatly dread. This reserve and dread on the part of the Highlanders, is said to arise from the peevish envy and jealousy which the Shi'ichs are believed to entertain towards the human race. Although believed to be always present, watching the doings of mortals, the Shi'ichs are supposed to be more particular in their attendance on Friday, on which day they are believed to possess very extensive influence. They are believed to be especially jealous of what may be said concerning them; and if they are at all spoken of on that day, which is never done without great reluctance, the Highlanders uniformly style them the *Daoine matha*, or *good men.*

According to the traditionary legends of the Highlanders, the Shi'ichs are believed to be of both sexes; and it is the general opinion among the Highlanders that men have sometimes cohabited with females of the Shi'ich race, who are in consequence called Leannan Shi'. These mistresses are believed to be very kind to their mortal paramours, by revealing to them the knowledge of many things both present and future, which were concealed from the rest of mankind. The knowledge of the medicinal virtues of many herbs, it is related, has been obtained in this way from the Leannan Shi'. The Daoine Shi' of the other sex are said, in their turn, to have sometimes held intercourse with mistresses of mortal race.

This popular superstition relating to the Daoine Shi', is supposed, with good reason, to have taken its rise in the times of the Druids, or rather to have been invented by them after the overthrow of their hierarchy, for the purpose of preserving the existence of their order, after they had retreated for safety to caves and the deep recesses of the forest. This idea receives some corroboration from the Gaëlic term, Druidheachd, which the Highlanders apply to the deceptive power by which the men of peace are believed to impose upon the senses of mankind; "founded, probably, on the opinion entertained of old, concerning the magical powers of the Druids. Deeply versed, according to Cæsar's information, as the Druids were, in the higher departments of philosophy, and probably acquainted with electricity, and various branches of chemistry, they might find it easy to excite the belief of their supernatural powers, in the minds of the uninitiated vulgar."[‡] The influence of this powerful order upon the popular belief was felt long after the supposed era of its extinction; for it was not until Christianity was introduced into the Highlands, that the total suppression of the Druids took place. Adomnan mentions in his life of St Columba,

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[*] Graham's Sketches.

the *mocidruidi,* (or sons of Druids,) as existing in Scotland in the time of Columba; and he informs us, "that the saint was interrupted at the castle of the king (of the Picts), in the discharge of his religious offices, by certain *magi;*" a term, by the bye, applied by Pliny to the order of the Druids. The following passage from an ancient Gaelic MS.[*] in the possession of the Highland Society of Scotland, supposed to be of the 12th or 13th century, is conjectured to refer to the incident noticed by Adomnan. "After this, St Columba went upon a time to the king of the Picts, namely, Bruidhi, son of Milchu, and the gate of the castle was shut against him; but the iron locks of the town opened instantly, through the prayers of Columb Cille. Then came the son of the king, to wit, Maelchu, and his Druid, to argue keenly against Columb Cille, in support of paganism."

Martin relates, that the natives of South-Uist believed that a valley called Glenslyte, situated between two mountains on the east side of the island, was haunted by spirits, whom they called the Great Men, and that if any man or woman entered the valley without first making an entire resignation of themselves to the conduct of the great men, they would infallibly grow mad. The words by which they gave themselves up to the guidance of these men are comprehended in three sentences, wherein the glen is twice named. This author remonstrated with the inhabitants upon this "piece of silly credulity," but they answered that there had been a late instance of a woman who went into the glen without resigning herself to the guidance of the great men, "and immediately after she became mad; which confirmed them in their unreasonable fancy." He also observes, that the people who resided in the glen in summer, said, they sometimes heard a loud noise in the air like men speaking.[†]

The same writer mentions a universal custom among the inhabitants of the western islands, of pouring a cow's milk upon a little hill, or big stone, where a spirit they called Brownie, was believed to lodge, which spirit always appeared in the shape of a tall man, with very long brown hair. On inquiring "from several well-meaning women, who, until of late, had practised it," they told Martin that it had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, who believed it was attended with good fortune, but the most credulous of the vulgar had then laid it aside.

It was also customary among the "over-curious," in the western islands, to consult an invisible oracle, concerning the fate of families, battles, &c. This was done three different ways; the first was by a company of men, one of whom being chosen by lot, was afterwards carried to a river, the boundary between two villages: four of the company seized on him, and having shut his eyes, they took him by the legs and arms, and then tossing him to and fro, struck his posteriors with force against the bank. One of them then cried out, What is it you have got here? Another answered, A log of birch-wood. The other cried again, Let his invisible friends appear from all quarters, and let them relieve him, by giving an answer to our present demands; and in a few minutes after, a number of little creatures came from the sea, who answered the question, and disappeared suddenly. The man was then set at liberty, and they all returned home to take their measures according to the prediction of their false prophets. This was always practised at night.

[†] MS. No. IV. noticed in the Appendix to the Report on the Poems of Ossian, p. 310.

[‡] Western Islands, 2d Ed. p. 86.

The second way of consulting the oracle was by a party of men, who first retired to solitary places, remote from any house, and then singling out one of their number, wrapt him in a large cow's hide, which they folded about him, covering all but his head, in which posture they left him all night until his invisible friends relieved him by giving a proper answer to the question put; which answer he received, as he fancied, from several persons he found about him all that time. His companions returned to him at break of day when he communicated his news to them, which it is said "often proved fatal to those concerned in such unlawful inquiries."*

The third way of consulting the oracle, and which consultation was to serve as a confirmation of the second, was this: The same company who put the man into the hide, took a live cat and put him on a spit. One of the company was employed to turn the spit, and when in the act of turning, one of his companions would ask him, what are you doing? He answered, I roast this cat, until his friends answer the question, the same as that proposed to the man inclosed in the hide. Afterwards a very large cat was said to come, attended by a number of lesser cats, desiring to relieve the cat turned upon the spit, and answered the question. And if the answer turned out to be the same that was given to the man in the hide, then it was taken as a confirmation of the other, which in this case was believed infallible.†

A singular practice called *Deis-iuil* existed in the Western Islands, so called from a man going round carrying fire in his right hand, which in the Gaëlic is called *Deas.* In the island of Lewis this fiery circuit was made about the houses, corn, cattle, &c. of each particular family, to protect them from the power of evil spirits. The fire was also carried round about women before they were churched after child-bearing, and about children till they were baptized. This ceremony was performed in the morning and at night, and was practised by some of the old midwives in Martin's time. Some of them told him that 'the fire-round was an effectual means of preserving both the mother and the infant from the power of evil spirits, who are ready at such times to do mischief, and sometimes carry away the infant; and when they get them once in their possession, return them poor meagre skeletons; and these infants are said to have voracious appetites, constantly craving for meat. In this case it was usual with those who believed that their children were thus taken away, to dig a grave in the fields upon quarter-day, and there to lay the fairy skeleton till next morning; at which time the parents went to the place, where they doubted not to find their own child instead of this skeleton. Some of the poorer sort of people in these islands long retained a custom of performing rounds sun-wise, about the persons of their benefactors three times, when they blessed them, and wished good success to all their enterprises. Some were very careful, when they set out to sea, that the boat should be first rowed about sun-wise; and if this was neglected, they were afraid their voyage would prov unfortunate.' These and many other customs which were peculiar to the inhabitants of the Western Islands, are, we think, of Scandinavian origin, and were probably introduced by the Danish Vikingr. The practice of turning the boat sun-wise is still observed by the fishermen of the Shetland islands, where none of the Celtic usages were ever introduced.

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* Martin, 2d ed. p. 112.

† Ibid.

A prevailing superstition also existed in the Western Islands, and among the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast, that women, by a certain charm or by some secret influence, could withdraw and appropriate to their own use the increase of their neighbour's cow's milk. It was believed, however, that the milk so charmed did not produce the ordinary quantity of butter usually churned from other milk, and that the curds made of such milk were so tough that they could not be made so firm as other cheese, and that it was also much lighter in weight. It was also believed that the butter produced from the charmed milk could be discovered from that yielded from the charmer's own milk, by a difference in the colour, the former being of a paler hue than the latter. The woman in whose possession butter so distinguished was found, was considered to be guilty. To bring back the increase of milk, it was usual to take a little of the rennet from all the suspected persons, and put it into an egg shell full of milk, and when the rennet taken from the charmer was mingled with it, it was said presently to curdle, but not before. Some women put the root of groundsel among their cream as an amulet against such charms.

In retaliation for washing dishes, wherein milk was kept, in streams or rivulets in which trouts were, it was believed that they prevented or took away an increase of milk, and the damage thus occasioned could only be repaired by taking a live trout and pouring milk into its mouth. If the milk curdled immediately, this was a sure sign of its being taken away by trouts; if not, the inhabitants ascribed the evil to some other cause. Some women, it was affirmed, had the art to take away the milk of nurses.

A similar superstition existed as to malt, the virtues of which were said to be sometimes imperceptibly filched, by some charm, before being used, so that the drink made of this malt had neither strength nor good taste, while, on the contrary, the supposed charmer had very good ale all the time. The following curious story is told by Martin in relation to this subject. "A gentleman of my acquaintance, for the space of a year, could not have a drop of good ale in his house; and having complained of it to all that conversed with him, he was at last advised to get some yeast from every alehouse in the parish; and having got a little from one particular man, he put it among his wort, which became as good ale as could be drank, and so defeated the charm. After which, the gentleman on whose land this man lived, banished him thirty-six miles from thence."*

A singular mode of divination was sometimes practised by the Highlanders with bones. Having picked the flesh clean off a shoulder-blade of mutton, which was supposed to lose its virtue if touched by iron, they turned towards the east, and with looks steadily fixed on the transparent bone they pretended to foretell deaths, burials, &c.

The phases or changes of the moon were closely observed, and it was only at particular periods of her revolution that they would cut turf or fuel, fell wood, or cut thatch for houses, or go upon any important expedition. They expected better crops of grain by sowing their seed in the moon's increase. "The moon," as Dr Johnson observes, "has great influence in vulgar philosophy," and in his memory it was a precept annually given in one of the English almanacs, "To kill hogs when the moon was increasing, and the bacon would prove the better in boiling."

The aid of superstition was sometimes resorted to for curing diseases. For hectic and consumptive complaints, the Highlanders used to pare the nails of the fingers and toes of the patient,—put these parings into a bag made from a piece of his clothes,—and after waving their hand with the bag thrice round his head, and crying, *Deis-iuil*, they buried it in some unknown place. Pliny, in his natural history, states this practice to have existed among the Magi or Druids of his time.

To remove any contagious disease from cattle, they used to extinguish the fires in the surrounding villages, after which they forced fire with a wheel, or by rubbing one piece of dry wood upon another, with which they burned juniper in the stalls of the cattle that the smoke might purify the air about them. When this was performed, the fires in the houses were rekindled from the forced fire. Shaw relates in his history of Moray, that he personally witnessed both the last mentioned practices.

Akin to some of the superstitions we have noticed, but differing from them in many essential respects, is the belief—for superstition it cannot well be called—in the Second Sight, by which, as Dr Johnson observes, "seems to be meant a mode of seeing, superadded to that which nature generally bestows,"† and consists of "an impression made either by the mind upon the eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things distant or future are perceived, and seen as if they were present."‡ This

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* Western Islands, p. 122. † Journey, p. 166. ‡ Ibid.

"deceptive faculty" is called Taibhse in the Gaëlic, which signifies a spectre, or a vision, and is neither voluntary nor constant, but consists "in seeing an otherwise invisible object, without any previous means used by the person that sees it for that end; the vision makes such a lively impression upon the seers, that they neither see nor think of any thing else, except the vision, as long as it continues: and then they appear pensive or jovial, according to the object which was represented to them."*

It has been observed by lookers-on, that those persons who saw, or were supposed to see, a vision, always kept their eye-lids erect, and that they continued to stare until the object vanished. Martin affirms that he and other persons that were with them, observed this more than once, and he mentions an instance of a man in Skye, the inner part of whose eye-lids was turned so far upwards during a vision, that after the object disappeared he found it necessary to draw them down with his fingers, and would sometimes employ others to draw them down, which he indeed, Martin says, "found from experience to be the easier way."

The visions are said to have taken place either in the morning, at noon, in the evening, or at night. If an object was seen early in the morning, its accomplishment would take place in a few hours thereafter. If at noon, that very day. If in the evening, perhaps that night; if after the candles were lighted, the accomplishment would take place by weeks, months, and sometimes years, according to the time of night the vision was seen.

As the appearances which are said to have been observed in visions and their prognostics are not generally known, and may prove curious to the general reader, a few of them shall be here stated, as noted by Martin.

When a shroud was perceived about one, it was a sure prognostic of death. The time was judged according to the height of it about the person. If not seen above the middle, death was not to be expected for the space of a year, and perhaps some months longer; and as it was frequently seen to ascend higher towards the head, death was concluded to be at hand within a few days, if not hours.

If a woman was seen standing at a man's left hand, it was a presage that she would be his wife, whether they were married to others, or unmarried at the time of the apparition.

If two or three women were seen at once standing near a man's left hand, she that was next to him would undoubtedly be his wife first, and so on, whether all three, or the man, were single or married at the time of the vision or not.

It was usual for the Seers to see any man that was shortly to arrive at the house. If unknown to the Seer he would give such a description of the person he saw as to make him to be at once recognised upon his arrival. On the other hand, if the Seer knew the person he saw in the vision, he would tell his name, and know by the expression of his countenance whether he came in a good or bad humour.

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* Martin, p. 300.

The Seers often saw houses, gardens, and trees, in places where there were none, but in the course of time these places became covered with them.

To see a spark of fire fall upon one's arm or breast, was a forerunner of a dead child to be seen in the arms of those persons. To see a seat empty when one was sitting on it, was a presage of that person's immediate death.

There are now few persons, if any, who pretend to this faculty, and the belief in it is almost generally exploded. Yet it cannot be denied that apparent proofs of its existence have been adduced which have staggered minds not prone to superstition. When the connexion between cause and effect can be recognised, things which would otherwise have appeared wonderful and almost incredible, are viewed as ordinary occurrences. The impossibility of accounting for such an extraordinary phenomenon as the alleged faculty, on philosophical principles, or from the laws of nature, must ever leave the matter suspended between rational doubt and confirmed scepticism. "Strong reasons for incredulity," says Dr Johnson, "will readily occur. This faculty of seeing things out of sight is local, and commonly useless. It is a breach of the common order of things, without any visible reason or perceptible benefit. It is ascribed only to a people very little enlightened; and among them, for the most part, to the mean and ignorant. To the confidence of these objections it may be replied, that by presuming to determine what is fit, and what is beneficial, they presuppose more knowledge of the universal system than man has attained; and therefore depend upon principles too complicated and extensive for our comprehension; and that there can be no security in the consequence, when the premises are not understood: that the Second Sight is only wonderful because it is rare, for, considered in itself, it involves no more difficulty than dreams, or perhaps than the regular exercises of the cogitative faculty; that a general opinion of communicative impulses, or visionary representations, has prevailed in all ages and all nations; that particular instances have been given, with such evidence as neither Bacon, nor Bayle, has been able to resist; that sudden impressions, which the event has verified, have been felt by more than own or publish them; that the Second Sight of the Hebrides implies only the local frequency of a power which is no where totally unknown; and that where we are unable to decide by antecedent reason, we must be content to yield to the force of testimony."*

Among the various modes of social intercourse which gladdened the minds and dissipated the worldly cares of the Highlanders, weddings bore a distinguished part, and they were longed for with a peculiar earnestness. Young and old, from the boy and girl of the age of ten to the hoary headed sire and aged matron, attended them. The marriage invitations were given by the bride and bridegroom, in person, for some weeks previous, and included the respective friends of the betrothed parties living at the distance of many miles.

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* Journey to the Western Islands, p. 167, 168.

When the bride and bridegroom had completed their rounds, the custom was for the matrons of the invited families to return the visit within a few days, carrying along with them large presents of hams, beef, cheese, butter, malt, spirits, and such other articles as they inclined or thought necessary for the approaching feast. To such an extent was this practice carried in some instances in the quantity presented, that, along with what the guests paid (as they commonly did) for their entertainment at the marriage, and the gifts presented on the day after the marriage, the young couple obtained a pretty fair competence, which warded off the shafts of poverty, and even made them comfortable in after-life.

The joyous wedding-morning was ushered in by the notes of the bagpipe. A party of pipers, followed by the bridegroom and a party of his friends, commenced at an early hour a round of morning calls to remind the guests of their engagements. These hastened to join the party, and before the circuit, which sometimes occupied several hours, had ended, some hundreds, perhaps, had joined the wedding standard before they reached the bridegroom's house. The bride made a similar round among her friends. Separate dinners were provided; the bridegroom giving a dinner to his friends, and the bride to hers. The marriage ceremony was seldom performed till after dinner. The clergyman, sometimes, attended, but the parties preferred waiting on him, as the appearance of a large procession to his house gave additional importance and eclat to the ceremony of the day, which was further heightened by a constant firing by the young men, who supplied themselves with guns and pistols, and which firing was responded to by every hamlet as the party passed along; "so that, with streamers flying, pipers playing, the constant firing from all sides, and the shouts of the young men, the whole had the appearance of a military army passing, with all the noise of warfare, through a hostile country."

On the wedding-day, the bride and bridegroom avoided each other till they met before the clergyman. Many ceremonies were performed during the celebration of the marriage rites. These ceremonies were of an amusing and innocent description, and added much to the cheerfulness and happiness of the young people. One of these ceremonies consisted in untying all the bindings and strings about the person of the bridegroom, to denote, that nothing was to be bound on the marriage day but the one indissoluble knot which death only can dissolve. The bride was exempted from this operation from a delicacy of feeling towards her sex, and from a supposition that she was so pure that infidelity on her part could not be contemplated.

To discontinue practices in themselves innocent, and which contribute to the social happiness of mankind, must ever be regretted, and it is not therefore to be wondered at, that a generous and open-hearted Highlander, like General Stewart, should have expressed his regret at the partial disuse of these ceremonies, or that he should have preferred a Highland wedding, where he had himself "been so happy, and seen so many blithe countenances, and eyes sparkling with delight, to such weddings as that of the Laird of Drum, ancestor of the Lord Sommerville, when he married a daughter of Sir James Bannatyne of Corehouse."*

The festivities of the wedding-day were generally prolonged to a late hour, and during the whole day the fiddlers and pipers never ceased except at short intervals, to make sweet music. The fiddlers performed in the house, the pipers in the field;† so that the company alternately enjoyed the pleasure of dancing within and without the house, as inclined, provided the weather permitted.

No people were more attached to the fulfilment of all the domestic duties, and the sacred obligation of the marriage vow, than the Highlanders. A violation thereof was of course of unfrequent occurrence, and among the common people a separation was almost unknown. Rarely, indeed, did a husband attempt to get rid of his wife, however disagreeable she might be. He would have considered his children dishonoured, if he had driven their mother from the protection of his roof. The punishment inflicted by the ecclesiastical authority for an infringement of the marriage vow was, that "the guilty person, whether male or female, was made to stand in a barrel of cold water at the church door, after which, the delinquent, clad in a wet canvass shirt, was made to stand before the congregation, and at close of service the minister explained the nature of the offence."* Illicit intercourse before marriage between the sexes was also of rare occurrence, and met with condign punishment in the public infamy which attended such breaches against chastity.

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* "On that occasion, sanctified by the puritanical cant of the times, there was 'one marquis, three earls, two lords, sixteen barons, and eight ministers present at the solemnity, but not one musician; they liked yet better the bleating of the calves of Dan and Bethel—the ministers' long-winded, and sometimes nonsensical graces, little to purpose, than all musical instruments of the sanctuaries, at so solemn an occasion, which, if it be lawful at all to have them, certainly it ought to be upon a wedding-day, for divertisement to the guests, that innocent recreation of music and dancing being much more warrantable and far better exercise than drinking and smoking tobacco, wherein the holy brethren of the Presbyterian (persuasion) for the most part employed themselves, without any formal health, or remembrance of their friends, a nod with the head, or a sign with the turning up of the white of the eye, served for the ceremony." Stewart's Sketches—Memoirs of the Sommerville Family.

† "Playing the bagpipes within doors," says General Stewart, "is a Lowland and English custom. In the Highlands the piper is always in the open air; and when people wish to dance to his music, it is on the green, if the weather permits; nothing but necessity makes them attempt a pipe-dance in the house. The bagpipe was a field instrument intended to call the clans to arms, and animate them in battle, and was no more intended for a house than a round of six pounders. A broadside from a first-rate, or a round from a battery, has a sublime and impressive effect at a proper distance. In the same manner, the sound of bagpipes, softened by distance, had an indescribable effect on the mind and actions of the Highlanders. But as few would choose to be under the muzzle of the guns of a battery, so I have seldom seen a Highlander, whose ears were not grated when close to pipes, however much his breast might be warmed, and his feelings roused, by the sounds to which he had been accustomed in his youth, when proceeding from the proper distance."—Sketches, App. xxiii.

This was the more remarkable, as early marriages were discouraged and the younger sons were not allowed to marry until they obtained sufficient means to keep a house and to rent a small farm, or were otherwise enabled to support a family.

The attachment of the Highlanders to their offspring and the veneration and filial piety which a reciprocal feeling produced on the part of their children, were leading-characteristics in the Highland character, and much as these mountaineers have degenerated in some of the other virtues, these affections still remain almost unimpaired. Children seldom desert their parents in their old age, and when forced to earn a subsistence from home, they always consider themselves bound to share with their parents whatever they can save from their wages. But the parents are never left alone, as one of the family, by turns, remains at home for the purpose of taking care of them in terms of an arrangement. "The sense of duty is not extinguished by absence from the mountains. It accompanies the Highland soldier amid the dissipations of a mode of life, to which he has not been accustomed. It prompts him to save a portion of his pay, to enable him to assist his parents, and also to work when he has an opportunity, that he may increase their allowance, at once preserving himself from idle habits, and contributing to the comfort and happiness of those who gave him birth. I have been a frequent witness of these offerings of filial bounty, and the channel through which they were communicated, and I have generally found that a threat of informing their parents of misconduct, has operated as a sufficient check on young soldiers, who always received the intimation with a sort of horror. They knew that the report would not only grieve their relations, but act as a sentence of banishment against themselves, as they could not return home with a bad or blemished character. Generals M'Kenzie, Fraser, and M'Kenzie of Suddie, who successively commanded the 78th Highlanders, seldom had occasion to resort to any other punishment than threats of this kind, for several years after the embodying of that regiment.'†

Nor were the Highlanders less alive to the principles of honesty and fair dealing, in their transactions with one another. Disgrace was the usual consequence of insolvency, which was considered *ex facie* criminal. Bankrupts were not only compelled to wear a dyvours habit, but to undergo a singular punishment. They "were forced to surrender their all, and were clad in a party-coloured clouted garment, with the hose of different sets, and had their hips dashed against a stone, in presence of the people, by four men, each taking hold of an arm or a leg. This punishment was called Toncruaidh."*

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* Dr M'Queen's Dissertation. † Stewart's Sketches, I. 86.

Such was the confidence in their honour and integrity, that in the ordinary transactions of the people, a mere verbal obligation without the intervention of any writing, was held quite sufficient, although contracted in the most private manner,† and there were few instances where the obligation was either unfulfilled or denied. Their mode of concluding or confirming their money agreements or other transactions, was by the contracting parties going out into the open air, and with eyes erect, taking Heaven to witness their engagements, after which, each party put a mark on some remarkable stone or other natural object, which their ancestors had been accustomed to notice.

Accustomed, as the Highlanders were, to interminable feuds arising out of the pretensions of rival clans, the native courage which they had inherited from their Celtic progenitors was preserved unimpaired. Instances of cowardice were, therefore, of rare occurrence, and whoever exhibited symptoms of fear before a foe, was considered infamous and put to the ban of his party. The following anecdote, as related by Mrs Grant, shows, strongly, the detestation which the Highlanders entertain towards those who had disgraced themselves and their clan by an act of poltronery: "There was a clan, *I must not say what clan it is*, who had been for ages governed by a series of chiefs, singularly estimable, and highly beloved, and who, in one instance, provoked their leader to the extreme of indignation. I should observe, that the transgression was partial, the culprits being the inhabitants of one single parish. These, in a hasty skirmish with a neighbouring clan, thinking discretion the best part of valour, sought safety in retreat. A cruel chief would have inflicted the worst of punishments—banishment from the bounds of his clan,—which, indeed, fell little short of the curse of

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* Stewart's Sketches.

† Two remarkable instances of the regard paid by the Highlanders to their engagements, are given by General Stewart. "A gentleman of the name of Stewart, agreed to lend a considerable sum of money to a neighbour. When they had met, and the money was already counted down upon the table, the borrower offered a receipt. As soon as the lender (grandfather of the late Mr Stewart of Ballachulish) heard this, he immediately collected the money, saying, that a man who could not trust his own word, without a bond, should not be trusted by him, and should have none of his money, which he put up in his purse and returned home." An inhabitant of the same district kept a retail shop for nearly fifty years, and supplied the whole district, then full of people, with all their little merchandise. He neither gave nor asked any receipts. At Martinmas of each year he collected the amount of his sales which were always paid to a day. In one of his annual rounds, a customer happened to be from home; consequently, he returned unpaid, but before he was out of bed the following morning, he was awakened by a call from his customer, who came to pay his account. After the business was settled, his neighbour said, "You are now paid; I would not for my best cow that I should sleep while you wanted your money after your term of payment, and that I should be the last in the country in your debt." Such examples of stern honesty, are now, alas! of rare occurrence. Many of the virtues which adorned the Highland character have disappeared in the vortex of modern improvement, by which the country has been completely revolutionized.

Kehama. This good laird, however, set bounds to his wrath, yet made their punishment severe and exemplary. He appeared himself with all the population of the three adjacent parishes, at the parish church of the offenders, where they were all by order convened. After divine service, they were marched three times round the church, in presence of their offended leader and his assembled clan. Each individual, on coming out of the church door, was obliged to draw out his tongue with his fingers, and then cry audibly, 'Shud bleider heich,' (i. e.) 'This is the poltroon,' and to repeat it at every corner of the church. After this procession of ignominy, no other punishment was inflicted, except that of being left to guard the district when the rest were called out to battle. . . . It is credibly asserted, that no enemy has seen the back of any of that name (Grant) ever since. And it is certain, that, to this day, it is not safe for any person of another name to mention the circumstance in presence of one of the affronted clan."*

The Highlanders, like the inhabitants of other romantic and mountainous regions, always retain an enthusiastic attachment to their country, which neither distance of place nor length of time can efface. This strong feeling has, we think, been attributed erroneously to the powerful and lasting effect which the external objects of nature, seen in their wildest and most fantastic forms and features, are calculated to impress upon the imagination.

No doubt the remembrance of these objects might contribute to endear the scenes of youth to the patriotic Highlander when far removed from his native glens; but it was the recollection of home,—sweet home!—of the domestic circle, and of the many pleasing associations which arise from the contemplation of the days of other years, when mirth and innocence held mutual dalliance, that chiefly impelled him to sigh for the land of his fathers. Mankind have naturally an affection for the country of their birth, and this affection is felt more or less according to the degree of social or commercial intercourse which exists among nations. Confined, like the Swiss, for many ages within their natural boundaries, and having little or no intercourse with the rest of the world, the Highlanders formed those strong local attachments for which they were long remarkably distinguished; but which are now being gradually obliterated by the mighty changes rapidly taking place in the state of society.

Firmly attached as they were to their country, the Highlanders had also a singular predilection for the place of their birth. An amusing instance of this local attachment is mentioned by General Stewart. A tenant of his father's, at the foot of the mountain Shichallain, having removed and followed his son to a farm which the latter had taken at some distance lower down the country, the old man was missing for a considerable time one morning, and on being asked on his return where he had been, replied, "As I was sitting by the side of the river, a thought came across me, that, perhaps, some of the waters from Shichallain, and the sweet fountains that watered the farm of my forefathers, might now be passing by me, and that if I bathed they might touch my skin. I immediately stripped, and, from the pleasure I felt in being surrounded by the pure waters of Leidna-breilag (the name of the farm) I could not tear myself away sooner." But this fondness of the Highlander was not confined to the desire of living upon the beloved spot—it extended even to the grave. The idea of dying at a distance from home and among strangers could not be endured, and the aged Highlander, when absent from his native place, felt discomposed lest death should overtake him before his return. To be consigned to the grave among strangers, without the attendance and sympathy of friends, and at a distance from their family, was considered a heavy calamity; and even to this day, people make the greatest exertions to carry home the bodies of such relations as happen to die far from the ground hallowed by the ashes of their forefathers.* This trait was exemplified in the case of a woman aged ninety-one, who a few years ago went to Perth from her house in Strathbrane in perfect health, and in the possession of all her faculties. A few days after her arrival in Perth, where she had gone to visit a daughter, she had a slight attack of fever. One evening a considerable quantity of snow had fallen, and she expressed great anxiety, particularly when told that a heavier fall was expected. Next morning her bed was found empty, and no trace of her could be discovered, till the second day, when she sent word that she had slipt out of the house at midnight, set off on foot through the snow, and never stopped till she reached home, a distance of twenty miles. When questioned some time afterwards why she went away so abruptly, she answered, "If my sickness had increased, and if I had died, they could not have sent my remains home through the deep snows. If I had told my daughter, perhaps she would have locked the door upon me, and God forbid that my bones should be at such a distance from home, and be buried among *Gall-na-machair*, The strangers of the plain."†

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* On the Superstitions of the Highlanders.

Among the causes which contributed to sustain the warlike character of the Highlanders, the exertions of the bards in stimulating them to deeds of valour in the field of battle, must not be overlooked. We have already noticed some of the duties of their office (Chapter II.) which need not be here repeated; but we omitted to mention that one of the most important of these consisted in attending the clans to the field, and exhorting them before battle to emulate the glories of their ancestors, and to die if necessary in defence of their country. The appeals of the bards, which were delivered and enforced with great vehemence and earnestness, never failed to arouse the feelings; and when amid the din of battle the voices of the bards could no longer be heard, the pipers succeeded them, and cheered on their respective parties with their warlike and inspiring strains. After the termination of the battle, the bard celebrated the praises of the brave warriors who had fallen in battle, and related the heroic actions of the survivors to excite them to similar exertions on future occasions. To impress still more deeply upon the minds of the survivors the honour and heroism of their fallen friends, the piper was employed to perform plaintive dirges for the slain.

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* Stewart's Sketches, i. 79, 80. † Ibid.

From the associations raised in the mind by the great respect thus paid to the dead, and the honours which awaited the survivors who distinguished themselves in the field of battle, by their actions being celebrated by the bards, and transmitted to posterity, originated that magnanimous contempt of death for which the Highlanders are noted. While among some people the idea of death is avoided with studious alarm, the Highlander will speak of it with an easy and unconcerned familiarity, as an event of ordinary occurrence, but in a way "equally remote from dastardly affectation, or fool-hardy presumption, and proportioned solely to the inevitable certainty of the event itself."*

To be interred decently, and in a becoming manner, is a material consideration in the mind of a Highlander, and care is generally taken, even by the poorest, long before the approach of death, to provide sufficient articles to insure a respectable interment. To wish one another an honourable death, *crioch onarach*, is considered friendly by the Highlanders, and even children will sometimes express the same sentiment towards their parents. "A man well known to the writer of these pages was remarkable for his filial affection, even among the sons and daughters of the mountains, so distinguished for that branch of piety. His mother being a widow, and having a numerous family, who had married very early, he continued to live single, that he might the more sedulously attend to her comfort, and watch over her declining years with the tenderest care. On her birth-day, he always collected his brothers and sisters, and all their families, to a sort of kindly feast, and, in conclusion, gave a toast, not easily translated from the emphatic language, without circumlocution,—*An easy and decorous departure to my mother*, comes nearest to it. This toast, which would shake the nerves of fashionable delicacy, was received with great applause, the old woman remarking, that God had been always good to her, and she hoped she would die as decently as she had lived, for it is thought of the utmost consequence to die decently. The ritual of decorous departure, and of behaviour to be observed by the friends of the dying on that solemn occasion, being fully established, nothing is more common than to take a solemn leave of old people, as if they were going on a journey, and pretty much in the same terms. People frequently send conditional messages to the departed. *If you are permitted, tell my dear brother, that I have merely endured the world since he left it, and that I have been very kind*

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* Stewart's Sketches.

to every creature he used to cherish, for his sake. I have, indeed, heard a person of a very enlightened mind, seriously give a message to an aged person, to deliver to a child he had lost not long before, which she as seriously promised to deliver, with the wonted salvo, if she was permitted."*

In no country was " the savage virtue of hospitality" carried to a greater extent than in the Highlands, and never did stranger receive a heartier welcome than was given to the guest who entered a Highland mansion or cottage. This hospitality was sometimes carried rather too far, particularly in the island of Barra, where, according to Martin, the custom was, that, when strangers from the northern islands went there, " the natives, immediately after their landing, obliged them to eat, even though they should have liberally eat and drank but an hour before their landing there." This meat they called Bieyta'v, i. e. Ocean meat. Sir Robert Gordon informs us that it was a custom among the western islanders, that when one was invited to another's house, they never separated till the whole provision was finished; and that, when it was done, they went to the next house, and so on from one house to another until they made a complete round, from neighbour to neighbour, always carrying the head of the family in which they had been last entertained to the next house along with them.†

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* Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.

† Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 189.

CHAPTER VI.

Consequences of the removal of the seat of Government—Institution of Chiefs—Their great power—System of Clanship—Military ranks of the Clans—Fiery-cross—War cry—Omens—Hunting provision—Numerical strength of the Clans—Remarkable succession of the Chiefs—Consequences of Clanship—Disputes of the Clans—Treaties—Spirit of hostility and revenge—Modes of warfare—Creachs—Cearnachs—Black mail—Absence of theft and highway robbery—Voluntary tribunals—Compensation for injuries—Mild but arbitrary sway of the Chiefs—Legal authority conferred on the great Barons and Chiefs—its extent—attendance at their courts—Donations to Chiefs and younger sons and daughters on marriage—Attachment and fidelity of the Clans to their Chiefs—Instances thereof.

The removal of the court by Malcolm Ceanmore to the Lowlands was an event which was followed by results very disastrous to the future prosperity of the Highlands. The inhabitants soon sunk into a state of poverty, and, as by the transference of the seat of government the administration of the laws became either inoperative or was feebly enforced, the people gave themselves up to violence and turbulence, and revenged in person those injuries which the laws could no longer redress. Released from the salutary control of monarchical government, the Highlanders soon saw the necessity of substituting some other system in its place, to protect themselves against the aggressions to which they were exposed. From this state of things originated the institution of Chiefs, who were selected by the different little communities into which the population of the Highlands was naturally divided, on account of their superior property, courage, or talent. The powers of the chiefs were very great. They acted, as judges or arbiters, in the quarrels of their clansmen and followers, and as they were backed by resolute supporters of their rights, their property, and their power, they established within their own territories a jurisdiction almost independent of the kingly authority.

From this division of the people into clans and tribes under separate chiefs, arose many of those institutions, feelings, and usages which characterized the Highlanders. "The nature of the country, and the motives which induced the Celts to make it their refuge, almost necessarily prescribed the form of their institutions. Unequal to contend with the overwhelming numbers, who drove them from the plains, and, anxious to preserve their independence, and their blood uncontaminated by a mixture with strangers, they defended themselves in those strongholds which are, in every country, the sanctuaries of national liberty, and the refuge of those who resist the oppressions and the dominion of a more powerful neighbour. Thus, in the absence of their monarchs, and defended by their barrier of rocks, they did not always submit to the authority of a distant government, which could neither enforce obedience, nor afford protection. The division of the country into so many straths, valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains, or arms of the sea, gave rise, as a matter of necessity, to various little societies; and individuals of superior property, courage, or talent, under whose banners they had fought, or under whose protection they had settled, naturally became their chiefs. Their secluded situation rendered general intercourse difficult, while the impregnable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy."*

The various little societies into which the Highland population was, by the nature of the country, divided, having no desire to change their residence or to keep up a communication with one another, and having all their wants, which were few, supplied within themselves, became individually isolated. Every district became an independent state, and thus the Highland population, though possessing a community of customs and the same characteristics, was divided or broken into separate masses, and placed under different jurisdictions. A patriarchal † system of government, "a sort of hereditary monarchy founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by laws," was thus established over each community or clan in the persons of the chiefs, which continued in full vigour till about the year seventeen hundred and forty-eight.

As a consequence of the separation which was preserved by the different clans, matrimonial alliances were rarely made with strangers, and hence the members of the clan were generally related to one another by the ties of consanguinity or affinity. While this double connexion tended to preserve harmony and good will among the members of the same clan, it also tended, on the other hand, to excite a bitter spirit of animosity between rival clans, whenever an affront or injury was offered by one clan to another or by individuals of different clans.

Although the chief had great power with his clan in the different relations of landlord, leader, and judge, his authority was far from absolute, as he was obliged to consult the leading men of the clan in matters of importance—in things regarding the clan or particular families, in removing differences, punishing or redressing injuries, preventing lawsuits, supporting declining families, and declaring war against, or adjusting terms of peace with other clans.

As the system of clanship was calculated to cherish a warlike spirit, the young chiefs and heads of families were regarded or despised according to their military or peaceable disposition. If they revenged a quarrel with another clan by killing some of the enemy or carrying off their cattle and laying their lands waste, they were highly esteemed, and great expectations were formed of their future prowess and exploits. But if they failed in their attempts, they were not respected; and if they appeared disinclined to engage in hostile rencontres, they were despised.*

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* Stewart's Sketches, I. 21, 22.

† The power of the chiefs over their clans was, from political motives, often supported by the government, to counteract the great influence of the feudal system which enabled the nobles frequently to set the authority of the state at defiance. Although the duke of Gordon, was the feudal superior of the lands held by the Camerons, M'Phersons, M'Donells of Keppoch and others, he had no influence over those clans who always obeyed the orders of Locheil, Clunie, Keppoch, &c.

The military ranks of the clans were fixed and perpetual. The chief was, of course, the principal commander. The oldest cadet commanded the right wing, and the youngest the rear. Every head of a distinct family was captain of his own tribe. An ensign or standard-bearer was attached to each clan, who generally inherited his office, which had been usually conferred on an ancestor who had distinguished himself. A small salary was attached to this office.

Each clan had a stated place of rendezvous, where they met at the call of their chief. When an emergency arose for an immediate meeting from the incursions of a hostile clan, the cross or tarie, or fiery-cross, was immediately despatched through the territories of the clan. This signal consisted of two pieces of wood placed in the form of a cross. One of the ends of the horizontal piece was either burnt or burning, and a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood was suspended from the other end. Two men, each with a cross in his hand, were despatched by the chief in different directions, who kept running with great speed, shouting the war cry of the tribe, and naming the place of rendezvous, if different from the usual place of meeting. The cross was delivered from hand to hand, and as each fresh bearer ran at full speed, the clan assembled with great celerity. General Stewart says, that one of the latest instances of the fiery-cross being used, was in seventeen hundred and forty-five by Lord Breadalbane, when it went round Loch Tay, a distance of thirty-two miles, in three hours, to raise his people and prevent their joining the rebels, but with less effect than in seventeen hundred and fifteen when it went the same round, and when five hundred men assembled the same evening under the command of the Laird of Glenlyon to join the Earl of Mar.

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* Martin observes that in the Western Islands, "every heir, or young chieftain of a tribe, was obliged in honour to give a public specimen of his valour before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him upon all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men of quality, who had not beforehand given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves. It was usual for the captain to lead them, to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found on the lands they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery, for the damage which one tribe sustained by this essay of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen; but I have not heard an instance of this practice for these sixty years past." Western Islands.—2d edit. p. 101, 102.

Every clan had its own war cry, (called in Scottish *slogan,*) to which every clansman answered. It served as a watch-word in cases of sudden alarm, in the confusion of combat, or in the darkness of the night. The clans were also distinguished by a particular badge, or by the peculiar arrangements or sets of the different colours of the tartan, which, with the different war cries, will be fully noticed when we come to treat of the history of the clans.

When a clan went upon any expedition they were much addicted to omens. If they met an armed man they believed that good was portended. If they observed a deer, fox, hare, or any other four-footed beast of game, and did not succeed in killing it, they prognosticated evil. If a woman barefooted crossed the road before them, they seized her and drew blood from her forehead.

The *Cuid-Oidhche,* or night's provision, was paid by many tenants to the chief, and in hunting or going on an expedition, the tenant who lived near the hill was bound to furnish the master and his followers a night's entertainment, with brawn for his dogs.

There are no sufficient *data* to enable us to estimate correctly the number of fighting men which the clans could bring at any time into the field; but a general idea may be formed of their strength in seventeen hundred and forty-five, from the following statement of the respective forces of the clans as taken from the memorial supposed to be drawn up by the Lord President Forbes of Culloden, for the information of government. It is to be observed, however, that besides the clans here mentioned, there were many independent gentlemen, as General Stewart observes, who had many followers, but being what were called broken names, or small tribes, are omitted.

Argyle,	3000
Breadalbane,	1000
Lochnell and other chieftains of the Campbells,	1000
Macleans,	500
Maclauchlans,	200
Stewart of Appin,	300
Macdougals,	200
Stewart of Grandtully,	300
Clan Gregor,	700
Duke of Athol,	3000
Farquharsons,	500
Duke of Gordon,	300
Grant of Grant,	850
Mackintosh,	800
Macphersons,	400
Frasers,	900
Grant of Glenmorriston,	150
Chisholms,	200

Duke of Perth,	300
Seaforth,	1000
Cromarty, Scatwell, Gairloch, and other chieftains of the Mackenzies,	1500
Laird of Menzies,	300
Munros,	300
Rosses.	500
Sutherland,	2000
Mackays,	800
Sinclairs,	1100
Macdonald of Slate,	700
Macdonald of Clanronald,	700
Macdonell of Glengary,	500
Macdonell of Keppoch,	300
Macdonald of Glencoe,	130
Robertsons,	200
Camerons,	800
M'Kinnon,	200
Macleod,	700
The Duke of Montrose, Earls of Bute and Moray, Macfarlanes, M'Neils of Barra, M'Nabs, M'Naughtons, Lamonts, &c. &c.	5600
	31,930

There is nothing so remarkable in the political history of any country, as the succession of the Highland chiefs, and the long and uninterrupted sway which they held over their followers. The authority which a chief exercised among his clan was truly paternal, and he might, with great justice, have been called the father of his people. We cannot account for that warm attachment and the incorruptible and unshaken fidelity which the clans uniformly displayed towards their chiefs, on any other ground, than the kind and conciliatory system which they must have adopted towards their people; for, much as the feelings of the latter might have been awakened, by the songs and traditions of the bards, to a respect for the successors of the heroes whose praises they heard celebrated, a sense of wrongs committed, or of oppressions exercised, would have obliterated every feeling of attachment in the minds of the sufferers, and caused them to attempt to get rid of a tyrant who had rendered himself obnoxious by his tyranny.

The division of the people into small tribes, and the establishment of patriarchal government, were attended with many important consequences affecting the character of the Highlanders. This creation of an *imperium in imperio* was an anomaly, but it was, nevertheless, rendered necessary from the state of society in the Highlands shortly after the transference of the seat of government from the mountains. The authority of the king, though weak and inefficient, continued, however, to be recognized, nominally at least, except indeed when he interfered in the disputes between the clans. On such occasions his authority was utterly disregarded. "His mandates could neither stop the depredations of one clan against another, nor allay their mutual hostilities. Delinquents could not, with impunity, be pursued into the bosom of a clan which protected them, nor could his judges administer the laws in opposition to their interests or their will. Sometimes he strengthened his arm by fomenting animosities among them, and by entering occasionally into the interest of one, in order to weaken another. Many instances of this species of policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was unhappily a mere record of internal violence."*

The general laws being thus superseded by the internal feuds of the clans, and the authority of the sovereign being insufficient to repress these disorders, a perpetual system of warfare, aggression, depredation, and contention existed among them, which, during the continuance of clanship, banished peace from the Highlands. The little sovereignties of the clans "touched at so many points, yet were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly, in many respects, yet were, in others, so distant; there were so many opportunities of encroachment, on the one hand, and so little of a disposition to submit to it, on the other; and the quarrel of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the rest, that there was scarcely ever a profound peace, or perfect cordiality between them. Among their chiefs the most deadly feuds frequently arose from opposing interests, or from wounded pride. These feuds were warmly espoused by the whole clan, and were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from generation to generation."†

The disputes between opposing clans were frequently made matters of negotiation, and their differences were often adjusted by treaties. Opposing clans, as a means of strengthening themselves against the attacks of their rivals, or of maintaining the balance of power, also entered into coalitions with friendly neighbours. These bands of amity or *manrent*, as they were called, were of the nature of treaties of offensive and defensive alliance, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to assist each other; and it is remarkable that the duty of allegiance to the king was always acknowledged in these treaties,—"always excepting my duty to our lord the king, and to our kindred and friends," was a clause which was uniformly inserted in them. In the same manner, when men who were not chiefs of clans, but of subordinate tribes, thus bound themselves, their fidelity to their chiefs was always excepted. The smaller clans who were unable to defend themselves, and such clans or families who had lost their chiefs, were included in these friendly treaties.‡

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* Stewart's Sketches, I. 30. † Ibid. I. 30, 31.

‡ General Stewart says that the families of the name of Stewart, whose estates lay in the district of Athol, and whose chief, by birth, was at a distance, ranged themselves under the family of Athol, though they were themselves sufficiently numerous to raise 1000 fighting men.

Under these treaties the smaller clans identified themselves with the greater clans; they engaged in the quarrels, followed the fortunes, and fought under the greater chiefs; but their ranks, as General Stewart observes, were separately marshalled, and led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary, for the success of combined operations. We shall give several instances of this union in the history of the clans.

As the system of clanship, by repudiating the authority of the sovereign and of the laws, prevented the clans from ever coming to any general terms of accommodation for settling their differences, their feuds were interminable, and the Highlands were, therefore, for ages, the theatre of a constant petty warfare destructive of the social virtues. "The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility, encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and perverted their ideas of both law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable occupation. Their love of distinction, and their conscious reliance on their courage, when under the direction of these perverted notions, only tended to make their feuds more implacable, their condition more agitated, and their depredations more rapacious and desolating. Superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching the clansmen, that, to revenge the death of a relation or friend, was a sacrifice agreeable to their shades: thus engaging on the side of the most implacable hatred, and the darkest vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all our feelings,—reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of of the living."*

As the causes out of which feuds originated were innumerable, so many of them were trivial and unimportant, but as submission to the most trifling insult was considered disgraceful, and might, if overlooked, lead to fresh aggression, the clan was immediately summoned, and the cry for revenge met with a ready response in every breast. The most glaring insult that could be offered to a clan, was to speak disrespectfully of its chief,† an offence which was considered as a personal affront by all his followers, and was resented accordingly.

It often happened that the insulted clan was unable to take the field to repel aggression or to vindicate its honour; but the injury was never forgotten, and the memory of it was treasured up till a fitting opportunity for taking revenge should arrive. The want of strength was sometimes supplied by cunning, and the blackest and deadliest intentions of hatred and revenge were sought to be perpetrated under the mask of conciliation and friendship. This was the natural result of the inefficiency of the laws which could afford no redress for wrongs, and which, therefore, left every individual to vindicate his rights with his own hand. The feeling of revenge, when directed against rival tribes, was cherished and honoured, and to such an extent was it carried, that there are well authenticated instances where one of the adverse parties have been exterminated in the bloody and ferocious conflicts which the feuds occasioned.

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* Stewart's Sketches, Vol. I. 33, 34.

† "When a quarrel begins in words between two Highlanders of different clans, it is esteemed the very height of malice and rancour, and the greatest of all provocations, to reproach one another with the vices or personal defects of their chiefs, or that of the particular branch whence they sprung."—Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.

As the wealth of the Highlanders consisted chiefly in flocks and herds, "the usual mode of commencing attacks, or of making reprisals, was by an incursion to carry off the cattle of the hostile clan. A predatory expedition was the general declaration of enmity and a command given by the chief to clear the pastures of the enemy, constituted the usual letters of marque."* These *creachs*, as such depredations were termed, were carried on with systematic order, and were considered as perfectly justifiable. If lives were lost in these forays, revenge full and ample was taken, but in general personal hostilities were avoided in these incursions either against the Lowlanders or rival tribes. These predatory expeditions were more frequently directed against the Lowlanders, whom the Highlanders considered as aliens, and whose cattle they, therefore, considered as fair spoil at all times. The forays were generally executed with great secrecy, and the cattle were often *lifted* and secured for a considerable time before they were missed. To trace the cattle which had been thus carried off, the owners endeavoured to discover their foot marks in the grass, or by the yielding of the heath over which they had passed; and so acute had habit rendered their sight, that they frequently succeeded, in this manner, in discovering their property. The man on whose property the track of the cattle was lost was held liable if he did not succeed in following out the trace or discovering the cattle; and if he did not make restitution, or offer to compensate the loss, an immediate quarrel was the consequence. A reward called *Tasgul* money was sometimes offered for the recovery of stolen cattle; but as this was considered in the light of a bribe it was generally discouraged. The Camerons and some other clans, it is said, bound themselves by oath never to accept such a reward, and to put to death all who should receive it.

Besides the *Creachs* there was another and a peculiar class of forays or spoliations called *Cearnachs*, a military term of similar import with the Catherens of the Lowlands, the Kernes of the English, and the Catervæ of the Romans. The Cearnachs were originally a select body of men employed in difficult and dangerous enterprizes where more than ordinary honour was to be acquired; but, in process of time, they were employed in the degrading and dishonourable task of leving contributions on their Lowland neighbours, or in forcing them to pay tribute or

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* Stewart's Sketches, I. 35.

black mail for protection. Young men of the second order of gentry who were desirous of entering the military profession, frequently joined in these exploits, as they were considered well fitted for accustoming those who engaged in them to the fatigues and exercises incident to a military life. The celebrated Robert Macgregor Campbell, or Rob Roy,* was the most noted of these freebooters.

The cearnachs were principally the borderers living close to and within the Grampian range, but cearnachs from the more northerly parts of the Highlands also paid frequent visits to the Lowlands, and carried off large quantities of booty. The border cearnachs judging such irruptions as an invasion of their rights, frequently attacked the northern cearnachs on their return homewards; and if they succeeded in capturing the spoil, they either appropriated it to their own use or restored it to the owners.

It might be supposed that the system of spoliation we have described, would have led these freebooters occasionally to steal from one another.

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* This famous person, whose name has been immortalized by our great Novelist, was the younger son of Mr Macgregor of Glengyle (a respectable family in Perthshire,) by a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, sister to the Commander at the base massacre of Glenco. He was born between the year 1657 and 1660, and married Helen Campbell of the family of Glenfalloch. Rob Roy followed the profession of a *drover* or cattle-dealer at an early period of life, and was so successful in business, that before the year 1707 he purchased the lands of Craigrostane on the banks of Lochlomond from the family of Montrose, and relieved the estate of Glengyle, the property of his nephew, from considerable debts. Before the Union no cattle were allowed to be imported into England, but free intercourse in that commodity being allowed by the treaty, various speculators engaged in this traffic, and, among others, the Marquis of Montrose, afterwards created Duke, and Rob Roy entered into a joint adventure. The capital to be advanced was fixed at 10,000 merks each, and Rob Roy was to purchase the cattle and drive them to England for sale. Macgregor made his purchases accordingly, but finding the market overstocked on his arrival in England, in consequence of too many speculators having entered the field, he was obliged to sell the cattle below prime cost. The Duke refused to bear any share of the loss, and insisted on repayment of the whole money advanced by him with interest. Macgregor told him that if such were his principles he should not consider it his interest to pay the interest, nor his interest to pay the principal, and he kept his word. Macgregor having expended the Duke's money in organizing a body of the Macgregors in 1715, under the nominal command of his nephew, his Grace took legal means to recover his money, and laid hold of the lands of Craigrostane in security. This proceeding so exasperated Macgregor, that he declared perpetual war against the Duke, and resolved that in future he should supply himself with cattle from his Grace's estates, a resolution which he literally kept, and for nearly thirty years, down to the day of his death, he carried off the Duke's cattle with impunity, and disposed of them publicly in different parts of the country.

Although these cattle generally belonged to the Duke's tenants, he was the ultimate sufferer, as they were unable to pay their rents, to liquidate which, their cattle mainly contributed. Macgregor also levied contributions in meal and money; but he never took it away till delivered to the Duke's storekeeper in payment of rent, and he then gave the storekeeper a receipt for the quantity taken. At settling the money-rents Macgregor often attended, and several instances are recorded of his having compelled the Duke's factor to pay him a share of the rents, which he took good care to see were discharged to the tenants beforehand. This singular man lived till nearly eighty years of age, thirty of which he spent in open violation of the laws. He died peaceably in his bed, and his funeral, which took place in 1736, was attended by the whole population of the surrounding country, with the exception of the Duke and his immediate friends. This funeral was the last at which a piper officiated in the Highlands of Perthshire.

Such, however, was not the case; for they observed the strictest honesty in this respect. No precautions were taken—because unnecessary—to protect property, and the usual securities of locks, bolts, and bars, were never used, nor even thought of. Instances of theft from dwelling-houses were very rare; and, with the exception of one case which happened so late as the year seventeen hundred and seventy, highway robbery was totally unknown. Yet, notwithstanding the laudable regard thus shown by the freebooters to the property of their own society, they attached no ideas of moral turpitude to the acts of spoliation we have alluded to. Donald Cameron, or Donald Bane Leane, an active leader of a party of banditti who had associated together after the troubles of seventeen hundred and forty-five, tried at Perth for cattle-stealing, and executed at Kinloch Rannoch, in seventeen hundred and fifty-two, expressed surprise and indignation at his hard fate, as he considered it, as he had never committed murder nor robbery, or taken any thing but cattle off the grass of those with whom he had quarrelled. The practice of "lifting of cattle" seems to have been viewed as a very venial offence, even by persons holding very different views of morality from the actors, in proof of which, General Stewart refers to a letter of Field-Marshall Wade to Mr Forbes of Culloden, then Lord Advocate, dated October, seventeen hundred and twenty-nine, describing an entertainment given him on a visit to a party of cearnachs. "The Knight and I," says the Marshall, "travelled in my carriage with great ease and pleasure to the feast of oxen which the highwaymen had prepared for us, opposite Lochgarry, where we found four oxen roasting at the same time, in great order and solemnity. We dined in a tent pitched for that purpose. The beef was excellent; and we had plenty of bumpers, not forgetting your Lordship's and Culloden's health; and, after three hours' stay, took leave of our benefactors, the highwaymen,* and arrived at the hut at Dalnachardoch, before it was dark." †

Amid the violence and turbulence which existed in the Highlands, no appeal for redress of wrongs committed, or injuries sustained, could be effectually made to the legal tribunals of the country; but to prevent the utter anarchy which would have ensued from such a state of society, voluntary and associated tribunals, composed of the principal men of the tribes, were appointed. A composition in cattle being the mode of compensating injuries, these tribunals generally determined the amount of the compensation according to the nature of the injury, and the wealth and rank of the parties. These compensations were called *Erig.*

Besides these tribunals, every chief held a court, in which he decided all disputes occurring among his clansmen. He generally resided among them. " His castle was the court where rewards were distributed, and the most enviable distinctions conferred. All disputes were settled by his decision, and the prosperity or poverty of his tenants depended on his proper or improper treatment of them. These tenants followed his standard in war—attended him in his hunting excursions—supplied his table with the produce of their farms—and assembled to reap his corn, and to prepare and bring home his fuel. They looked up to him as their adviser and protector. The cadets of his family, respected in proportion to the proximity of the relation in which they stood to him, became a species of sub-chiefs, scattered over different parts of his domains, holding their lands and properties of him, with a sort of subordinate jurisdiction over a portion of his people, and were ever ready to afford him their counsel or assistance in all emergencies.

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* General Stewart observes, that the Marshall had not at this period been long enough in the Highlands to distinguish a cearnach, or "lifter of cattle," from a highwayman. "No such character as the latter then existed in the country; and it may be presumed he did not consider these men in the light which the word would indicate,—for certainly the Commander-in-chief would neither have associated with men whom he supposed to be really highwaymen, nor partaken of their hospitality."

† Culloden Papers

" Great part of the rent of land was paid in kind, and generally consumed where it was produced. One chief was distinguished from another, not by any additional splendour of dress or equipage, but by being followed by more dependants, and by entertaining a greater number of guests. What his retainers gave from their individual property was spent amongst them in the kindest and most liberal manner. At the castle every individual was made welcome, and was treated according to his station, with a degree of courtesy and regard to his feelings unknown in any other country.* This condescension, while it raised the clansman in his own estimation, and drew closer the ties between him and his superior, seldom tempted him to use any improper familiarities. He believed himself well born, and was taught to respect himself in the respect which he showed to his chief; and thus, instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering a ready obedience to his chieftain's call as a slavish oppression, he felt convinced that he was supporting his own honour in showing his gratitude and duty to the generous head of his family. ' Hence, the Highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried in the outward expression of their manners the politeness of courts without their vices, and in their bosoms the high point of honour without its follies.' "†

In many minds the idea of a Highland chief is associated with that of a domineering tyrant who plunders and oppresses his people. This notion is, however, extremely fallacious. " Nothing," says Mrs Grant,

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* This was noticed by Dr Johnson. He thus describes a meeting between the young laird of Coll and some of his "subjects:"—" Wherever we roved, we were pleased to see the reverence with which his subjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dress,—his only distinction was a feather in his bonnet; but as soon as he appeared, they forsook their work and clustered about him: he took them by the hand, and they seemed mutually delighted. He has the proper disposition of a chieftain, and seems desirous to continue the customs of his house. The bagpiper played regularly when dinner was served, whose person and dress made a good appearance; and he brought no disgrace upon the family of Rankin, which has long supplied the lairds of Coll with hereditary music."—*Journey to the Western Islands.*

† Stewart's Sketches, i. 46, &c.—Dalrymple's Memoirs.

" can be more erroneous than the prevalent idea, that a Highland chief was an ignorant and unprincipled tyrant, who rewarded the abject submission of his followers with relentless cruelty and rigorous oppression. If ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was curbed and directed by the elders of his tribe, who, by inviolable custom, were his standing counsellors, without whose advice no measure of any kind was decided." *

It cannot, however, be denied, that the authority of the chief was naturally arbitrary, and was sometimes exercised unduly and with great severity; as a proof of which, there is said to exist among the papers of the Perth family, an application to Lord Drummond from the town of Perth, dated in seventeen hundred and seven, requesting an occasional use of his Lordship's executioner, who was considered an expert operator, a request with which his Lordship complied, reserving, however, to himself the power of recalling the executioner when he had occasion for his services. Another curious illustration of this exercise of power is given by General Stewart. Sometime before the year seventeen hundred and forty-five, Lord President Forbes dined at Blair castle with the Duke of Atholl, on his way from Edinburgh to his seat at Culloden. A petition was delivered to his Grace in the course of the evening, on reading which, he thus addressed the President: " My Lord, here is a petition from a poor man, whom Commissary Bisset, my baron bailie (an officer to whom the chief occasionally delegated his authority), has condemned to be hanged; and as he is a clever fellow, and is strongly recommended to mercy, I am much inclined to pardon him." " But your Grace knows," said the President, " that, after condemnation, no man can pardon but his Majesty." " As to that," replied the Duke, " since I have the power of punishing, it is but right that I should have the power to pardon." Then, calling upon a servant who was in waiting, his Grace said, " Go, send an express to Logierait, and order Donald Stewart, presently under sentence, to be instantly set at liberty."

The authority which the generality of the chiefs exercised, was acquired from ancient usage and the weakness of the government; but the lords of regality, and the great barons and chiefs, had jurisdiction conferred on them by the crown, both in civil and criminal cases, which they sometimes exercised in person and sometimes by deputy. The persons to whom they delegated this authority were called *bailies.* In civil matters the baron or chief could judge in questions of debt within his barony, as well as in most of those cases known by the technical term of possessory actions. And though it has always been an established rule of law, that no person can be judge in his own cause, a baron might judge in all actions between himself and his vassals and tenants, necessary for making his rents and feu-duties effectual. Thus, he could ascertain the price of corns due by a tenant, and pronounce sentence against him for arrears of rent; but in all cases where the chief was a party, he could not judge in person. The criminal jurisdiction of a baron, according to the laws ascribed to Malcolm Mackenneth, extended to all crimes except treason, and the four pleas of the crown, viz. robbery, murder, rape, and fire-raising. Freemen could be tried by none but their peers. Whenever the baron held a court, his vassals were bound to attend and afford such assistance as might be required. On these occasions, many useful regulations for the good of the community were often made, and supplies were sometimes voluntarily granted to the chief to support his dignity. The bounty of the vassals was especially and liberally bestowed on the marriage of the chief, and in the portioning of his daughters and younger sons. These donations consisted of cattle, which constituted the principal riches of the country in those patriarchal days. In this way the younger sons of the chief were frequently provided for on their settlement in life.

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* Superstitions of the Highlanders.

The reciprocal ties which connected the chief and his clan were almost indissoluble. In return for the kindness and paternal care bestowed by the former on the latter, they yielded a ready submission to his authority, and evinced a rare fidelity to his person, which no adversity could shake. Innumerable instances of this devoted attachment might be given, but two will suffice. In the battle of Inverkeithing, between the royalists and the troops of Oliver Cromwell, five hundred of the followers of the Laird of Maclean were left dead on the field. Sir Hector Maclean being hard pressed by the enemy in the heat of the action, he was successively covered from their attacks by seven brothers, all of whom sacrificed their lives in his defence; and as one fell another came up in succession to cover him, crying, "Another for Hector." This phrase, says General Stewart, has continued ever since a proverb or watchword, when a man encounters any sudden danger that requires instant succour. The other instance is that of a servant of the late James Menzies of Culdares, who had been engaged in the rebellion of seventeen hundred and fifteen. Mr Menzies was taken at Preston in Lancashire, was carried to London, where he was tried and condemned, but afterwards reprieved. This act prevented him from turning out in seventeen hundred and forty-five: but to show his good wishes towards Prince Charles, he sent him a handsome charger as a present, when advancing through England. The servant who led and delivered the horse was taken prisoner and carried to Carlisle, where he was tried and condemned. Every attempt was made, by threats of immediate execution, in case of refusal, and promises of pardon, on giving information, to extort a discovery from him of the person who sent the horse, but in vain. He knew, he said, what would be the consequence of a disclosure, and that his own life was nothing in comparison with that which it would endanger. Being hard pressed at the place of execution to inform on his master, he asked those about him if they were really serious in supposing that he was such a villain as to betray his master. He said, that if he did what they desired, and forgot his master and his trust, he needed not return to his country, for Glenlyon would be no home or country for him, as he would be despised and hunted out of the glen. This trusty servant's name was John Macnaughton, a native of Glenlyon in Perthshire.*

The obedience and attachment of the Highlanders to their chiefs, and the readiness they displayed, on all occasions, to adopt, when called upon, the quarrels of their superiors,† did not, however, make them forget their own independence. When a chief was unfit for his situation, or had degraded his name and family, the clan proceeded to depose him, and set up the next in succession, if deserving, to whom they transferred their allegiance, as happened to two chiefs of the families of Macdonald of Clanronald and Macdonell of Keppoch. The head of the family of Stewart of Garth, who, on account of his ferocious disposition, was nicknamed the "Fierce Wolf," was, about the year fifteen hundred and twenty, not only deposed, but confined for life in a cell in the castle of Garth, which was, therefore, long regarded by the people with a kind of superstitious terror. The clans even sometimes interfered with the choice of the chiefs in changing their places of abode, or in selecting a site for a new residence. The Earl of Seaforth was prevented by his clan (the M'Kenzies) from demolishing Brahan castle, the principal seat of the family. In the same way the Laird of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane, having some time previous to the year fifteen hundred and seventy, laid the foundation of a castle which he intended to build on a hill on the side of Lochtay, was compelled, or induced, by his people, to change his plan and build the castle of Balloch or Taymouth.

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* A picture of the horse was in the possession of the late General Stewart of Garth, being a legacy bequeathed to him by the daughter of Mr Menzies. "A brother of Macnaughton (says the General) lived for many years on the estate of Garth, and died in 1790. He always went about armed, at least so far armed, that when debarred wearing a sword or dirk, he slung a large long knife in his belt. He was one of the last I recollect of the ancient race, and gave a very favourable impression of their general manner and appearance. He was a smith by trade, and although of the lowest order of the people, he walked about with an air and manner that might have become a field-marshal. He spoke with great force and fluency of language, and, although most respectful to those to whom he thought respect was due, he had an appearance of independence and ease, that strangers, ignorant of the language and character of the people, might have supposed to proceed from impudence. As he always carried arms when legally permitted, so he showed on one occasion that he knew how to handle them. When the Black Watch was quartered on the banks of the rivers Tay and Lyon, in 1741, an affray arose between a few of the soldiers and some of the people at a fair at Kenmore. Some of the Breadalbane men took the part of the soldiers, and, as many were armed, swords were quickly drawn, and one of the former killed, when their opponents, with whom was Macnaughton, and a smith, (to whom he was then an apprentice,) retreated and fled to the ferry-boat across the Tay. There was no bridge, and the ferryman, on seeing the fray, chained his boat. Macnaughton was the first at the river side, and leaping into the boat, followed by his master, the smith, with a stroke of his broadsword cut the chain, and crossing the river, fixed the boat on the opposite side, and thus prevented an immediate pursuit. Indeed no farther steps were taken. The earl of Breadalbane, who was then at Taymouth, was immediately sent for. On inquiry, he found that the whole had originated from an accidental reflection thrown out by a soldier of one of the Argyle companies against the Atholemen, then supposed to be Jacobites, and that it was difficult to ascertain who gave the fatal blow. The man who was killed was an old warrior of nearly eighty years of age. He had been with Lord Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon, at the battle of Sheriffmuir; and, as his side lost their cause, he swore never to shave again. He kept his word, and as his beard grew till it reached his girdle, he got the name of Padric-na-Phaisaig, "Peter with the Beard."

† Sir Walter Scott has thus beautifully and justly described the alacrity of a clan gathering at the call of a chief:—

"He whistled shrill,
And he was answered from the hill;
Wild as the scream of the curlieu,
From crag to crag the signal flew;
Instant, through copse and heath arose
Bonnets and spears and bended bows;
On right, on left, above, below,
Sprung up at once the lurking foe;
From shingles grey their lances start,
The bracken bush sends forth the dart,
The rushes and the willow wand,
Are bristling into axe and brand,
And every tuft of broom gives life
To plaided warrior, armed for strife.

From what has been stated, it will be perceived that the influence of a chief with his clan depended much on his personal qualities, of which kindness and a condescension, which admitted of an easy familiarity, were necessary traits. The author of 'Letters from the North' thus alludes to the familiarity which existed between a chief and his clan, and the affability and courtesy with which they were accustomed to be treated: "And as the meanest among them pretended to be his relations by consanguinity, they insisted on the privilege of taking him by the hand whenever they met him. Concerning this last, I once saw a number of very discontented countenances when a certain lord, one of the chiefs, endeavoured to evade this ceremony. It was in the presence of an English gentleman, of high station, from whom he would willingly have concealed the knowledge of such seeming familiarity with slaves of wretched appearance; and thinking it, I suppose, a kind of contradiction to what he had often boasted at other times, viz., his despotic power in his clan."

That whistle garrison'd the glen
At once with full five hundred men,
As if the yawning hill to heaven
A subterranean host had given.
Watching their leader's beck and will,
All silent there they stood, and still,
Like the loose crags whose threatening mass
Lay tottering o'er the hollow pass,
As if an infant's touch could urge
Their headlong passage down the verge,
With step and weapon forward flung,
Upon the mountain-side they hung.

Lady of the Lake, Canto V. ix.

From the feeling of self-respect which the urbanity and condescension of the chiefs naturally created in the minds of the people, arose that honourable principle of fidelity to superiors and to their trust, which we have already noticed, " and which," says General Stewart, " was so generally and so forcibly imbibed, that the man who betrayed his trust was considered unworthy of the name which he bore, or of the kindred to which he belonged." Besides the instance already given in illustration of this honourable principle, others will be related in the course of this work.

From this principle flowed a marked detestation of treachery, a vice of very rare occurrence among the Highlanders ; and so tenacious were they, on that point, that the slightest suspicion of infidelity on the part of an individual estranged him from the society of his clan, who shunned him as a person with whom it was dangerous any longer to associate. The case of John Du Cameron, better known, from his large size, by the name of Sergeant Mor,* affords an example of this. This man had been a sergeant in the French service, and returned to Scotland in the year seventeen hundred and forty-five, when he engaged in the rebellion. Having no fixed abode, and dreading the consequences of having served in the French army, and of being afterwards engaged in the rebellion, he formed a party of freebooters, and took up his residence among the mountains between the counties of Perth, Inverness, and Argyle, where he carried on a system of spoliation by carrying off the cattle of those he called his enemies, if they did not purchase his forbearance by the payment of *Black mail.* Cameron had long been in the habit of sleeping in a barn on the farm of Dunan in Rannoch ; but having been betrayed by some person, he was apprehended one night when asleep in the barn, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-three, by a party of Lieutenant (after Sir Hector) Munro's detachment. On finding himself seized, being a powerful man, he shook off all the soldiers who had laid hold of him, and attempted to escape, but he was overpowered by the remainder of the party who had remained outside. He was carried to Perth, and there tried before the court of justiciary for the murder alluded to in the note, and various acts of theft and cattle stealing.* Being found guilty, he was executed at Perth in seventeen hundred and fifty-three, and hung in chains. It was generally believed in the country that Cameron had been betrayed by the man in whose barn he had taken shelter, and the circumstance of his renting a farm from government, on the forfeited estate of Strowan, on advantageous terms, strengthened the suspicion, but beyond this there was nothing to confirm the imputation ; yet this man was ever after heartily despised, and, having by various misfortunes lost all his property, which obliged him to leave the country in great poverty, the people firmly believed, and the belief it is understood is still prevalent in Rannoch, that his misfortunes were a just judgment upon him for violating the trust reposed in him by an unsuspecting and unfortunate person.

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* The following amusing anecdote of this man is related by General Stewart:—" On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort-William on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way, and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the sergeant Mor ; he therefore, requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed ; and, while they walked on, they talked much of the sergeant and his feats, the officer using much freedom with his name, calling him robber, murderer.—' Stop there,' interrupted his companion, ' he does indeed take the cattle of the whigs and you Sassanachs, but neither he nor his cearnachs ever shed innocent blood ; except once,' added he, ' that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (the spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners, retreating as fast as we could after such a misfortune !' ' *You,*' says the officer, ' what had *you* to do with the affair ?' ' I am John Du Cameron,—I am the sergeant Mor ; there is the road to Inverlochay,—you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send a more wary messenger for his gold. Tell him also, that, although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me.' The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related."

Such were some of the leading characteristics of this fine and celebrated race of people, who preserved many of their national peculiarities till a comparatively recent period. These, however, are now fast disappearing amidst the march of modern improvement and civilization, and we are sorry to add that the vices which seem almost inseparable from this new state of society, have found their way into the Highlands, and supplanted, in some degree, many of those shining virtues which were once the glory of the Gaël.

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* After sentence was passed against the sergeant, the Doomster, according to the practice of the period, went to place his hand on the head of the criminal, to signify that he was to be in future under his care; but Cameron would not permit him, and exclaimed, "Keep the caitiff off, let him not touch me!" This exclamation he accompanied with a fierce look, and an outstretching of his arms as if he meant to strike the poor Doomster, all of which so alarmed this adjunct of the law, that he started back and left the court, without accomplishing his object.

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of Alexander I.—Defeat of the Earl of Moray at Stracathrow—Insurrection in Moray—Rising of Somerled, Lord of the Isles—Defeat of Earl Gilchrist—New revolt of Somerled—Tumults in Ross—Rebellion of Donal Bane—his death—Attempts of Harold, Earl of Orkney and Caithness—Insurrections in Ross, Moray, and Argyle—Revolt of Gillespoc M'Scolane—Inauguration of Alexander III.—Revolt in Ross against the Earl—Battle of Bealligh-ne-Broig—Robert Bruce defeats the Lord of Lorn—His expedition against the Western Isles—their submission—New revolt of the Islanders—Feud between the Monroes and Mackintoshes—and between the Clan Chattan and the Camerons—Combat on the North Inch of Perth between the Clan Chattan and Clan Kay—Devastations of the Wolf of Badenoch and his son—Battle of Gasklune—Feud between the Earl of Sutherland and the Mackays—Battle of Tuttim-Turwigh—Formidable insurrection of Donald of the Isles—Battle of Harlaw.

We now resume the thread of our historical narrative. During the short reign of Edgar, which lasted nine years, viz. from one thousand and ninety-seven to eleven hundred and six, Scotland appears to have enjoyed repose; but that of his brother and successor, Alexander I., was disturbed in the year eleven hundred and twenty by an insurrection in Moray, under Angus, the grandson of Lulach, who laid claim to the crown. This rising was immediately suppressed by the king in person, who, from the promptitude displayed by him, obtained the appellation of *the fierce* from his people. The Earl of Moray, ten years afterwards, again took the field for the purpose of overthrowing the government of King David; but the latter having collected all his forces, and being aided by the martial barons of Northumberland, with Walter L'Espec at their head, Angus was completely defeated at Stracathrow, one of the passes in Forfarshire, whither he had advanced with his army.

The next enterprise of any note was undertaken by Somerled, Thane of Argyle and the Isles, against the authority of Malcolm IV.; who, after various conflicts, was repulsed, though not subdued, by Gilchrist, earl of Angus. A peace, concluded with this powerful chieftain in eleven hundred and fifty-three, was considered of such importance as to form an epoch in the dating of Scottish charters. A still more formidable insurrection broke out among the Moray men, under Gildominick, on account of an attempt, on the part of the government, to intrude the Anglo-Norman jurisdiction, introduced into the Lowlands, upon their Celtic customs; and the settling of Anglo-Belgic colonists among them. These insurgents laid waste the neighbouring counties, and so regardless were they of the royal authority, that they actually hanged the heralds who were sent to summon them to lay down their arms. Malcolm despatched the gallant Earl Gilchrist with an army to subdue them, but he was defeated, and forced to recross the Grampians.

This defeat aroused Malcolm, who was naturally of an indolent disposition. About the year eleven hundred and sixty he marched north with a powerful army, and found the enemy on the muir of Urquhart, near the Spey, ready to give him battle. After passing the Spey, the noblemen in the king's army reconnoitered the enemy; but they found them so well prepared for action, and so flushed with their late success, that they considered the issue of a battle rather doubtful. On this account, the commanders advised the king to enter into a negotiation with the rebels, and to promise, that in the event of a submission their lives would be spared. The offer was accepted, and the king kept his word; but as the Moray men were, as Buchanan says, "Homines inquieto semper ingenio," men of a factious disposition, his Majesty, by the advice of his nobles, ordained that every family in Moray which had been engaged in the rebellion should, within a limited time, remove out of Moray to other parts of the kingdom, where lands would be assigned to them, and that their places should be supplied with people from other parts of the kingdom. For the performance of this order, they gave hostages, and at the time appointed transplanted themselves, some into the northern, but the greater number into the southern counties.* Chalmers considers this removal of the Moray men as "an egregious probability," because "the dispossessing of a whole people is so difficult an operation, that the recital of it cannot be believed without strong evidence;"† but it is not said that the *whole* people were removed, and it is very probable that only the ringleaders and their families were transported. The older historians say that the Moray men were (pene internecionem) almost totally cut off in an obstinate battle, and strangers brought into their place; but this statement is at variance with the register of Paisley, and the fact, that while there are very few *persons* of the name of Murray in Moray, they are numerous in the counties on the English borders, and are to be found in the more northern counties, where some of them have taken the name of Sutherland, favours the account which that writing gives of the transportation of the Moray men.

About this time Somerled, the ambitious and powerful lord of the isles, made another and a last attempt upon the king's authority. Having collected a large force, chiefly in Ireland, he landed in eleven hundred and sixty-four near Renfrew, the seat of the Steward of Scotland; but he was defeated by the brave inhabitants and the king's troops in a decisive battle, in which he and his son Gillecolane were slain.

The reign of William the Lion was marked by many disturbances in the Highlands. The Gaëlic population could not endure the new settlers whom the Saxon colonization had introduced among them, and every opportunity was taken to vex and annoy them. At this period, the Gaëlic people rose upon them, and forced them to retire to the towns and castles for shelter. An open insurrection broke out in Ross-shire, which obliged William, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, to march into the north, where he built two garrisons to keep the people in check. He restored quiet for a few years; but in eleven hundred and eighty-seven, Donal Bane again renewed his pretensions to the crown, and raised the standard of revolt in the north. He took possession of Ross, and wasted Moray. William lost no time in leading an army against him. While the king lay at Inverness with his army, a foraging party under the command of Roland, the brave lord of Galloway, fell in with Donal Bane and his army upon the Mamgarvy moor, on the borders of Moray. A conflict ensued, in which Donal and five hundred of his followers were killed. Roland carried the head of Donal to William, "as a savage sign of returning quiet." This happened on the fifth of July, eleven hundred and eighty-seven. After this, matters remained pretty quiet in the north till the year eleven hundred and ninety-six, when Harold, the powerful earl of Orkney and Caithness, disturbed its peace. William dispersed the insurgents at once; but they again appeared the following year near Inverness, under the command of Torphin, the son of Harold. The rebels were again overpowered. The king seized Harold, and obliged him to deliver up his son, Torphin, as an hostage. Harold was allowed to retain the northern part of Caithness; but the king gave the southern part of it, called Sutherland, to Hugh Freskin, the progenitor of the earls of Sutherland. Harold died in twelve hundred and six; but as he had often rebelled, his son suffered a cruel and lingering death in the castle of Roxburgh, where he had been confined.

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* Shaw's Hist. of Moray, p. 259-60, New Ed.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 627.

During the year twelve hundred and eleven, a new insurrection broke out in Ross, headed by Guthred, the son of Donal Bane, or M‘William, as he was called. Great depredations were committed by the insurgents, who were chiefly freebooters from Ireland, the Hebrides, and Lochaber. For a long time they baffled the king's troops; and although the king built two forts to keep them in check, and took many prisoners, they maintained for a considerable period a desultory and predatory warfare. Guthred even forced one of the garrisons to capitulate, and burnt the castle; but being betrayed by his followers, and delivered up to William Comyng, the Justiciary of Scotland, he was executed in the year twelve hundred and twelve.

Shortly after the accession of Alexander II. in twelve hundred and fourteen, the peace of the north was attempted to be disturbed by Donald M‘William, who made an inroad from Ireland into Moray; but he was repulsed by the tribes of that country, led by M‘Intagart, the earl of Ross. In twelve hundred and twenty-two, an insurrection broke out in Argyle. Notwithstanding the formidable obstacles which presented themselves from the nature of the country, Alexander carried his army into it, which so alarmed the men of Argyle, that they immediately made their submission. Several of the chiefs fled for safety, and to punish them, the king distributed their lands among his officers, and their followers.

During the same year a tumult took place in Caithness, on account of the severity with which the tithes were exacted. Adam, the bishop, after being cruelly scourged, was burnt in his palace of Halkirk. The king, who was at the time at Jedburgh, hearing of this horrid murder, immediately hastened to the north with a military force, and inflicted the punishment of death upon the principal actors in this tragedy, who amounted, it is said, to four hundred persons; and that their race might become extinct, their children were emasculated, a practice very common in these barbarous times. The earl of Caithness, who was supposed to have been privy to the murder, was deprived of his estate, which was afterwards restored to him on payment of a heavy fine. The earl was murdered by his own servants in the year twelve hundred and thirty-one, and in order to prevent discovery, they laid his body into his bed and set fire to the house.

In twelve hundred and twenty-eight the country of Moray became the theatre of a new insurrection, headed by a Ross-shire freebooter, named Gillespoc M'Scolane. He committed great devastations by burning some wooden castles in Moray, and spoiling the crown lands. He even attacked and set fire to Inverness. The king led an army against him, but without success. Next year a larger army of horse and foot, under the command of John Comyn, earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland, was sent against this daring rebel, whom he captured, with his two sons, and sent their heads to the king. Chalmers thinks that it was on this occasion that the king gave the great district of Badenoch to Walter Comyn, the son of the earl of Buchan.

Angus, the lord of Argyle, who had usually paid homage to the king of Norway for some of the Hebrides, having refused his homage to the Scottish king, Alexander marched an army against him to enforce obedience, but his Majesty died on his journey in Kerreray, a small island near the coast of Argyle, on the eighth day of July, twelve hundred and forty-nine, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

According to the custom of the times, his son, Alexander III., then a boy only in his eighth year, was seated on the royal chair, or sacred stone of Scone, which stood before the cross, in the eastern division of the chapel. Immediately before his inauguration, the bishop of St Andrews knighted him, by girding him with the belt of knighthood, and explained to him, first in Latin and afterwards in Norman French, the nature of the compact he and his subjects were about to enter into. The crown, after the king had been seated, was placed on his head, and the sceptre put into his hand. He was then covered with the royal mantle, and received the homage of the nobles on their knees, who, in token of submission, threw their robes beneath his feet. On this occasion, agreeably to ancient practice, a Gaëlic sennachy, or bard, clothed in a red mantle, and venerable for his great age and hoary locks, approached the king, and in a bended and reverential attitude, recited, from memory, in his native language, the genealogy of all the Scottish kings, deducing the descent of the youthful monarch from Gathetus, the fabulous founder of the nation.* The sennachy, after pronouncing his blessing in his native tongue, Beannachdte do Righ Albainn, Alexander, Mac-Alexander, Mac-William, Mac-David, Mac-Malcom, was dismissed with handsome presents. The reign of this prince was distinguished by the entire subjugation of the western islands to the power of the Scottish crown. The Scandinavian settlers were allowed to leave the islands, if inclined, and such of them as remained were bound to observe the Scottish laws.

Shortly after the accession of Alexander III., an insurrection broke out against the earl of Ross, of some of the people of that province. The earl apprehended their leader or captain, whom he imprisoned at Dingwall. In revenge, the Highlanders seized upon the earl's second son at Balnagown, took him prisoner, and detained him as an hostage till their captain should be released. The Monroes and the Dingwalls immediately took up arms, and having pursued the insurgents, overtook them at a place called Bealligh-ne-Broig, between Ferrandonald and Loch Broom, where a bloody conflict ensued. "The Clan Iver, Clan-Talvich, and Clan-Laiwe," says Sir Robert Gordon, "wer almost uterlie extinguished and slain." The Monroes and Dingwalls lost a great many men. Dingwall of Kildun, and seven score of the surname of Dingwall, were killed. No less than eleven Monroes of the house of Foulis, who were to succeed one after another, fell, so that the succession of Foulis opened to an infant then lying in his cradle. The earl's son was rescued, and to requite the service performed, he made various grants of lands to the Monroes and Dingwalls.†

No event of any importance appears to have occurred in the Highlands till the time of king Robert Bruce, when he was attacked, after his defeat at Methven, by Stewart, lord of Lorn, who defeated his small army in Strathfillan. But Bruce was determined that Stewart should not long enjoy his petty triumph. Having been joined by his able partizan, Sir James Douglas, he entered the territory of Lorn. On arriving at the narrow pass of Cruachan Ben, between Loch Awe and

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* Almost the same ceremonial of inauguration was observed at the coronation of Macdonald, king of the Isles. Martin says, that "there was a big stone of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Mack-Donald, for he was crowned king of the Isles standing in this stone; and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hand. The bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him king, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the isles and continent, and were his vassals; at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors."—*Western Islands*, p. 241.

† Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 36.

Loch Etive, Bruce was informed that Stewart had laid an ambuscade for him. As the pass was dangerous, and might be defended by a handful of men against a considerable army, Bruce resolved not to enter the pass at first, but to divide his army into two parts. One of these divisions, consisting entirely of archers who were lightly armed, was placed under the command of Douglas, who was directed to make a circuit round the mountain, and to attack the Highlanders in the rear. As soon as Douglas had gained possession of the ground above the Highlanders, Bruce entered the pass, and, as soon as he had advanced into its narrow gorge he was attacked by the men of Lorn, who, from the surrounding heights, hurled down stones upon him accompanied with loud shouts. They then commenced a closer attack, but, being instantly assailed in the rear by Douglas' division, and assaulted by the king with great fury in front, they were thrown into complete disorder, and defeated with great slaughter. Stewart, who was, during the action, on board a small vessel in Loch Etive, waiting the result, took refuge in his castle of Dunstaffnage. After ravaging the territory of Lorn, and giving it up to indiscriminate plunder, Bruce laid siege to the castle, which, after a slight resistance, was surrendered by the lord of Lorn, who swore homage to the king ; but John, the son of the chief, refused to submit, and took refuge in England.

During the civil wars among the competitors for the Scottish crown, and those under Wallace and Bruce for the independence of Scotland, the Highlanders scarcely ever appear as participators in those stirring scenes which developed the resources, and called forth the chivalry of Scotland ; but we are not to infer from the silence of history that they were less alive than their southern countrymen to the honour and glory of their country, or that they did not contribute to secure its independence. General Stewart says that eighteen Highland chiefs* fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn ; and as these chiefs would be accompanied by their vassals, it is fair to suppose that Highland prowess lended its powerful aid to obtain that memorable victory which secured Scotland from the dominion of a foreign yoke.

After Robert Bruce had asserted the independence of his country by the decisive battle of Bannockburn, the whole kingdom, with the exception of some of the western islands, under John of Argyle, the ally of England, submitted to his authority. He, therefore, undertook an expedition against those isles, in which he was accompanied by Walter, the hereditary high-steward of Scotland, his son-in-law, who, by his marriage with Marjory, King Robert's daughter, laid the foundation of the Stewart dynasty. To avoid the necessity of doubling the Mull of Kintyre, which was a dangerous attempt for the small vessels then in use. Robert sailed up Loch-Fine to Tarbet with his fleet, which he dragged across the narrow isthmus between the lochs of East and West Tarbet, by means of a slide of smooth planks of trees laid parallel to each other It had long been a superstitious belief amongst the inhabitants of the Western Islands, that they should never be subdued till their invader sailed across this neck of land, and it is said that Robert was thereby partly induced to follow the course he did to impress upon the minds of the islanders a conviction that the time of their subjugation had arrived. The islanders were quickly subdued, and John of Lorn, who, for his services to Edward of England, had been invested with the title of Admiral of the Western fleet of England, was captured and imprisoned first in Dumbarton castle, and afterwards in the castle of Lochleven, where he died.

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* The chiefs at Bannockburn were M'Kay, Mackintosh, Macpherson, Cameron, Sinclair, Campbell, Menzies, Maclean, Sutherland, Robertson, Grant, Fraser, Macfarlane, Ross, Macgregor, Munro, Mackenzie, and Macquarrie. After the lapse of five hundred years since the battle of Bannockburn was fought, it is truly astonishing to find such a number of direct descendants who are now in existence, and still possessed of their paternal estates.

The feeble and effeminate reign of David II. was disturbed by another revolt by the lord of the Isles, who was backed in his attempt to throw off his dependence by a great number of the Highland chiefs. David, with " an unwonted energy of character, commanded the attendance of the steward, with the prelates and barons of the realm, and surrounded by this formidable body of vassals and retainers, proceeded against the rebels in person. The expedition was completely successful. The rebel prince, John of the Isles, with a numerous train of those wild Highland chieftains who followed his banner, and had supported him in his attempt to throw off his dependence, met the king at Inverness, and submitted to his authority. He engaged in the most solemn manner, for himself and his vassals, that they should yield themselves faithful and obedient subjects to David, their liege lord; and not only give due and prompt obedience to the ministers and officers of the king in suit and service, as well as in the payment of taxes and public burdens, but that they would coerce and put down all others, of whatever rank or degree, who dared to raise themselves in opposition to the royal authority, and would compel them either to submit, or would pursue and banish them from their territories: for the fulfilment of which obligation the lord of the Isles not only gave his own oath, under the penalty of forfeiting his whole principality if it was broken, but offered the high-steward, his father-in-law, as his security, and delivered his lawful son, Donald, his grandson, Angus, and his natural son, also named Donald, as hostages for the strict performance of the articles of the treaty."* The deed by which John of the Isles bound himself to the performance of these stipulations is dated fifteenth November, thirteen hundred and sixty-nine.†

To enable him the better to succeed in reducing the inhabitants of the Highlands and islands to the obedience of the laws, it is stated by an old historian* that David had sought by dividing the chiefs, and promising high rewards to those who should slay or capture their brother chiefs. The same says that this diabolical plan, by employing the arms of Scotland had not occupied the chiefs' attention; and that they gradually destroyed one another, a statement, to say the least of it, highly improbable. Certain it is, however, that it was at this time that the practice of paying *manrent* began, when the powerful wanted the followers, and the weak wanted protection; a circumstance which shows that the government was too weak to afford protection to the oppressed, or to quell the disorders of such times.

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* Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. 185. Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 115.

† Vide the Deed printed in the Appendix to Mr Tytler's History, vol. ii.

In the year thirteen hundred and thirty-three,† John Munro, the tutor of Fowlis, in travelling homeward, on his journey from Edinburgh to Ross, stopped on a meadow in Strathardale that he and his servants might get some repose. While they were asleep, the owner of the meadow cut off the tails of their horses. Being resolved to wipe off this insult, he, immediately on his return home to Ross, summoned his whole kinsmen and followers, and, after informing them how he had been used, craved their aid to revenge the injury. The clan, of course, complied; and, having selected three hundred and fifty of the best and ablest men among them, he returned to Strathardale, which he wasted and spoiled; killed some of the inhabitants, and carried off their cattle. In passing by the isle of Moy, on his return home, Mackintosh, the chief of the clan Chattan, being urged by some person who bore Munro a grudge, sent a message to him demanding a share of the spoil. This was customary among the Highlanders when a party drove cattle which had been so taken through a gentleman's land, and the part so exacted was called a *Staoig Rathad*, or *Staoig Creach*, that is, a *Road Collop*. Munro, not being disposed to quarrel, offered Mackintosh a reasonable share, but this he was advised not to accept, and demanded the half of the booty. Munro refused to comply with such an unreasonable demand, and proceeded on his journey. Mackintosh, determined to enforce compliance, immediately collected his clansmen, and went in pursuit of Munro, whom he overtook at Clach-na-Haire, near Inverness. As soon as Munro saw Mackintosh approaching, he sent home five of his men to Ferrindonald with the cattle, and prepared for action. But Mackintosh paid dearly for his rapacity and rashness, for he and the greater part of his men were killed in the conflict. Several of the Munroes also were slain, and John Munro himself was left for dead in the field of battle, and might have died if the predecessor of Lord Lovat had not carried him to his house in the neighbourhood, where he was cured of his wounds. One of his hands was so mutilated, that he lost the use of it the remainder of his life, on which account he was afterwards called John Bac-laimh, or Ciotach.[*] The Monroes had great advantage of the ground by taking up a position among rocks, from which they annoyed the Mackintoshes with their arrows.

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* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. 376.

† This date was assigned by Sir Robert Gordon, but some make it more than a century later, viz., in 1454.

Besides the feuds of the clans in the reign of David II. the Highlands appear to have been disturbed by a formidable insurrection against the government, for, in a parliament which was held at Scone, in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-six, a resolution was entered into to seize the rebels in Argyle, Athole, Badenoch, Lochaber and Ross, and all others who had risen up against the royal authority, and to compel them to submit to the laws. The chief leaders in this commotion (of which the bare mention in the parliamentary record is the only account which has reached us) were the Earl of Ross, Hugh de Ross, John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and John de Haye, who were all summoned to attend the parliament and give in their submission, but they all refused to do so in the most decided manner; and as the government was too weak to compel them, they were suffered to remain independent.

In the year thirteen hundred and eighty-six a feud having taken place between the clan Chattan and the Camerons, a battle took place in which a great number of the clan Chattan were killed, and the Camerons were nearly cut off to a man. The occasion of the quarrel was this. The lands of Mackintosh[†] in Lochaber, were possessed by the Camerons, who were so tardy in the payment of their rents that Mackintosh was frequently obliged to levy them by force by carrying off his tenants' cattle. The Camerons were so irritated at having their cattle poinded and taken away, that they resolved to make reprisals, preparatory to which they marched into Badenoch to the number of about four hundred men, under the command of Charles Macgilony. As soon as Mackintosh became acquainted with this movement he called his clan and friends, the Macphersons and Davidsons, together. His force was superior to that of the Camerons, but a dispute arose among the chiefs which almost proved fatal to them. To Mackintosh, as captain of the clan

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[*] Sir R. Gordon, p. 47.—Shaw, p. 264.

[†] According to that eminent antiquary, the Reverend Donald Macintosh, non-juring episcopal clergyman, in his historical illustrations of his Collections of Gaëlic Proverbs, published in 1785, the ancestor of Mackintosh became head of the clan Chattan in this way. During these contests for the Scottish crown, which succeeded the death of King Alexander III., and favoured the pretensions of the King of the Isles, the latter styling himself " King," had, in 1291, sent his nephew Angus Macintosh of Macintosh to Dougall Dall (Blind) MacGillichattan, chief of the clan Chattan, or Macphersons, to acquaint him that "*the King*" was to pay him a visit. Macpherson, or MacGillichattan, as he was named, in honour of the founder of the family Gillichattan[*] Mor, having an only child, a daughter, who, he dreaded might attract an inconvenient degree of royal notice, offered her in marriage to Macintosh along with his lands, and the station of the chief of the clan Chattan. Macintosh accepted the offer, and was received as chief of the lady's clan.

[*] " A votary or servant of St Kattan," a most popular Scottish saint. We have thus *Gillichallum*, meaning a " votary of Columba," and of which another form is *Malcolm* or *Molcalm*, the prefix *Mol*, being corrupted into Mal, signifying the same as *Gilly*. Thus *Gilly-Dhia* is the etymon of *Culdee*, signifying " servant of God,"—*Gilli-christ* means " servant of Christ."

Chattan, the command of the centre of the army was assigned with the consent of all parties; but a difference took place between Cluny and Invernahavon, each claiming the command of the right wing. Cluny demanded it as the chief of the ancient clan Chattan, of which the Davidsons of Invernahavon were only a branch; but Invernahavon contended, that to him, as the oldest branch, the command of the right wing, belonged according to the custom of the clans. The Camerons came up during this quarrel about precedency, on which Mackintosh, as umpire, decided against the claim of Cluny. This was a most imprudent award, as the Macphersons exceeded both the Mackintoshes and Davidsons in numbers, and they were, besides, in the country of the Macphersons. These last were so offended at the decision of Mackintosh, that they withdrew from the field, and became, for a time, spectators of the action. The battle soon commenced, and was fought with great obstinacy. Many of the Mackintoshes, and almost all the Davidsons, were cut off by the superior number of the Camerons. The Macphersons seeing their friends and neighbours almost overpowered, could no longer restrain themselves, and friendship got the better of their wounded pride.* They, therefore, at this perilous crisis, rushed in upon the Camerons, who, from exhaustion and the loss they had sustained, were easily defeated. The few that escaped, with their leader, were pursued from Invernahavon, the place of battle, three miles above Ruthven, in Badenoch. Charles Macgilony was killed on a hill in Glenbenchir, which was long called Torr-Thearlaich, i. e. Charles'-hill.†

In the opinion of Shaw, this quarrel about precedency was the origin of the celebrated judicial conflict, which took place on the North Inch of Perth, before Robert III., his queen, Annabella Drummond, and the Scottish nobility, and some foreigners of distinction, in the year one thousand three hundred and ninety-six, and of which a variety of accounts have been given by our ancient historians. The parties to this combat were the Macphersons, properly the clan Chattan, and the Davidsons of Invernahavon, called in the Gaëlic *Clann-Dhaibhidh*, and commonly pronounced *Clann-Chai*. The Davidsons were not, as some writers have supposed, a separate clan, but a branch of the clan Chattan. These rival tribes had for a long period kept up a deadly enmity at one another, which was difficult to be restrained; but after the award by Mackintosh against the Macphersons, that enmity broke out into open strife, and for ten years the Macphersons and the Davidsons carried on a war of extermination and kept the country in an uproar.

To put an end to these disorders, Robert III. sent Dunbar earl of

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* The Reverend Donald Mackintosh gives a different account of this matter. He says that Macintosh, irritated at Cluny's conduct, despatched to Cluny's camp a minstrel, who was instructed to feign he had been sent by the Camerons, and, to sing a few Gaëlic lines reflecting on the cowardice of those who had hung aloof in the hour of danger. Cluny, stung by the satire, attacked the supposed authors that night in their camp, and put them to flight with the loss of their chief.

† Shaw's History of Moray, p. 260, 261.

Moray, and Lindsay of Glenesk, afterwards earl of Crawfurd, two of the leading men of the kingdom, to endeavour to effect an amicable arrangement between the contending parties; but having failed in their attempt, they proposed that the differences should be decided in open combat before the king. "The ideas of chivalry, the factitious principles of that singular system of manners from which we derive our modern code of honour, had hitherto made little progress amongst them (the Highlanders;) but the more intimate intercourse between the northern and southern portions of the kingdom, and the residence of the lowland barons amongst them, appear to have introduced a change; and the notions of the Norman knights becoming more familiar to the fierce mountaineers, they adopted the singular idea of deciding their quarrel by a combat of thirty against thirty. This project, instead of discouragement, met with the warm approval of government, who were happy that a scheme should have suggested itself, by which there was some prospect of the leaders in those fierce and endless disputes being cut off."* A precedent had occurred in Robert the First's time, when Hugh Hardinge fought William de Saintlowe, on the North Inch of Perth, in the royal presence. The same ground was now fixed on, and the Monday before Michaelmas was the day appointed for the combat. According to Sir Robert Gordon, who is followed by Sir Robert Douglas and Mr Mackintosh, it was agreed that no weapon but the broad sword was to be employed, but Wyntoun, who lived about the time, adds bows, battle-axes, and daggers.

> "All thai entrit in Barreris,
> With Bow and Axe, Knyf and Swerd,
> To deal amang them thair last Werd."

The chronicler is borne out by Bower, in regard to the bow at least. The numbers on each side have been variously reported. By mistaking the word *triceni*, used by Boece and Buchanan for *treceni*, some writers have multiplied them to three hundred. Bower, the continuator of Fordun and Wyntoun, however, mention expressly sixty in all, or thirty on either side.

On the appointed day the combatants made their appearance on the North Inch of Perth, to decide in presence of the king, his queen, and a large concourse of the nobility, their respective claims to superiority. Barriers had been erected on the ground to prevent the spectators from encroaching, and the king and his party took their stations upon a platform from which they could easily view the combat. At length the warriors, armed with sword and target, bows and arrows, short knives and battle-axes, advanced within the barriers, and eyed one another with looks of deadly revenge. When about to engage, a circumstance occurred which postponed the battle, and had well-nigh prevented it altogether. According to some accounts, one of the Macphersons fell sick;

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* Tytler, vol. iii. 76, 77.

but Bower says, that when the troops had been marshalled, one of the Macphersons, panic-struck, slipped through the crowd, plunged into the Tay and swam across, and, though pursued by thousands, effected his escape.[*] Sir Robert Gordon merely observes, that, " at their entrie into the feild, the clan Chattan lacked one of their number, who wes privilie stolne away, not willing to be pertaker of so deir a bargane." A man being now wanting on one side, a pause ensued, and a proposal was made that one of the Davidsons should retire, that the number on both sides might be equal, but they refused. As the combat could not proceed from this inequality of numbers, the king was about to break up the assembly, when a diminutive and crooked, but fierce man, named Henry Wynd, a Burgher of Perth, a foundling reared in the hospital of the burgh, and an armourer by trade, sprung within the barriers, and, as related by Bower, thus addressed the assembly: " Here am I. Will any one fee me to engage with these hirelings in this stage play? For half a mark will I try the game, provided, if I escape alive, I have my board of one of you so long as I live. Greater love, as it is said, hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. What then shall be my reward, who stake my life for the foes of the commonwealth and realme." This demand of *Gow Crom*, " Crooked Smith," as Henry was familiarly styled, adds Bower, was granted by the king and nobles. A murderous conflict now began. The armourer bending his bow, and sending the first arrow among the opposite party, killed one of them. After showers of arrows had been discharged on both sides, the combatants with fury in their looks and revenge in their hearts, rushed upon one another, and a terrific scene ensued which appalled the heart of many a valorous knight who witnessed the bloody tragedy. The violent thrusts of the daggers, and the tremendous gashes inflicted by the two-handed swords and battle-axes, hastened the work of butchery and death. " Heads were cloven asunder, limbs were lopped from the trunk. The meadow was soon flooded with blood, and covered with dead and wounded men."[†]

After the crooked armourer had killed his man, as already related from Bower, it is said that he either sat down or drew aside, which being observed by the leader of Cluny's band, he asked his reason for thus stopping; on which Wynd said, " Because I have fulfilled my bargain, and earned my wages."—" The man," exclaimed the other, " who keeps no reckoning of his good deeds, without reckoning shall be repaid," an observation which tempted the armourer to earn, in the multiplied deaths of his opponents, a sum exceeding by as many times the original stipulation. This speech of the leader has been formed into the Gaëlic adage,

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[*] Lesley, (1st. edition, p. 252.) says that the fugitive in question belonged to the clan Kay. His words are, " Anno imperii sui (Roberti IIItii.) quinto, maximæ in Scotia herbæ a duabus Sylvestrium familiis clankaya, et clanquhattana, ciebantur, &c. . . . Tempus præfinitur, locus insulor apud Perthum figitur, hostes in palestram descendunt. Sed cum ex *Clankaya* tribu unus timore perculsus se clanculum subducebat, a pugna tantis per abstinetur dum aliquis cognatus fugitur locum subiret."

[†] Tales of a Grandfather, vol. II.

> "*Am fear nach cunntadh rium*
> *Cha chunntainn ris,*"

which Mackintosh thus renders,

> "The man that reckons not with me
> I will not reckon with him."

Victory at last declared for the Macphersons, but not until twenty-nine of the Davidsons had fallen prostrate in the arms of death. Nineteen of Cluny's men also bit the dust, and the remaining eleven, with the exception of Henry Wynd, who by his excellence as a swordsman had mainly contributed to gain the day, were all grievously wounded. The survivor of the clan Kay escaped unhurt. Mackintosh, following Buchanan, relates, that this man, after all his companions had fallen, threw himself into the Tay, and making the opposite bank, escaped; but this is an improbable story, and is most likely a new version of Bower's account of the affrighted champion before the commencement of the action, which seems to have been metamorphosed by the genius of fiction into a concluding embellishment.

The leader of the clan Kay or Davidsons, is called by Bower *Schea-beg*, and by Wyntoun, *Scha-Ferquharis son.* Boetius, who superintended the press in the first edition of his work, calls him *Stratberge.* These three authors agree in calling the leader of the opposite force *Christi-Jonson*, for Boece does not differ from the others, except by using the Gaëlic form of Jonson, viz. *Mac-Iain.* "*Shaw Macintosh*," as Sir Robert Douglas styles him, or *Shaw Oig*, as he is also called by Sir Robert, is, by this genealogist, stated to have been uncle of Lachlan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, in right of his paternal grandmother, and to have commanded the Clan Chattan. But are we to believe Sir Robert in opposition to the united testimony of Wyntoun, Bower, and Boetius? Who *Christi-Mac-Iain*, or *Christi-Jonson* was genealogically, we are not informed, but one thing is pretty clear, that he, not *Schea-beg*, or *Shaw Oig*, for these are obviously one and the same, commanded the Clan Chattan, or "*Clann-a-Chait.*" Both the principals seem to have been absent or spectators merely of the battle, and as few of the leading men of the clan, it is believed, were parties in the combat, the savage policy of the government, which, it is said, had taken this method to rid itself of the chief men of the clan, by making them destroy one another, was completely defeated. This affair seems to have produced a good effect, as the Highlanders remained quiet for a considerable time thereafter.

The disorders in the Highlands occasioned by the feuds of the clans, were, about the period in question, greatly augmented by Alexander of Badenoch, fourth son of Robert II., whom he had constituted Lieutenant or governor from the limits of Moray to the Pentland Firth. This person, from the ferocity of his disposition, obtained the appropriate appellation of "the Wolf of Badenoch." Avaricious, as well as cruel, the

Wolf seized upon the lands of Alexander Barr, bishop of Moray, and as he persisted in keeping violent possession of them, he was excommunicated. The sentence of excommunication not only proved unavailing, but tended to exasperate the lord of Badenoch to such a degree of fury, that, in the month of May thirteen hundred and ninety, he descended from his heights, and burnt the town of Forres, with the choir of the church, and the manse of the archdeacon. And in June following, he burnt the town of Elgin, the church of St Giles, the hospital of Maison-Dieu, and the cathedral, with eighteen houses of the canons and chaplains in the college of Elgin. He also plundered these churches of their sacred utensils and vestments, which he carried off. For this horrible sacrilege the Lord of Badenoch was prosecuted, and obliged to make due reparation. Upon making his submission he was absolved by Walter Trail, bishop of St Andrews, in the church of the Black friars in Perth. He was first received at the door, and afterwards before the high altar, in presence of the king, (Robert III. his brother,) and many of the nobility, on condition that he should make full satisfaction to the bishop of Moray, and obtain absolution from the pope.*

The lord of Badenoch had a natural son, named Duncan Stewart, who inherited the vices of his father. Bent upon spoliation and bloodshed, and resolved to imitate the barbarous exploits which his father had just been engaged in, he collected a vast number of Catherans, armed only with the sword and target, and with these he descended from the range of hills which divides the county of Aberdeen and Forfar, devastated the country, and murdered the inhabitants indiscriminately. A force was instantly collected by Sir Walter Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, to oppose him, and although inferior in numbers, they attacked Stewart and his party of freebooters at Gasklune, near the water of Ila. A desperate conflict took place, which was of short duration. The Catherans fought with determined bravery, and soon overpowered their assailants. The sheriff, his brother, Wat of Lichtoune, Young of Ouchterlony, the lairds of Cairncross, Forfar, and Guthry, and sixty of their followers, were slain. Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay were severely wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Winton has preserved an anecdote illustrative of the fierceness of the Highlanders. Lindsay had run one of them, a strong and brawny man, through the body with a spear, and brought him to the earth; but although in the agonies of death, he writhed himself up, and with the spear sticking in his body, struck Lindsay a desperate blow with his sword, which cut him through the stirrup and boot into the bone, on which he instantly fell and expired.†

Following chronological exactness, the following occurrence should have been previously related, had not a necessary connexion existed between the history of the battle on the North Inch of Perth, and the account which precedes it. Nicolas, Earl of Sutherland, had a feud with Y-Mackay of Far, in Strathnaver, Chief of the Clanwig-worgm, and his son Donald Mackay, in which many lives were lost, and great depredations committed on both sides. In order to put an end to this difference, the Earl proposed a meeting of the parties at Dingwall, to be held in presence of the Lord of the Isles, his father-in-law, and some of the neighbouring gentry, the friends of the two families. The meeting having been agreed to, the parties met at the appointed time, and took up their residence in the Castle of Dingwall in apartments allotted for them. A discussion then took place between the Earl and Mackay, regarding the points in controversy, in which high and reproachful words were exchanged, which so incensed the Earl, that he killed Mackay and his son with his own hands. Having with some difficulty effected his escape from the followers and servants of the Mackays, he immediately returned home and prepared for defence, but the Mackays were too weak to take revenge. This event took place in the year thirteen hundred and ninety-five. The matter was in some degree reconciled between Robert, the successor of Nicolas, and Angus Mackay, the eldest son of Donald.*

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* Shaw's Moray, p. 314-15.—Winton, vol. ii. 363.—Keith's Catalogue, p. 83.

† Winton, vol. ii. 369.

Some years after this event a serious conflict took place between the inhabitants of Sutherland and Strathnaver, and Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, which arose out of the following circumstances. Angus Mackay above mentioned, had married a sister of Malcolm Macleod, by whom he had two sons, Angus Dow, and Roriegald. On the death of Angus, Houcheondow Mackay, a younger brother, became tutor to his nephews, and entered upon the management of their lands. Malcolm Macleod, understanding that his sister, the widow of Angus, was ill treated by Houcheondow, went on a visit to her, accompanied by a number of the choicest men of his country, with the determination of vindicating her cause either by entreaty or by force. He appears not to have succeeded in his object, for he returned homeward greatly discontented, and in revenge laid waste Strathnaver and a great part of the Breachat in Sutherland, and carried off booty along with him. As soon as Houcheon Dow and his brother Neill Mackay learnt this intelligence, they acquainted Robert, Earl of Sutherland, between whom and Angus Mackay a reconciliation had been effected, who immediately despatched Alexander Ne-Shrem-Gorme (Alexander Murray of Cubin,) with a number of stout and resolute men, to assist the Mackays. They followed Macleod with great haste, and overtook him at Tuttim-Turwigh, upon the marches between Ross and Sutherland. The pursuing party at first attempted to recover the goods and cattle which had been carried off, but this being opposed by Macleod and his men, a desperate conflict ensued, in which great valour was displayed on both sides. It "was long, furious, cruel, and doubtful," says Sir Robert Gordon, and was "rather desperate than resolute," as the same author quaintly observes. At last the Lewismen, with their commander, Malcolm Macleod, nick-named Gilealm Beg M'Bowen, were slain, and the goods and cattle were recovered. One man alone of Macleod's party, who was sorely wounded, escaped to bring home the sorrowful news to the Lewis, which he had scarcely delivered when he expired.*

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* Sir Robert Gordon's History, p. 60.

These feuds were followed by a formidable insurrection in fourteen hundred and eleven by Donald, Lord of the Isles, of such a serious nature as to threaten a dismemberment of the kingdom of Scotland. The origin of this rebellion arose out of the following circumstances. The male succession to the Earldom of Ross having become extinct, the honours of the Peerage devolved upon a female, Euphemia Ross, wife of Sir Walter Lesley. Of this marriage there were two children, Alexander, afterwards Earl of Ross, and Margaret afterwards married to the Lord of the Isles. Earl Alexander married a daughter of the Duke of Albany. Euphemia, Countess of Ross, was the only issue of this marriage, but becoming a nun she resigned the earldom of Ross in favour of her uncle John Stewart, Earl of Buchan. The Lord of the Isles conceiving that the Countess, by renouncing the world, had forfeited her title and estate, and, moreover, that she had no right to dispose thereof, claimed both in right of Margaret his wife. The duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, at whose instigation the Countess had made the renunciation, of course refused to sustain the claim of the prince of the islands. The Lord of the Isles then raised the standard of revolt; and having formed an alliance with England, from whence he was to be supplied with a fleet far superior to the Scottish, he, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, fully equipped and armed after the fashion of the islands with bows and arrows, pole-axes, knives, and swords, burst like a torrent upon the Earldom, and carried every thing before him. He, however, received a temporary check at Dingwall, where he was attacked with great impetuosity by Angus Dubh Mackay of Farr, or Black Angus, as he was called, but Angus was taken prisoner, and his brother Roderic Gald and many of his men were killed.

Flushed with the progress he had made, Donald now resolved to carry into execution a threat he had often made to burn the town of Aberdeen. For this purpose he ordered his army to assemble at Inverness, and summoned all the men capable of bearing arms in the Boyne, and the Enzie, to join his standard on his way south. This order being complied with, the Lord of the Isles marched through Moray without opposition. He committed great excesses in Strathbogie and in the district of Garioch, which belonged to the earl of Mar. The inhabitants of Aberdeen were in dreadful alarm at the near approach of this marauder and his fierce hordes; but their fears were allayed by the speedy appearance of a well equipped army, commanded by the earl of Mar, who bore a high military character, assisted by many brave knights and gentlemen in Angus and the Mearns. Among these were Sir Alexander Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, Sir James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee and hereditary standard bearer of Scotland, Sir William de Abernethy of Salton, nephew to the duke of Albany, Sir Robert Maule of Panmure, Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, and Sir Robert Melville. The Earl was also joined by Sir Robert Davidson, the Provost of Aberdeen, and a party of the burgesses.

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* Sir Robert Gordon, p. 61, 62.

Advancing from Aberdeen, Mar marched by Inverury, and descried the Highlanders stationed at the village of Harlaw, on the water of Ury near its junction with the Don. Mar soon saw that he had to contend with tremendous odds, but although his forces were, it is said, as one to ten to that opposed to him, he resolved, from the confidence he had in his steel-clad knights, to risk a battle. Having placed a small but select body of knights and men-at-arms in front, under the command of the constable of Dundee and the sheriff of Angus, the Earl drew up the main strength of his army in the rear, including the Murrays, the Straitons, the Maules, the Irvings, the Lesleys, the Lovels, the Stirlings, headed by their respective chiefs. The Earl then placed himself at the head of this body. At the head of the Islesmen and Highlanders was the Lord of the Isles, subordinate to whom were Mackintosh and Maclean and other Highland chiefs, all bearing the most deadly hatred to their Saxon foes, and panting for revenge.

On a signal being given, the Highlanders and Islesmen, setting up those terrific shouts and yells which they were accustomed to raise on entering into battle, rushed forward upon their opponents; but they were received with great firmness and bravery by the knights, who, with their spears levelled, and battle axes raised, cut down many of their impetuous but badly armed adversaries. After the Lowlanders had recovered themselves from the shock which the furious onset of the Highlanders had produced, Sir James Scrymgeour, at the head of the knights and bannerets who fought under him, cut his way through the thick columns of the Islesmen, carrying death every where around him; but the slaughter of hundreds by this brave party did not intimidate the Highlanders, who kept pouring in by thousands to supply the place of those who had fallen. Surrounded on all sides, no alternative remained for Sir James and his valorous companions but victory or death, and the latter was their lot. The constable of Dundee was amongst the first who suffered, and his fall so encouraged the Highlanders, that seizing and stabbing the horses, they thus unhorsed their riders whom they despatched with their daggers. In the mean time the earl of Mar, who had penetrated with his main army into the very heart of the enemy, kept up the unequal contest with great bravery, and, although he lost during the action almost the whole of his army, he continued the fatal struggle with a handful of men till nightfall. The disastrous result of this battle was one of the greatest misfortunes which had ever happened to the numerous respectable families in Angus and the Mearns. Many of these families lost not only their head, but every male in the house. Lesley of Balquhain is said to have fallen with six of his sons. Besides Sir James Scrymgeour, Sir Alexander Ogilvy the sheriff of Angus, with his eldest son George Ogilvy, Sir Thomas Murray, Sir Robert Maule of Panmure, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum,* Sir William Abernethy of Salton, Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, James Lovel, and Alexander Stirling, and Sir Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, with five hundred men-at-arms including the principal gentry of Buchan, and the greater part of the burgesses of Aberdeen who followed their Provost, were among the slain. The Highlanders left nine hundred men dead on the field of battle, including the chiefs, Maclean and Mackintosh. This memorable battle† was fought on the eve of the feast of St James the Apostle, the twenty-fourth day of July, in the year fourteen hundred and eleven, "and from the ferocity with which it was contested, and the dismal spectacle of civil war and bloodshed exhibited to the country, it appears to have made a deep impression on the national mind. It fixed itself in the music and the poetry of Scotland; a march, called the Battle of Harlaw, continued to be a popular air down to the time of Drummond of Hawthornden, and a spirited ballad, on the same event, is still repeated in our age, describing the meeting of the armies, and the deaths of the chiefs, in no ignoble strain."‡

Mar and the few brave companions in arms, who survived the battle, were so exhausted with fatigue and the wounds they received, that they were obliged to pass the night on the field of battle, where they expected a renewal of the attack next morning; but when morning dawned, they found that the Lord of the Isles had retreated, during the night, by Inverury and the hill of Benochie. To pursue him was impossible, and he was therefore allowed to retire, without molestation, and to recruit his exhausted strength.

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* The Laird of Maclean according to a tradition in the family of Irving of Drum, was killed by Sir Alexander Irving. Genealogical collections, MS. Advocates' Library, Jac. v. 4. 16. Vol. I. p. 180.

† The site of the battle is thus described in the manuscript geographical description of Scotland, collected by Macfarlane and preserved in the Advocates' Library, Vol. I. p. 7. "Through this parish (the chapel of Garioch formerly called Capella Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Garryoch, Chart. Aberdon, p. 31.) runs the king's high way from Aberdeen to Inverness, and from Aberdeen to the high country. A large mile to the east of the church lies the field of an ancient battle called the battle of Harlaw, from a country town of that name hard by. This town, and the field of battle, which lies along the king's highway upon a moor, extending a short mile from S. E. to N. W. stands on the north-east side of the water of Urie, and a small distance therefrom. To the west of the field of battle, about half a mile, is a farmer's house, called Legget's Den, hard by, in which is a tomb, built in the form of a malt steep, of four large stones, covered with a broad stone above, where, as the country people generally report, Donald of the Isles lies buried, being slain in the battle, and therefore they call it commonly Donald's tomb." This is an evident mistake, as it is well known that Donald was not slain. Mr Tytler conjectures with much probability that the tomb alluded to may be that of the chief of Maclean or Mackintosh, and he refers, in support of this opinion, to Macfarlane's genealogical collections (MS. Advocates' Library. Jac. V. 4. 16. Vol. I. p. 180.) in which an account is given of the family of Maclean, and from which it appears that Lauchlan Lubanich had, by Macdonald's daughter, a son, called Eachin Rusidh ni Cath, or Hector Rufus Bellicosus, who commanded as lieutenant-general under the earl of Ross at the battle of Harlaw, when he and Irving of Drum, seeking out one another by their armorial bearings on their shields, met and killed each other. This Hector was married to a daughter of the earl of Douglas.

‡ Tytler, vol. III. 177.

As soon as the news of the disaster at Harlaw reached the ears of the duke of Albany, then regent of Scotland, he set about collecting an army, with which he marched in person to the North, in autumn, with a determination to bring the Lord of the Isles to obedience. Having taken possession of the castle of Dingwall, he appointed a governor, and from thence proceeded to recover the whole of Ross. Donald retreated before him, and took up his winter-quarters in the islands. Hostilities were renewed next summer, but the contest was not long or doubtful—notwithstanding some little advantages obtained by the King of the Isles—for he was compelled to give up his claim to the earldom of Ross, to become a vassal to the Scottish crown, and to deliver hostages to secure his future good behaviour. A treaty to this effect was entered into at Pilgilbe or Polgillip, the modern Loch-Gillip in Argyle.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the Highlands at the Accession of James I.—Disturbances in Caithness—Battle of Harpisdell—Arrival of the King at Inverness—Summons the Chiefs to appear—their Seizure and Fate—Revolt of Alexander, Prince of the Isles—Rapid Movement of the King—Alexander surrenders himself and is imprisoned—Insurrection of Donald Balloch—Murder of Mowat of Freshwick by Thomas Macneill—his Apprehension and Execution—Battle of Drum-ne-Coub—Lawless State of the Highlands—Instance of Shocking Barbarity—Apprehension and Execution of Donald Ross, the Perpetrator—Another Expedition by James I. to the Highlands—Commotions in Caithness—Battles at Sandset and at Blare Tannie—Insurrection of the Lord of the Isles—Combat on the Sands of Strathfleet—Conduct of Allan of Lorn of the Wood—Alliance between the Lord of the Isles and other Chiefs and Edward IV. of England—Singular Treaty—Rebellion and Excesses of the Earl of Ross—his Submission and Assassination—Battle between the Clandonald and Clankenzie—Combat between the Mackays and the Rosses—Perfidious Attempt of the Mackays—Plan of James IV. to restore Good Government in the Highlands—Repeated Visits to the Highlands and Islands—Feud between Alexander Sutherland of Dilred, and Sir James Dunbar—Alexander Dunbar killed by Alexander Sutherland—Execution of Dilred—The earl of Sutherland kills one nephew and wounds another.

On the return of James I. from his captivity in England, he found Scotland, and particularly the Highlands, in a state of the most fearful insubordination. Rapine, robbery, and an utter contempt of the laws prevailed to an alarming extent, which required all the energy of a wise and prudent prince, like James, to repress. When these excesses were first reported to James, by one of his nobles, on entering the kingdom, he thus expressed himself:—"Let God but grant me life, and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it."* The following correct and well-drawn sketch of the state of the Highlands, in the reign of James I., is thus given by Mr Tytler:—"At this period, the condition of the Highlands, so far as is discoverable from the few authentic documents which have reached our times, appears to have been in the highest degree rude and uncivilized. There existed a singular combination of Celtic and of feudal manners. Powerful chiefs, of Norman name and Norman blood, had penetrated into the remotest districts, and ruled over multitudes of vassals and serfs, whose strange and uncouth appellatives proclaim their difference of race in the most convincing manner.† The tenure of lands by charter and seisin, the feudal services due by the vassal to his lord, the bands of friendship or of manrent which indissolubly united certain chiefs and nobles to each other, the baronial courts, and the complicated official pomp of feudal life, were all to be found in full strength and operation in the northern counties; but the dependence of the barons, who had taken up their residence in these wild districts, upon the king, and their allegiance and subordination to the laws, were less intimate and influential than in the Lowland divisions of the country; and as they experienced less protection, we have already seen, that in great public emergencies, when the captivity of the sovereign, or the payment of his ransom, called for the imposition of a tax upon property throughout the kingdom, these great northern chiefs thought themselves at liberty to resist the collection within their mountainous principalities.

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* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. 511.

† MS. Adv. Lib. Coll. Diplom. a Macfarlane, vol. i. 245.—MS. Cart. Moray, 263.

"Besides such Scoto-Norman barons, however, there were to be found in the Highlands and the Isles, those fierce aboriginal chiefs, who hated the Saxon and the Norman race, and offered a mortal opposition to the settlement of all intruders within a country which they considered their own. They exercised the same authority over the various clans or septs of which they were the chosen heads or leaders, which the baron possessed over his vassals and their military followers; and the dreadful disputes and collisions which perpetually occurred between these distinct ranks of potentates, were accompanied by spoliations, ravages, imprisonments, and murders, which had at last become so frequent and so far extended, that the whole country beyond the Grampian range, was likely to be cut off, by these abuses, from all regular communication with the more pacific parts of the kingdom." *

Having, by a firm and salutary, but perhaps severe, course of policy, restored the empire of the laws in the Lowlands, and obtained the enactment of new statutes for the future welfare and prosperity of the kingdom, James next turned his attention to his Highland dominions, which, as we have seen, were in a deplorable state of insubordination, which made both property and life insecure. The king determined to visit in person the disturbed districts, and by punishing the refractory chiefs, put an end to those tumults and enormities which had, during his minority, triumphed over the laws. The departure of James to his northern dominions was hastened by the intelligence of a disturbance in Caithness, into which Angus Dubh Mackay, or Black Angus, had entered, with all the forces he could collect in Strathnaver, and spoiled and laid waste that district. The inhabitants of Caithness met Mackay at Harpisdell, where a battle was fought, in which both sides suffered severely, but the result was not decisive, and Mackay continued his depredations. In the midst of these disorders, the king, in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-seven, arrived at Inverness, attended by his parliament, and immediately summoned the principal chiefs there to appear before him. From whatever motives—whether from hopes of effecting a reconciliation

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* Hist. vol. iii. 250, 251.

by a ready compliance with the mandate of the king, or from a dread, in case of refusal, of the fate of the powerful barons of the south who had fallen victims to James' severity—the order of the king was obeyed, and the chiefs repaired to Inverness. No sooner, however, had they entered the hall where the parliament was sitting, than they were by order of the king arrested, ironed, and imprisoned in different apartments, and debarred all communication with each other, or with their followers. It has been supposed that these chiefs may have been entrapped by some fair promises on the part of James, and the joy which, according to Fordun, he manifested at seeing these turbulent and haughty spirits caught in the toils which he had prepared for them, favours this conjecture. The number of chiefs seized on this occasion are stated to have amounted to about forty; but the names of the principal ones only have been preserved. These were Alaster or Alexander Macdonald, Lord of the Isles; Angus Dubh, with his four sons, who could bring into the field four thousand fighting men; Kenneth More and his son-in-law, Angus of Moray, and Macmathan who could muster two thousand men; Alexander Macreiny of Garmoran and John Macarthur, each of whom could bring into the field a thousand strong. Besides these were John Ross, James Campbell, and William Lesley. The Countess of Ross, the mother of Alexander, the Lord of the Isles, and heiress of Sir Walter Lesley, was also apprehended and imprisoned at the same time.*

The king now determined to inflict summary vengeance upon his captives. Those who were most conspicuous for their crimes were immediately executed; among whom were James Campbell, who was tried, convicted, and hanged for the murder of John of the Isles; and Alexander Macreiny and John Macarthur who were beheaded. Alexander of the Isles and Angus Dubh, after a short confinement, were both pardoned; but the latter was obliged to deliver up his son Neill as an hostage for his good behaviour, who was confined in the Bass, in the mouth of the Frith of Forth, and, from that circumstance, was afterwards named Neill-Wasse-Mackay.† Besides these, many others, who were kept in prison in different parts of the kingdom, were afterwards condemned and executed.

The royal clemency, which had been extended so graciously to the Lord of the Isles, met with an ungrateful return; for shortly after the king had returned to his lowland dominions, Alexander collected a force of ten thousand men in Ross and the Isles, and with this formidable body laid waste the country; plundered and devastated the crown-lands, against which his vengeance was chiefly directed, and razed the royal burgh of Inverness to the ground. On hearing of these distressing events, James, with a rapidity rarely equalled, collected a force, the extent of which has not been ascertained, and marched with great speed into Lochaber, where he found the enemy, who, from the celerity of his movements, were taken almost by surprise. Alexander prepared for battle; but, before its commencement, he had the misfortune to witness the desertion of the Clan Chattan, and the Clan Cameron, who, to a man, went over to the royal standard. The king, thereupon, attacked Alexander's army, which he completely routed, and the latter sought his safety in flight. Being closely pursued, he sent a message to the king suing for peace; but James sternly refused to enter into any negotiation with a person who had rendered himself an outlaw; and giving strict orders for his apprehension, returned to his capital.

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* Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. 1283—4.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 64.

Reduced to the utmost distress, and seeing the impossibility of evading the active vigilance of his pursuers, who hunted him from place to place, this haughty lord, who considered himself on a par with kings, resolved to throw himself entirely on the mercy of the king, by an act of the most abject submission. Having arrived in Edinburgh, to which he had travelled in the most private manner, the humbled chief suddenly presented himself before the king, on Easter-Sunday, in the church of Holyrood, when he and his queen, surrounded by the nobles of the court, were employed in their devotions before the high altar. The extraordinary appearance of the fallen prince denoted the inward workings of his troubled mind. Without bonnet, arms, or ornament of any kind, his legs and arms quite bare, and his body only covered with a plaid, and holding a naked sword in his hand by the point, he fell down on his knees before the king imploring mercy and forgiveness, and in token of his unreserved submission, offered the hilt of his sword to his majesty. At the solicitation of the queen and nobles, James spared his life, but committed him immediately to Tantallan-castle, under the charge of William, Earl of Angus, his nephew. This took place in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-nine. The countess of Ross was kept in close confinement in the ancient monastery of Inchcolm, on the small island of that name, in the Frith of Forth.* The king, however, relented, and released the Lord of the Isles and his mother, after about a year's imprisonment.

During the confinement of the Lord of the Isles, the people of the isles and western Highlanders, incited by Donald Balloch, his kinsman, again revolted. He defeated the earls of Mar and of Caithness, at Inverlochy, with great slaughter; but, on the approach of the king, Donald abandoned his army, and fled to Ireland, where he was afterwards killed. His head was sent to the king at Stirling, in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-six. Many of Donald's followers were put to death by James' orders.

About this period happened another of those bloody frays, which destroyed the internal peace of the Highlands, and brought ruin and desolation upon many families. The circumstances which gave rise to the battle of Drum-ne-coub, were these. Thomas Macneill, son of

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* Fordun, vol. iv. 1286

Neill Mackay, who was engaged in the battle of Tuttum Turwigh, possessed the lands of Creigh, Spaniziedaill, and Palrossie in Sutherland. Having conceived some displeasure at Mowat, the laird of Freshwick, the latter, with his party, in order to avoid his vengeance, took refuge in the chapel of St Duffus, near the town of Tain, as a sanctuary. Thither they were followed by Thomas, who not only slew Mowat and his people, but also burnt the chapel to the ground. This outrage, upon religion and humanity, exasperated the king, who immediately ordered a proclamation to be issued, denouncing Thomas Macneill a rebel, and promising his lands and possessions as a reward to any one that would kill, or apprehend him. Angus Murray, son of Alexander Murray of Cubin, immediately set about the apprehension of Thomas Macneill. To accomplish his purpose, he held a secret conference with Morgan and Neill Macneill, the brothers of Thomas, at which he offered, provided they would assist him in apprehending their brother, his two daughters in marriage, and promised to aid them in getting peaceable possession of such lands in Strathnaver, as they claimed, which he showed them might be easily obtained, with little or no resistance, as Neill Mackay, son of Angus Dubh, from which the chief opposition might have been expected, was then a prisoner in the Bass, and Angus Dubh, the father, was unable, from age and infirmity, to defend his pretensions. Angus Murray also promised to request the assistance of the earl of Sutherland. As these two brothers pretended a right to the possessions of Angus Dubh in Strathnaver, they were easily allured by these promises; they immediately apprehended their brother Thomas at Spaniziedaill in Sutherland, and delivered him up to Murray, by whom he was presented to the king. Macneill was immediately executed at Inverness, and Angus Murray obtained, in terms of the royal proclamation, a grant of the lands of Palrossie and Spaniziedaill from the king. The lands of Creigh fell into the hands of the Lord of the Isles, as superior, by the death and felony of Macneill.*

In pursuance of his promise, Murray gave his daughters in marriage respectively to Neill and Morgan Macneill, and with the consent and approbation of Robert, Earl of Sutherland, he invaded Strathnaver with a party of Sutherland men, to take possession of the lands of Angus Dubh Mackay. Angus immediately collected his men, and gave the command of them to John Aberigh, his natural son, as he was unable to lead them in person. Both parties met about two miles from Toung, at a place called Drum-ne-Coub; but, before they came to blows, Angus Dubh Mackay sent a message to Neill and Morgan, his cousins-german, offering to surrender them all his lands and possessions in Strathnaver, if they would allow him to retain Keantayle. This fair offer was, however, rejected, and an appeal was, therefore, immediately made to arms. A desperate conflict then took place, in which many were killed on both sides; among whom were Angus Murray and his two sons-in-law, Neill and Morgan Macneill. John Aberigh, though he gained the victory, was severely wounded, and lost one of his arms. After the battle, Angus Dubh Mackay was carried, at his own request, to the field to search for the bodies of his slain cousins, but he was killed by an arrow from a Sutherland man, who lay concealed in a bush hard by. Neill Mackneill left three sons, Angus, John Bayn, and Paul; two of them, Angus and Paul, after the death of their father, fixed their quarters in Sutherland, and molested the inhabitants residing along the sea-coast thereof, and drove away some of their cattle to the isle of Dolay in Breacht, where they took refuge; but being closely pursued, and judging that they were not sufficiently secure in the island, they retired, under cloud of night, to a hill close by, afterwards called Cnoc-Mhic-Neill, where they and their followers were slain, from which circumstance the hill was so named.*

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* Sir Robert Gordon, pp. 64, 65.

In consequence of this disaster at Drum-na-Coub, the earl of Sutherland took up arms, and forced John Aberigh to seek safety in the isles. But he returned to Sutherland; and having entered Strathully, unawares, the night after Christmas, he slew three of the Sutherlands at Dinoboll. He again fled, but was so closely pursued by Robert, Earl of Sutherland, that he was forced to submit, after previously obtaining pardon. John then settled quietly in Strathnaver, where he continued till the reign of James I., when his brother Neill-Wasse-Mackay was relieved from his confinement in the Bass, and entered, with the full consent of John, into possession of his estates. To requite him, however, for his attention to his father, he gave him the lands of Lochnaver in liferent, which were long possessed by his posterity.†

About this time, the state of the Highlands was lawless in the extreme. Property and life were equally insecure from the banditti who infested the country. James I. made many salutary regulations for putting an end to the disorders consequent upon such a state of society, and the oppressed looked up to him for protection. The following remarkable case will give some idea of the extraordinary barbarity in which the spoliators indulged:—A notorious thief, named Donald Ross, who had made himself rich with plunder, carried off two cows from a poor woman. This woman having expressed a determination not to wear shoes again till she had made a complaint to the king in person, the robber exclaimed, "It is false: I'll have you shod before you reach the court;" and thereupon, with a brutality scarcely paralleled, the cruel monster took two horse shoes, and fixed them on her feet with nails driven into the flesh. The victim of this savage act, as soon as she was able to travel, went to the king, and related to him the whole circumstances of her case, which so exasperated him, that he immediately sent a warrant to the sheriff of the county, where Ross resided, for his immediate apprehension; which being effected, he was sent under an escort to Perth, where the court was then held. Ross was tried and condemned; and before his execution, a linen shirt, on which was painted a representation of his crime, was thrown over him, in which dress he was paraded through the streets of the town, afterwards dragged at a horse's tail, and hanged on a gallows.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, pp. 65, 66.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 66.

The commotions in Strathnaver, and other parts of the Highlands, induced the king to make another expedition into that part of his dominions; previous to which, he summoned a Parliament at Perth, which was held on the fifteenth day of October, fourteen hundred and thirty-one, in which a land-tax, or "zelde," was laid upon the whole lands of the kingdom, to defray the expenses of the undertaking. No contemporary record of this expedition exists; but it is said that the king proceeded to Dunstaffnage castle, to punish those chiefs who had joined in Donald Balloch's insurrection; that on his arrival there, numbers of these came to him and made their submission, throwing the whole odium of the rebellion upon the leader, whose authority, they alleged, they were afraid to resist; and that, by their means, three hundred thieves and robbers were apprehended and put to death.

For several years after this expedition, the Highlands appear to have been tranquil; but, on the liberation of Neill Mackay from his confinement on the Bass, in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-seven, fresh disturbances began. This restless chief had scarcely been released, when he entered Caithness, and spoiled the country. He was met at a place called Sandsett; but the people who came to oppose his progress were defeated, and many of them were slain. This conflict was called Ruaig Hanset; that is, the flight, or chase at Sandsett.†

About the same time, a quarrel took place between the Keiths and some others of the inhabitants of Caithness. As the Keiths could not depend upon their own forces, they sought the aid of Angus Mackay, son of Neill last mentioned, who had recently died. Angus agreed to join the Keiths; and accordingly, accompanied by his brother, John Roy, and a chieftain named Iain-Mor-Mac-Iain-Riabhaich, with a company of men, he went into Caithness, and joining the Keiths, invaded that part of Caithness, hostile to the Keiths. The people of Caithness lost not a moment in assembling together, and met the Strathnaver men and the Keiths at a place called Blare-Tannie. Here a sanguinary contest took place; but victory declared for the Keiths, whose success was chiefly owing to the prowess of Iain-Mor-Mac-Iain-Riabhaich, whose name was, in consequence, long famous in that and the adjoining country.*

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* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 510. Sir Robert Gordon says, that 'Mackdonald Rosse being brought out of prisson with tuelve of his associats, the king commanded that they should be likewise shod with iron shoes, in the same sort as they had befor served the woman, and afterwards, that they should be careid, thrie severall dayes, through the streets of Edenburgh, for a spectacle to the people. All which being performed, the said Mackdonald Ross wes beheaded, and his twelve companions hanged on the high wayes. A notable paterne of justice, which may be an example to the negligent and sluggish justiciars of our tyme, who suffer the poore and weak to be oppressed by strong and idle wagabounds." p. 68.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 68.

After the defeat of James, the ninth earl of Douglas, who had renounced his allegiance to James II. at Arkinholme, in fourteen hundred and fifty-five, he retired into Argyleshire, where he was received by the earl of Ross, with whom, and the Lord of the Isles, he entered into an alliance. The ocean prince, having a powerful fleet of five hundred galleys at his command, immediately assembled his vassals, to the amount of five thousand fighting men, and having embarked them in his navy, gave the command of the whole to Donald Balloch, Lord of Isla, his near kinsman, a chief who, besides his possessions in Scotland, had great power in the north of Ireland. This potent chief, whose hereditary antipathy against the Scottish throne was as keen as that of his relation, entered cheerfully into the views of Douglas. With the force under his command, he desolated the western coast of Scotland from Innerkip to Bute, the Cumrays, and the island of Arran; yet formidable as he was both in men and ships, the loss was not so considerable as might have been expected, from the prudent precautions taken by the king to repel the invaders. The summary of the damage sustained, is thus related in a contemporary chronicle:—"There was slain of good men, fifteen; of women, two or three; of children, three or four. The plunder included five or six hundred horse, ten thousand oxen and kine, and more than a thousand sheep and goats. At the same time, they burnt down several mansions in Innerkip around the church; harried all Arran; stormed and levelled with the ground the castle of Brodick; and wasted, with fire and sword, the islands of the Cumrays. They also levied tribute upon Bute; carrying away a hundred bolls of malt, a hundred marts, and a hundred marks of silver."†

While Donald Balloch was engaged in this expedition, the Lord of the isles, with his kinsmen and followers to the number of five or six hundred, made an incursion into Sutherland, and encamped before the castle of Skibo. What his object was has not been ascertained; but, as a measure of precaution, the earl of Sutherland sent Neill Murray, son of Angus Murray, who was slain at Drum-na-Coub, to watch his motions. The Lord of the isles immediately began to commit depredations, whereupon he was attacked by Murray, and compelled to retreat into Ross with the loss of one of his captains, named Donald Dubh-na-Soirn, and fifty of his men. Exasperated at this defeat, Macdonald sent another party of his islanders along with a company of men from Ross to Strathfleet in Sutherland to lay waste the country, and thus wipe off the disgrace of his late defeat. On hearing of this fresh invasion, the earl of Sutherland despatched his brother Robert with a sufficient force to attack the Clandonald. They met on the sands of Strathfleet, and, after a fierce and bloody struggle, the islanders and their allies were overthrown with great slaughter. The survivors fled with great precipitation, and were pursued as far as the Bonagh. Many perished in the course of their flight. This was the last hostile irruption of the Clandonald into Sutherland, as all the disputes between the Lord of the Isles and the Sutherland family were afterwards accommodated by a matrimonial alliance.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 69.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 55.

The vigorous administration of James II. which checked and controlled the haughty and turbulent spirit of his nobles, was also felt, as we have seen, in the Highlands, where his power, if not always acknowledged, was nevertheless dreaded; but upon the murder of that wise prince, and the accession of his infant son to the crown, the princes of the north again abandoned themselves to their lawless courses. The first who showed the example was Allan of Lorn of the Wood, as he was called, a nephew of Donald Balloch by his sister. Coveting the estate of his elder brother, Ker of Lorn, Allan imprisoned him in a dungeon in the island of Kerera, with the view of starving him to death that he might the more easily acquire the unjust possession he desired; but Ker was liberated, and his property restored to him by the earl of Argyle to whom he was nearly related, who suddenly attacked Allan with a fleet of galleys, defeated him, burnt his fleet, and slew the greater part of his men. This act, so justifiable in itself, roused the revengeful passions of the island chiefs, who issued from their ocean retreats and committed the most dreadful excesses.†

After the decisive battle of Touton, Henry VI. and his Queen retired to Scotland to watch the first favourable opportunity of seizing the sceptre from the house of York, and fixing it in the race of Lancaster. Edward IV. anticipating the danger that might arise to his crown by an alliance between his rival, the exiled monarch, and the king of Scotland, determined to counteract the effects of such a connexion by a stroke of policy. Aware of the disaffected disposition of some of the Scottish nobles, and northern and island chiefs, he immediately entered into a negotiation with John, earl of Ross, and Donald Balloch, to detach them from their allegiance. On the nineteenth day of October fourteen hundred and sixty-one, the earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and his son John de Isle, held a council of their vassals and dependants at Astornish, at which it was agreed to send ambassadors to England to treat with Edward. On the arrival of these ambassadors a negotiation was entered into between them and the earl of Douglas, and John Douglas of Balveny, his brother, both of whom had been obliged to leave Scotland for their treasons in the previous reign. These two brothers, who were animated by a spirit of hatred and revenge against the family of their late sovereign James II., warmly entered into the views of Edward, whose subjects they had become; and they concluded a treaty with the northern ambassadors which assumed as its basis nothing less than the entire conquest of Scotland. Among other conditions, it was stipulated, that, upon payment of a stipulated sum of money to himself, his son, and ally, the Lord of the Isles should become for ever the vassal of England, and should assist Edward and his successors in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere. And, in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland by the earls of Ross and Douglas, the whole of the kingdom, on the north of the Frith of Forth, was to be divided equally between these Earls and Donald Balloch, and the estates which formerly belonged to Douglas, between the Frith of Forth and the borders, were to be restored to him. This singular treaty is dated London, the eighteenth February, fourteen hundred and sixty-two.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 74.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 58, 59.

Pending this negotiation, the earl of Angus, at that time one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, having, by the promise of an English dukedom from the exiled Henry, engaged to assist in restoring him to his crown and dominions, the earl of Ross, before the plan had been organized, in order to counteract the attempt, broke out into open rebellion, which was characterized by all those circumstances of barbarous cruelty which distinguished the inroads of the princes of the islands. He first seized the castle of Inverness at the head of a small party, being admitted unawares by the governor, who did not suspect his hostile intentions. He then collected a considerable army, and proclaimed himself king of the Hebrides. With his army he entered the country of Athole,—denounced the authority of the king, and commanded all taxes to be paid to him; and, after committing the most dreadful excesses, he stormed the castle of Blair, dragged the earl and countess of Athole from the chapel of St Bridget, which he plundered, and carried them off to Isla as prisoners. It is related that the earl of Ross thrice attempted to set fire to the holy pile, but in vain. He lost many of his war-galleys in a storm of thunder and lightning, in which the rich booty he had taken was consigned to the deep, a punishment which "was universally ascribed to the wrath of Heaven, which had armed the elements against the abettor of sacrilege and murder."† Preparations were immediately made by the regents of the kingdom for punishing this rebellious chief; but these became unnecessary, for, touched with remorse, he collected the remains of his plunder, and stripped to his shirt and drawers, and barefooted, he, along with his principal followers, in the same forlorn and dejected condition, went to the chapel of St Bridget which they had lately desecrated, and there performed a penance before the altar. The earl and countess of Athole were thereupon voluntarily released from confinement, and the earl of Ross was afterwards assassinated in the castle of Inverness by an Irish harper who bore him a grudge.‡

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* Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii 407.

† Tytler. vol. iv. 195.

‡ Ferrerius, p. 383.—Lesley de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 300.—Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 34.

The successor of the Lord of the Isles not being disposed to tender the allegiance which his father had violated, the king, in the month of May, fourteen hundred and seventy-six, assembled a large army on the north of the Forth, and a fleet on the west coast, for the purpose of making a simultaneous attack upon him by sea and land. The earl of Crawford was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the earl of Athole generalissimo of the army. The latter was so quick in his movements as to come upon the earl of Ross almost by surprise, and seeing no hopes of making effectual resistance against such a powerful force as that sent against him, he tendered his submission to the king on certain conditions, and resigned the earldom of Ross, and the lands of Kintyre and Knapdale, into his majesty's hands. By this act he was restored to the king's favour, who forgave him all his offences, and infeft him of new in the lordship of the isles and the other lands which he did not renounce. The earl of Athole was rewarded for this service by a grant of the lands and forest of Cluny.*

After the Lord of the Isles had thus resigned the earldom of Ross into the king's hands, that province was perpetually molested by incursions from the islanders, who now considered it a fit theatre for the exercise of their predatory exploits. Gillespoc, cousin of the Lord of the Isles, at the head of a large body of the islanders, invaded the higher part of Ross, and committed great devastation. The inhabitants, or as many as the shortness of the time would permit, amongst whom the Clankenzie were chiefly distinguished, speedily assembled, and met the islanders on the banks of the Connan, where a sharp conflict took place. The Clankenzie fought with great valour, and pressed the enemy so hard, that Gillespoc Macdonald was overthrown, and the greater part of his men were slain or drowned in the river about two miles from Braile, thence called Blar-na-Paire. The predecessor of the Laird of Brodie, who happened to be with the chief of the Mackenzies at the time, fought with great courage. It is reported that, before the skirmish, the Clandonald robbed and burnt a chapel near the river Connan, not far from the place they fought, which, it was believed, was the cause of their disaster. Another contest took place afterwards between the islanders and the Clandonald and the Clankenzie, at a place called Drumchatt, when, after a sharp conflict, the islanders were routed and driven out of Ross.†

For a considerable time the district of Sutherland had remained tranquil, but on the eleventh of July, fourteen hundred and eighty-seven, it again became the scene of a bloody rencounter between the Mackays and the Rosses. To revenge the death of a relation, or to wipe away the stigma of a defeat, were considered sacred and paramount duties by the Highlanders; and if, from the weakness of the clan, the minority of the chief, or any other cause, the day of deadly reckoning was delayed, the feeling which prompted revenge was never dormant, and the earliest opportunity was embraced of vindicating the honour of the clan. Angus Mackay, son of the famous Neill of the Bass, having been killed at Tarbet by a Ross, his son, John Riabhaich Mackay, applied to John, earl of Sutherland, on whom he depended, to assist him in revenging his father's death. The earl promised his aid, and accordingly sent his uncle, Robert Sutherland, with a company of chosen men to assist John Mackay. With this force, and such men as John Mackay and his relation, Uilleam-Dubh-Mac-Iain-Abaraich, son of John Aberigh who fought at Drum-na-Coub, could collect, they invaded Strath-oy-kell, carrying fire and sword in their course, and laying waste many lands belonging to the Rosses. As soon as the laird of Balnagown, the chief of the Rosses, heard of this attack, he collected all his forces, and attacked Robert Sutherland and John Riabhaich Mackay, at a place called Aldy-charrish. A long and obstinate battle took place: on which side victory was to declare itself was a point which remained for a considerable time very dubious; but the death of Balnagown and seventeen of the principal landed gentlemen of Ross decided the combat, for the people of Ross, being deprived of their leader, were thrown into confusion, and utterly put to flight, with great slaughter. Among the principal gentlemen slain on the side of the Rosses were, Alexander Ross of Balnagown, Mr William Ross, Alexander Terrall, Angus M'Culloch of Terrell, William Ross, John Wause, William Wasse, John Mitchell, Thomas Wause, and Hutcheon Wause.

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* Lesley's Hist., p. 41.—Sir R. Gordon, p. 77.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 67.

The fruit of this victory was a large quantity of booty, which the victors divided the same day; but the avarice of the men of Assint induced them to instigate John Mackay to resolve to commit one of the most perfidious and diabolical acts ever perpetrated by men who had fought on the same side. The design of the Assint men was, to cut off Robert Sutherland and his whole party, and possess themselves of their share of the spoil, before the earl of Sutherland could learn the result of the battle, that he might be led to suppose that his uncle and his men had all fallen in the action with the Rosses. When this plan was divulged to Uilleam-Dubh-Mac-Iain-Abaraich, he was horrified at it, and immediately sent notice to Robert Sutherland of it, that he might be upon his guard. Robert assembled his men upon receipt of this extraordinary intelligence, told them of the base intentions of John Mackay, and put them in order, to be prepared for the threatened attack; but on John Riabhaich Mackay perceiving that Robert and his party were prepared to meet him, he slunk off, like a perfidious villain, and went home to Strathnaver.*

The lawless state of society in the Highlands, which followed as a consequence from the removal of the seat of government to the Lowlands, though it often engaged the attention of the Scottish sovereigns, never had proper remedies applied to it. At one time the aid of force was called in, and when that was found ineffectual, the vicious principle of dividing the chiefs, that they might the more effectually weaken and destroy one another, was adopted. Both plans, as might be supposed, proved abortive. If the government had, by conciliatory measures, and by a profusion of favours, suitable to the spirit of the times, secured the attachment of the heads of the clans, the supremacy of the laws might have been vindicated, and the sovereign might have calculated upon the support of powerful and trust-worthy auxiliaries in his domestic struggles against the encroachments of the nobles. Such ideas appear never to have once entered the minds of the kings, but it was reserved for James IV. to make the experiment. "To attach to his interest the principal chiefs of these provinces, to overawe and subdue the petty princes who affected independence, to carry into their territories, hitherto too exclusively governed by their own capricious or tyrannical institutions, the same system of a severe, but regular and rapid administration of civil and criminal justice, which had been established in his Lowland dominions, was the laudable object of the king; and for this purpose he succeeded, with that energy and activity which remarkably distinguished him, in opening up an intercourse with many of the leading men in the northern counties. With the captain of the Clanchattan, Duncan Mackintosh; with Ewan, the son of Alan, captain of the Clancameron; with Campbell of Glenurqhay; the Macgilleouns of Duart and Lochbuy; Mackane of Ardnamurchan; the lairds of Mackenzie and Grant; and the earl of Huntley, a baron of the most extensive power in those northern districts—he appears to have been in habits of constant and regular communication—rewarding them by presents, in the shape either of money or of grants of land, and securing their services in reducing to obedience such of their fellow chieftains as proved contumacious, or actually rose in rebellion."*

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* Sir R. Gordon, pp. 78, 79.

But James carried his views farther. Rightly judging how much the personal presence of the sovereign would be valued by his distant subjects, and the good effects which would result therefrom, he resolved to visit different parts of his northern dominions. Accordingly, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety, accompanied by his court, he rode twice from Perth across the chain of mountains which extends across the country from the border of the Mearns to the head of Loch Rannoch, which chain is known by the name of the "Mount." Again, in fourteen hundred and ninety-three, he twice visited the Highlands, and went as far as Dunstaffnage and Mengarry, in Ardnamurchan. In the following year he visited the isles no less than three times. His first voyage to the islands, which took place in April and May, was conducted with great state. He was attended by a vast suite, many of whom fitted out vessels at their own expense. The grandeur which surrounded the king, impressed the islanders with a high idea of his wealth and power; and his condescension and familiarity with all classes of his subjects, acquired for him a popularity which added strength to his throne. During these marine excursions, the youthful monarch indulged his passion for sailing and hunting, and thereby relieved the tediousness of business, by the recreation of agreeable and innocent pleasures.

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* Tytler, vol. iv. p. 367, 368.

The only opposition which James met with during these excursions was from the restless Lord of the Isles, who had the temerity to put the king at defiance, notwithstanding the repeated and signal marks of the royal favour he had experienced. But James was not to be trifled with, for he summoned the island prince to stand his trial for "treason in Kintire;" and in a parliament held in Edinburgh shortly after the king's return from the north, "Sir John of the Isles," as he is named in the treasurer's accounts, was stripped of his power, and his possessions were forfeited to the crown.

One of those personal petty feuds which were so prevalent in the Highlands, occurred about this time. Alexander Sutherland of Dilred, being unable or unwilling to repay a sum of money he had borrowed from Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, the latter took legal measures to secure his debt by appraising part of Dilred's lands. This proceeding vexed the laird of Dilred exceedingly, and he took an umbrage at the Dunbars, who had recently settled in Sutherland, "grudgeing as it were, (says Sir R. Gordon,) "that a stranger should brawe (brave) him at his owne doors." Happening to meet Alexander Dunbar, brother of Sir James, who had lately married Lady Margaret Baillie, Countess Dowager of Sutherland, high words passed between them, a combat ensued, and after a long contest Alexander Dunbar was killed. Sir James Dunbar thereupon went to Edinburgh, and laid the matter before King James the Fourth, who was so exasperated at the conduct of Alexander Sutherland, that he immediately proclaimed him a rebel, sent messengers every where in search of him, and promised his lands to any person that would apprehend him. After some search he was apprehended with ten of his followers by his uncle, Y-Roy-Mackay, brother of John Reawigh Mackay already mentioned, who sent him to the king. Dilred was tried, condemned, and executed, and his lands declared forfeited. For this service, Y-Roy-Mackay obtained from the king a grant of the lands of Armdall, Far, Golspietour, Kinnald, Kilcolmkill, and Dilred, which formerly belonged to Alexander Sutherland, as was noted in Mackay's infeftment, dated in fourteen hundred and forty-nine.* "Avarice, (says Sir R. Gordon,) is a strange vyce, which respects neither blood nor freindship. This is the first infeftment that any of the familie of Macky had from the king, so far as I can perceave by the records of this kingdom; and they wer untill this tyme possessors onlie of ther lands in Strathnaver, not careing much for any charters or infeftments, as most pairts of the Highlanders have alwise done."

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 80.

The grant of the king as to the lands over which Sir James Dunbar's security extended, was called in question by Sir James, who obtained a decree before the lords of council and session, in February fifteen hundred and twelve, setting aside the right of Y-Roy-Mackay, and ordaining the earl of Sutherland, as superior of the lands, to receive Sir James Dunbar as his vassal.*

A lamentable instance of the ferocity of these times is afforded in the case of one of the earls of Sutherland, who upon some provocation slew two of his nephews. This earl, who was named John, had a natural brother, Thomas Moir, who had two sons, Robert Sutherland and the Keith, so called on account of his being brought up by a person of that name. The young men had often annoyed the earl, and on one occasion they entered his castle of Dunrobin to brave him to his face, an act which so provoked the earl, that he instantly killed Robert in the house. The Keith, after receiving several wounds, made his escape, but he was overtaken and slain at the Clayside near Dunrobin, which from that circumstance was afterwards called Ailein-Cheith, or the bush of the Keith.†

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 80.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 81.

CHAPTER IX.

Alliance between the Earl of Sutherland and the Earl of Caithness—Feuds among the Mackays—John Mackay ravages Sutherland—Mackay defeated at Torran-Dow—Quarrel between the Keiths and the Clan Gun—Skirmish at Loch Salchie—Combat between the Mackays and the Murrays—Alexander Sutherland, the bastard, claims the Earldom of Sutherland—His warlike operations, apprehension, and execution—John Mackay invades Sutherland—His Defeat—Dissention among the Clan-Chattan—Murder of the Chief—Operations of Hector Mackintosh—Massacre of the Ogilvies—Three hundred of the Mackintoshes executed—Remarkable instance of Fidelity—Submission of Hector Mackintosh—His Assassination—Donald Mackay invades Sutherland—Skirmishes at Aldy-ne-Beth and at Loch Buy—Lawless proceedings of the Clanranald—Battle of Blar-Nan-Lein, in which the Frasers are almost annihilated—Apprehension and punishment of Ewen Allenson and Donald M'Concilglase—Illegal conduct of the Earl of Caithness and Donald Mackay—Apprehension and Execution of the chief of the Mackintoshes—Commotions in Sutherland—Expedition against the Clanranald—Queen Regent's journey to the Highlands—Mackay's depredations—His submission and imprisonment—Devastations of John More-Mackay—Severe defeat of the Strathnaver men—Criminal conduct of Mackay—Feuds in Sutherland and Caithness—Execution of the Chief of the Guns—The Earl and Countess of Sutherland poisoned—Mackay of Far wastes Sutherland—The Earl of Caithness takes the castle of Skibo, and seizes the young Earl of Sutherland—Feud between the Murrays and the Seill-faille—Oppressive proceedings of the Earl of Caithness—The Earl of Sutherland rescued—Quarrel between the Monroes and the Mackenzies—Renewed oppressions of the Earl of Caithness.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixteen, Adam Earl of Sutherland, in anticipation of threatened dangers in the north, entered into bonds of friendship and alliance with the earl of Caithness for mutual protection and support. The better to secure the goodwill and assistance of the earl of Caithness, Earl Adam made a grant of some lands upon the east-side of the water of Ully; but the earl of Caithness, although he kept possession of the lands, joined the foes of his ally and friend. The earl of Sutherland, however, would have found a more trust-worthy supporter in the person of Y-Roy-Mackay, who had come under a written obligation to serve him, the same year; but Mackay died, and a civil war immediately ensued in Strathnaver, between John and Donald Mackay his bastard sons, and Neill-Naverigh Mackay, brother of Y-Roy, to obtain possession of his lands. John took possession of all the lands belonging to his father in Strathnaver; but his uncle Neill laid claim to them, and applied to the earl of Caithness for assistance to recover them. The earl, after many entreaties, put a force under the command of Neill and his two sons, with which they entered Strathnaver, and obtaining an accession of strength in that country, they dispossessed John Mackay, who immediately went to the Clan Chattan, and Clan Kenzie, to crave their aid and support, leaving his brother Donald Mackay to defend himself in Strathnaver as he best could. Donald not having a sufficient force to meet his uncle and cousins in open combat, had recourse to a stratagem which succeeded entirely to his mind. With his little band he, under cloud of night, surprised his opponents at Delreavigh in Strathnaver, and slew both his cousins and the greater part of their men, and thus he utterly destroyed the issue of Neill. John Mackay, on hearing of this, immediately joined his brother, and drove out of Strathnaver all persons who had favoured the pretensions of his uncle Neill-Naverigh. This unfortunate old man, after being abandoned by the earl of Caithness, threw himself upon the generosity of his nephews, requesting that they would merely allow him a small maintenance to keep him from poverty during the remainder of his life; but these unnatural nephews, regardless of mercy and the ties of blood, ordered Neill to be beheaded in their presence by the hands of Claff-na-Gep, his own foster brother.*

In the year fifteen hundred and seventeen, advantage was taken by John Mackay, of the absence of the earl of Sutherland, who had gone to Edinburgh to transact some business connected with his estates, to invade the province of Sutherland, and to burn and spoil every thing which came in his way. He was assisted in this lawless enterprise by two races of people dwelling in Sutherland, called the Siol-Phaill, and the Siol-Thomais, and by Neil-Mac-Iain-Mac-Angus of Assint, and his brother John Mor-Mac-Iain, with some of their countrymen. As soon as the countess of Sutherland, who had remained at home, heard of this invasion, she prevailed upon Alexander Sutherland, her bastard brother, to oppose Mackay. Assisted chiefly by John Murray of Aberscors, and Uilleam-Mac-Sheumais-Mhic-Chruner, chief of the Clan Gun in Sutherland, Alexander convened hastily the inhabitants of the country and went in search of the enemy. He met John Mackay and his brother Donald, at a place called Torran-Dubh or Cnocan-Dubh, near Rogart in Strathfleet. Mackay's force was prodigious, for he had assembled not only the whole strength of Strathnaver, Durines, Edderachilis and Assint, with the Siol-Phaill and Siol-Thomais; but also all the disorderly and idle men of the whole diocess of Caithness, with all such as he could entice to join him from the west and north-west isles, to accompany him in his expedition, buoyed up with the hopes of plunder. But the people of Sutherland were nowise dismayed at the appearance of this formidable host, and made preparations for an attack. A desperate struggle commenced, and after a long contest Mackay's van-guard was driven back upon the position occupied by himself. Mackay having rallied the retreating party, selected a number of the best and ablest men he could find, and having placed the remainder of his army under the command of his brother, Donald, to act as a reserve in case of necessity, he made a furious attack upon the Sutherland men, who received the enemy with great coolness and intrepidity. The chiefs on both sides encouraged their men to fight for the honour of their clans, and in consequence the fight was severe and bloody; but in the end the Sutherland men, after great slaughter, and after prodigies of valour had been displayed by both parties, obtained the victory. Mackay's party was almost entirely cut off, and Mackay himself escaped with difficulty. The victors next turned their attention to the reserve under the command of Donald Mackay; but Donald dreading the fate of his brother, fled along with his party, who immediately dispersed themselves. They were, however, closely pursued by John Murray and Uilleam Mac-Sheumais, till the darkness of the night prevented the pursuit. In this battle, two hundred of the Strathnaver men, thirty-two of the Siol-Phaill, and fifteen of the Siol-Thomais, besides many of the Assint men, and their commander, Niall-Mac-Iain-Mac-Aonghais, a valiant chieftain, were slain. John Mor-Mac-Iain, the brother of this chief, escaped with his life after receiving many wounds. Of the Sutherland men, thirty-eight only were slain. Sir Robert Gordon says that this "was the greatest conflict that hitherto hes been foughtin between the inhabitants of these cuntreyes, or within the diocy of Catteynes, to our knowlege."*

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* Sir Robert Gordon, p. 90.

Shortly after the battle of Torran-Dubh, Uilleam Mac-Sheumais, called Cattigh, chief of the Clan Gun, killed George Keith of Aikregell with his son and twelve of their followers, at Drummoy, in Sutherland, as they were travelling from Inverugie to Caithness. This act was committed by Mac-Sheumais to revenge the slaughter of his grandfather (the Cruner,) who had been slain by the Keiths, under the following circumstances. A long feud had existed between the Keiths and the Clan Gun, to reconcile which, a meeting was appointed at the chapel of St Tayr in Caithness, near Gernigs, of twelve horsemen on each side. The Cruner, then chief of the Clan Gun, with some of his sons and his principal kinsmen, to the number of twelve in whole, came to the chapel at the appointed time. As soon as they arrived, they entered the chapel and prostrated themselves in prayer before the altar. While employed in this devotional act, the laird of Inverugie and Aikregell arrived with twelve horses, and two men on each horse. After dismounting, the whole of this party rushed into the chapel armed, and attacked the Cruner and his party unawares. The Clan Gun, however, defended themselves with great intrepidity, and although the whole twelve were slain, many of the Keiths were also killed. For nearly two centuries the blood of the slain was to be seen on the walls of the chapel which it had stained. James Gun, one of the sons of the Cruner, being absent, immediately on hearing of his father's death, retired with his family into Sutherland where he settled, and where his son William Mac-Sheumais or Mac-James, otherwise William Cattigh, was born.

As John Mackay imputed his defeat at Torran-Dubh mainly to John

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 92.

Murray of Aberscors, he resolved to take the first convenient opportunity of revenging himself, and wiping off the disgrace of his discomfiture. He, therefore, not being in a condition himself to undertake an expedition, employed two brothers, William and Donald, his kinsmen, chieftains of the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich, with a company of men to attack Murray. The latter having mustered his forces, the parties met at a place called Loch-Salchie, not far from the Torran-Dubh, where a sharp skirmish took place, in which Murray proved victorious. The two Strathnaver chieftains and the greater part of their men were slain, and the remainder were put to flight. The principal person who fell on Murray's side was his brother John-Roy, whose loss he deeply deplored.

Exasperated at this second disaster, John Mackay sent John Croy and Donald, two of his nephews, sons of Angus Mackay, who was killed at Morinsh in Ross, at the head of a number of chosen men to plunder and burn the town of Pitfour, in Strathfleet, which belonged to John Murray; but they were equally unsuccessful, for John Croy Mackay, and some of his men were slain by the Murrays, and Donald was taken prisoner. In consequence of these repeated reverses, John Mackay submitted himself to the earl of Sutherland, on his return from Edinburgh, and granted him his bond of service, in the year fifteen hundred and eighteen. But notwithstanding of this submission, Mackay afterwards tampered with Alexander Sutherland, the bastard, and having gained his favour by giving his sister to Sutherland in marriage, he prevailed upon him to raise the standard of insurrection against the earl of Sutherland. All these commotions in the north happened during the minority of King James V., when, as Sir R. Gordon says, "everie man thought to escape unpunished, and cheiflie these who were remotest from the seat of justice."*

This Alexander Sutherland was son of John, the third of that name, Earl of Sutherland, and as he pretended that the Earl and his mother had entered into a contract of marriage, he laid claim, on the death of the earl, to the title and estates, as a legitimate descendant of Earl John, his father. By the entreaties of Adam Gordon, Lord of Aboyne, who had married Lady Elizabeth, the sister and sole heiress of Earl John, Alexander Sutherland judicially renounced his claim in presence of the Sheriff of Inverness, on the twenty-fifth day of July, fifteen hundred and nine. He now repented of what he had done, and being instigated by the earl of Caithness and John Mackay, mortal foes to the house of Sutherland, he renewed his pretensions. Earl Adam, perceiving that he might incur some danger in making an appeal to arms, particularly, as the clans and tribes of the country, with many of whom Alexander had become very popular, were broken into factions and much divided on the question betwixt him and Alexander Sutherland, endeavoured to win him over by offering him many favourable conditions, again to renounce his claims; but in vain. He maintained the legitimacy of his descent, and alleged that the renunciation he had granted at Inverness, had been obtained from him contrary to his inclination, and against the advice of his best friends.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 93.

Having collected a considerable force, he, in absence of the earl, who was in Strathbogy, attacked Dunrobin castle, the chief strength of the earl, which he took. In this siege he was chiefly supported by Alexander Terrell of the Doill, who in consequence of taking arms against the earl, his superior, lost all his lands, and was afterwards apprehended and executed. As soon as the earl heard of the insurrection, he despatched Alexander Lesley of Kinninuvy, with a body of men into Sutherland, to assist John Murray of Aberscors, who was already at the head of a force to support the earl. They immediately besieged Dunrobin, which surrendered. Alexander had retired to Strathnaver; but he again returned into Sutherland with a fresh body of men, and laid waste the country. After putting to death several of his own kinsmen who had joined the earl, he descended farther into the country, towards the parishes of Loth and Clyne. Meeting with little or no opposition, the bastard grew careless, and being observed wandering along the Sutherland coast, flushed with success and regardless of danger, the earl formed the design of cutting him entirely off. With this view he directed Alexander Lesley of Kinninuvy, John Murray, and John Scorrigh-Mac-Finlay, one of the Siol-Thomais, to hover on Sutherland's outskirts, and to keep skirmishing with him till he, the earl, should collect a sufficient force, with which to attack him. Having collected a considerable body of resolute men, the earl attacked the bastard at a place called Ald-Quhillin, by East Clentredaill, near the sea side. A warm contest ensued, in which Alexander Sutherland was taken prisoner, and the most of his men were slain, including John Bane one of his principal supporters, who fell by the hands of John Scorrigh-Mac-Finlay. After the battle Sutherland was immediately beheaded by Alexander Lesley on the spot, and his head sent to Dunrobin on a spear, which was placed upon the top of the great tower, "which shews us (as Sir Robert Gordon, following the superstition of his times, curiously observes,) that whatsoever by fate is allotted, though sometymes forshewed, can never be avoyded. For the witches had told Alexander the bastard, that his head should be the highest that ever wes of the Southerlands; which he did foolishlye interpret that some day he should be earl of Southerland, and in honor above all his predicessors. Thus the divell and his ministers, the witches, deceaving still such as trust in them, will either find or frame predictions for everie action or event, which doeth ever fall out contrarie to ther expectations: a kynd of people to all men unfaithfull, to hopers deceatful, and in all cuntries allwise forbidden, allwise reteaned and manteaned."*

The earl of Sutherland being now far advanced in life, retired for the most part to Strathbogy and Aboyne to spend the remainder of his days amongst his friends, and intrusted the charge of the country to Alexander Gordon, his eldest son, a young man of great intrepidity and talent. The restless chief, John Mackay, still smarting under his misfortunes, and thirsting for revenge, thought the present a favourable opportunity for retrieving his losses. With a considerable force, therefore, he invaded Sutherland, and entered the parish of Creigh, which he intended to ravage, but the Master of Sutherland hastened thither, attacked Mackay, and forced him to retreat into Strathnaver with some loss. Mackay then assembled a large body of his countrymen and invaded the Breachat. He was again defeated by Alexander Gordon at the Grinds after a keen skirmish. Hitherto Mackay had been allowed to hold the lands of Grinds, and some other possessions in the west part of Sutherland, but the Master of Sutherland now dispossessed him of all these as a punishment for his recent conduct. Still dreading a renewal of Mackay's visits, the Master of Sutherland resolved to retaliate, by invading Strathnaver in return, and thereby showing Mackay what he might in future expect if he persevered in continuing his visits to Sutherland. Accordingly, he collected a body of stout and resolute men, and entered Strathnaver, which he pillaged and burnt, and, having collected a large quantity of booty, returned into Sutherland. In entering Strathnaver, the Master of Sutherland had taken the road to Strathully, passing through Mackay's bounds in the hope of falling in with and apprehending him, but Mackay was absent on a Creach excursion into Sutherland. In returning, however, through the Diric Muir and the Breachat, Alexander Gordon received intelligence that Mackay with a company of men was in the town of Lairg, with a quantity of cattle he had collected in Sutherland, on his way home to Strathnaver. He lost no time in attacking Mackay, and such was the celerity of his motions, that his attack was as sudden as unexpected. Mackay made the best resistance he could, but was put to the rout, and many of his men were killed. He himself made his escape with great difficulty, and saved his life by swimming to the island of Eilean-Minric, near Lairg, where he lay concealed during the rest of the day. All the cattle which Mackay had carried away were rescued and carried back into Sutherland. The following day Mackay left the island, returned home to his country, and again submitted himself to the Master and his father, the earl, to whom he a second time gave his bond of service and manrent in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-two. *

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* Sir R. Gordon, pp. 96, 97.

As the earl of Caithness had always taken a side against the Sutherland family in these different quarrels, the earl of Sutherland brought an action before the Lords of Council and Session against the earl of Caithness to recover back from him the lands of Strathully, on the ground, that the earl of Caithness had not fulfilled the condition on which

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 97.

the lands were granted to him, viz. to assist the earl of Sutherland against his enemies. There were other minor points of dispute between the earls, to get all which determined they both repaired to Edinburgh. Instead, however, of abiding the issue of a trial at law before the judges, both parties, by the advice of mutual friends, referred the decision of all the points in dispute on either side to Gavin Dunbar, * bishop of Aberdeen, who pronounced his award, at Edinburgh, on the eleventh day of March fifteen hundred and twenty-four, which put an end to all controversies, and made the earls live in peace with one another ever after.

The year fifteen hundred and twenty-six was signalized by a great dissension among the Clan Chattan. The chief and head of that clan was Lauchlan Mackintosh of Dunnachtan, "a verrie honest and wyse gentleman (says Bishop Lesley), an barroun of gude rent, quha keipit hes hole ken, friendes and tennentis in honest and guid rewll;" † and according to Sir Robert Gordon, "a man of great possessions, and of such excellencies of witt and judgement, that with great commendation he did conteyn all his followers within the limits of ther dueties.‡" The strictness with which this worthy chief curbed the lawless and turbulent dispositions of his clan raised up many enemies, who, as Bishop Lesley says, were "impacient of vertuous living." At the head of this restless party was James Malcolmeson, a near kinsman of the chief, who instigated by his worthless companions, and the temptation of ruling the clan, murdered the good chief. Afraid to face the better part of the clan, to whom the chief was beloved, Malcolmeson, along with his followers, took refuge in the island in the loch of Rothiemurcus; but the enraged clan followed them to their hiding places and despatched them.

As the son of the deceased chief was of tender age, and unable to govern the clan, with common consent they made choice of Hector Mackintosh, a bastard brother of the late chief, to act as captain till his nephew should arrive at manhood. In the meantime, the earl of Moray, who was uncle to young Mackintosh, the former chief having been married to the earl's sister, took away his nephew and placed him under the care of his friends for the benefit of his education, and to bring him up virtuously. Hector Mackintosh was greatly incensed at the removal of the child, and used every effort to get possession of him; but meeting with a refusal he became outrageous, and laid so many plans for accomplishing his object, that his intentions became suspected, as it was thought he could not wish so ardently for the custody of the child without some bad design. Baffled in every attempt, Hector, assisted by his brother William, collected a body of their followers and invaded the earl of Moray's lands. They overthrew the fort of Dykes and besieged the castle of Tarnoway, the country surrounding which they plundered,

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* It was this excellent Bishop who built, at his own expense, the beautiful bridge of seven arches on the Dee, near Aberdeen. The Episcopal arms cut on some of the stones are almost as entire as when chiselled by the hands of the sculptor.

† Hist. of Scotland, p. 137.

‡ P. 99.

burnt the houses of the inhabitants, and slew a number of men, women, and children. Raising the siege of Tarnoway, Hector and his men then entered the country of the Ogilvies and laid siege to the castle of Pettens, which belonged to the laird of Durnens, one of the families of the Ogilvies, and which, after some resistance, surrendered. No less than twenty-four gentlemen of the name of Ogilvie were massacred on this occasion. After this event, the Mackintoshes and the party of banditti they had collected, roamed over the whole of the adjoining country, carrying terror and dismay into every bosom, and plundering, burning, and destroying every thing within their reach. To repress disorders which called so loudly for redress, King James V., by the advice of his council, granted a commission to the earl of Moray to take measures accordingly. Having a considerable force put under his command, the earl went in pursuit of Mackintosh and his party, and having surprised them, he took upwards of three hundred * of them and hanged them, along with William Mackintosh, the brother of Hector. William's head was fixed upon a pole at Dykes, and his body was quartered, the four quarters of which were sent to Elgin, Forres, Aberdeen, and Inverness, for public exposure to deter others from following his example. A singular instance of the fidelity of the Highlanders to their chiefs is afforded in the present case, where out of such a vast number as suffered, not one would reveal the secret of Hector Mackintosh's retreat, although promised their lives for the discovery. "Ther faith wes so true to ther captane, that they culd not be persuaded, either by fair meanes, or by any terror of death, to break the same or to betray their master." †

Seeing no hopes of escaping the royal vengeance but by a ready submission, Hector Mackintosh, by advice of Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, tendered his obedience to the king, which was accepted of, and he was received into the royal favour. He did not, however, long survive, for he was assassinated in St Andrews by one James Spence, who was in consequence beheaded. After the death of Hector, the Clan-Chattan remained tranquil during the remaining years of the minority of the young chief, who, according to Bishop Lesley, "wes sua well brocht up by the meenes of the erle of Murray and the laird of Phindlater in vertue, honestie, and civile policye, that after he had received the governement of his cuntrey, he was a mirrour of vertue to all the hieland captanis in Scotland." ‡ But the young chieftain's "honestie and civile policye" not suiting the ideas of those who had concurred in the murder of his father, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his nearest kinsmen to deprive him of his life, which unfortunately took effect.

The Highlands now enjoyed repose for some years. John Mackay

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* This is the number given by Bishop Lesley, whose account must be preferred to that of Sir R. Gordon, who states it at upwards of two hundred, as the bishop lived about a century before Sir Robert.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 100.

‡ Hist. p. 138.

died in fifteen hundred and twenty-nine, and was succeeded by his brother, Donald, who remained quiet during the life of Adam, Earl of Sutherland, to whom his brother had twice granted his bond of service. But, upon the death of that nobleman, he began to molest the inhabitants of Sutherland. In fifteen hundred and forty-two, he attacked the village of Knockartol, which he burnt; and at the same time he plundered Strathbroray. To oppose his farther progress, Sir Hugh Kennedy collected as many of the inhabitants of Sutherland as the shortness of the time would permit; and, being accompanied by Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, John Murray of Aberscors, his son Hutcheon Murray, and Mac-Mhic-Sheumais of Killiernan, he attacked Mackay, quite unawares, near Alt-Na-Beth. Notwithstanding this unexpected attack, Mackay's men met their assailants with great firmness, but the Strathnaver men were ultimately obliged to retreat with the loss of their booty, and a great number of slain, amongst whom was John Mackean-Mac-Angus, chief of Sliochd-Mhic-Iain-Mhic-Hutcheon, in Edderachilis. Donald Mackay was closely pursued, but he retreated with great skill, and, in the course of his retreat, killed William Macwilliam, who pressed hard upon him, with his own hands. Though closely pressed by Gilbert Gordon and Hutcheon Murray, he made good his retreat into Strathnaver.

By no means disheartened at his defeat, and anxious to blot out the stain which it had thrown upon him, he soon returned into Sutherland with a fresh force, and encamped near Skibo. Hutcheon Murray collected some Sutherland men, and with them he attacked Mackay, and kept him in check till an additional force, which he expected, should arrive. As soon as Mackay saw this new body of men approaching, with which he was quite unable to contend, he retreated suddenly into his own country, leaving several of his men dead on the field. This affair was called the skirmish of Loch-Buy. This mode of annoyance, which continued for some time, was put an end to by the apprehension of Donald Mackay, who being brought before the earls of Huntly and Sutherland, was, by their command, committed a close prisoner to the castle of Foulis, where he remained a considerable time in captivity. At last, by means of Donald Mac-Iain-Mhoir, a Strathnaver man, he effected his escape, and, returning home, reconciled himself with the earl of Sutherland, to whom he gave his bond of service and manrent, on the eighth day of April, fifteen hundred and forty-nine.

During the reign of James V., some respect was paid in the Highlands to the laws; but the divisions which fell out amongst the nobility, the unquiet state of the nation during the minority of the infant queen, and the wars with England, relaxed the springs of government, and the consequence was, that the usual scenes of turbulence and oppression soon displayed themselves in the Highlands, accompanied with all those circumstances of ferocity, which rendered them so revolting to humanity. The Clanranald was particularly active in these lawless proceedings.

This clan bore great enmity to Hugh, Lord Lovat; and because Ranald, son of Donald Glass of Moidart, was sister's son of Lovat, they conceived a prejudice against him, dispossessed him of his lands, and put John Macranald, his cousin, in possession of the estate. Lovat took up the cause of his nephew, and restored him to the possession of his property; but the restless clan dispossessed Ranald again, and laid waste a part of Lovat's lands in Glenelg. These disorders did not escape the notice of the earl of Arran, the governor of the kingdom, who, by advice of his council, granted an especial commission to the earl of Huntly, making him lieutenant-general of all the Highlands, and of Orkney and Zetland. He also appointed the earl of Argyle, lieutenant of Argyle and the Isles. The earl of Huntly lost no time in raising a large army in the north, with which he marched, in May fifteen hundred and forty-four, attended by the Mackintoshes, Grants, and Frasers, against the clan Cameron and the clan Ranald, and the people of Moydart and Knoydart, whose principal captains were Ewen Allenson, Ronald M'Coneilglas, and John Moydart. These had wasted and plundered the whole country of Urquhart and Glenmorriston, belonging to the laird of Grant, and the country of Abertarf, Strathglas, and others, the property of Lord Lovat. They had also taken absolute possession of these different territories, as their own properties, which they intended to possess and enjoy in all time coming. But, by the mediation of the earl of Argyle, they immediately dislodged themselves upon the earl of Huntly's appearance, and retired to their own territories in the west. On restoring Ranald to his possession, and clearing the lands of Lord Lovat and the laird of Grant, of the intruders, the earl returned to the low country with his army.

In returning to his own country, Lovat was accompanied by the Grants and Mackintoshes as far as Gloy, afterwards called the Nine-Mile-Water, and they even offered to escort him home in case of danger; but, having no apprehensions, he declined, and they returned home by Badenoch. This was a fatal error on the part of Lovat, for as soon as he arrived at Letterfinlay, he was informed that the Clanranald were at hand, in full march, to intercept him. To secure an important pass, he despatched Iain-Cleireach, one of his principal officers, with fifty men; but, from some cause or other, Iain-Cleireach did not accomplish his object; and as soon as Lovat came to the north end of Loch Lochy, he perceived the Clanranald descending the hill from the west, to the number of about five hundred, divided into seven companies. Lovat was thus placed in a position in which he could neither refuse nor avoid battle. The day, (3d July,) being extremely hot, Lovat's men, who amounted to about three hundred, stript to the shirts, from which circumstance, the battle was called *Blar-Nan-Leine*, i. e. the Field of Shirts. A sort of skirmishing warfare at first took place, first with bows and arrows, which lasted a considerable time, until both sides had expended their shafts. The combatants then drew their swords, and rushed on each other with fierce and deadly intent. The slaughter was tremendous, and few escaped on either side. Lord Lovat with three hundred of the surname of Fraser, and other followers, were left dead on the field. Lovat's eldest son, a youth of great accomplishments, who had received his education in France, from whence he had lately arrived, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. He died within three days. Great as was the loss on the side of the Frasers, that on the opposite side was comparatively still greater. According to a tradition handed down, only four of the Frasers, and ten of the Clanranald, remained alive. The darkness of the night alone put an end to the combat. This was an unfortunate blow to the Clanfraser, which would have been almost entirely annihilated; but, for the happy circumstance, as reported, that the wives of eighty of the Frasers, who were slain, were pregnant at the time, and were each of them afterwards delivered of a male child.*

As soon as intelligence of this disaster was brought to the earl of Huntly, he again returned with an army, entered Lochaber, which he laid waste, and apprehended many of the leading men of the hostile tribes, whom he put to death. The two principal ringleaders, Ewen Allensone, or Ewin-Mac-Allan, and Ronald M'Concilglase, or Reynald-Mac-Donald-Glas, as they are respectively named by Bishop Lesley and Sir Robert Gordon, having concealed themselves, the earl compelled their people to give up these chieftains, and other leading men of the tribes to him. These he carried with him to Perth, where, after being detained as prisoners a considerable time, they were brought to trial in presence of the principal nobles and barons of the north of Scotland, condemned and executed. The two chiefs were beheaded, and, as a terror to others, their heads were placed on the gates of the town. John Moidart, on hearing the fate of his lawless companions, fled into the isles, where he remained for some time.

In consequence of a charge made against Andrew Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, of having instigated the clan Gun to the murder of the laird of Duffus in Thurso, the bishop retired from his charge, and afterwards went into banishment in England. During the vacancy in the diocese, the earl of Caithness and Donald Mackay, taking advantage of the civil dissentions of the state, took possession of the bishop's lands, and levied the rents for the behoof, as they pretended, of the expatriated bishop. Mackay took possession of the castle of Skibo, one of the bishop's palaces, which he fortified, and placed under the charge of Neill-Mac-William. The earl of Caithness, at the same time, possessed himself of the castle of Strabister, another residence of the bishop. But, upon the restoration of the bishop, both the earl and Mackay absolutely refused to surrender to him these, or any other parts of his possessions, or to account to him for the rents they had received in his name. The earls of Huntly and Sutherland, who were in Edinburgh at the time, hearing of this refusal, appointed captain James Cullen, an experienced naval and military officer, to go before them into Sutherland, and ascertain the exact state of matters. The people of the country, who were favourable to the bishop's claims, immediately assembled on the arrival of Cullen at Dornoch, with a resolution to besiege the castle of Skibo. But the Strathnaver men, who kept possession, hearing of their approach, were afraid to stand a siege, and withdrew privately from the castle, and went home to Strathnaver; but, being closely pursued, some of them were cut off. On the return of the earls of Huntly and Sutherland to the north, they summoned the earl of Caithness and Mackay to appear before them at Helmsdale, to answer for their intromissions with the bishop's rents, and for the wrongs they had done. The earl of Caithness immediately obeyed the call, and although the river of Helmsdale was greatly swollen by recent heavy rains, he, in order to show his ready submission, crossed it on foot, to the great danger of his life, as the water was as high as his breast. Having made a final and satisfactory arrangement, the earl returned into Caithness. Mackay was forced to appear with great unwillingness; and, although he was pardoned, the earls committed him a prisoner to the castle of Foulis.*

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* Lesley, p. 184.—Sir R. Gordon, p. 109, 110.—Shaw's Moray, p. 265, 266.

The great power conferred on the earl of Huntly, as Lieutenant General in the north of Scotland, and the promptitude and severity with which he put down the insurrections of some of the chiefs alluded to, raised up many enemies against him. As he in company with the earl of Sutherland was about to proceed to France for the purpose of conveying the queen regent to that country, in the year fifteen hundred and fifty, a conspiracy was formed against him, at the head of which was Mackintosh, chief of the Clan Chattan. This conspiracy being discovered to the earl, he ordered Mackintosh to be immediately apprehended and brought to Strathbogie, where he was beheaded in the month of August of that year. His lands were also forfeited at the same time. This summary proceeding excited the sympathy and roused the indignation of the friends of the deceased chief, particularly of the earl of Cassillis. A commotion was about to ensue, but matters were adjusted, for a time, by the prudence of the queen regent, who recalled the act of forfeiture and restored Mackintosh's heir to all his father's lands. But the Clan Chattan was determined to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of being revenged upon the earl, which they, therefore, anxiously looked for. As Lauchlan Mackintosh, a near kinsman of the chief, was suspected of having betrayed his chief to the earl, the clan entered his castle of Pettie by stealth, slew him and banished all his dependants from the country of the clan.

About the same time the province of Sutherland again became the scene of some commotions. The earl having occasion to leave home, intrusted the government of the country to Alexander Gordon, his brother, who ruled it with great justice and severity; but the people, disliking the restraints put upon them by Alexander, created a tumult, and placed John Sutherland, son of Alexander Sutherland, the bastard, at their head. Seizing the favourable opportunity, as it appeared to them, when Alexander Gordon was attending divine service in the church at Golspikirktoun, they proceeded to attack him, but receiving notice of their intentions, he collected the little company he had about him, and went out of church resolutely to meet them. Alarmed at seeing him and his party approach, the people immediately dispersed and returned every man to his own house. But William Murray, son of Caen Murray, one of the family of Pulrossie, indignant at the affront offered to Alexander Gordon, shortly afterwards killed John Sutherland upon the Nether Green of Dunrobin at the west corner of the garden, in revenge for which murder William Murray was himself thereafter slain by the Laird of Clyne.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 112, 113.

The Mackays also took advantage of the earl of Sutherland's absence, to plunder and lay waste the country. Y-Mackay, son of Donald, assembled the Strathnaver men and entered Sutherland, but Alexander Gordon forced him back into Strathnaver, and not content with acting on the defensive, he entered Mackay's country, which he wasted, and carried off a large booty in goods and cattle, in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one. Mackay, in his turn, retaliated, and this system of mutual aggression and spoliation continued for several years.*

During the absence of the earl of Huntly in France, John of Moydart, chief of the Clanranald, returned from the isles and recommenced his usual course of rapine. The queen regent, on her return from France, being invested with full authority, sent the earl of Huntly on an expedition to the north, for the purpose of apprehending Clanranald and putting an end to his outrages. The Earl having mustered a considerable force, chiefly Highlanders and of the Clan Chattan, passed into Moydart and Knoydart, but his operations were paralyzed by disputes in his camp. The chief and his men having abandoned their own country, the earl proposed to pursue them in their retreats among the fastnesses of the Highlands; but his principal officers, who were chiefly from the Lowlands, unaccustomed to such a mode of warfare in such a country, demurred; and as the earl was afraid to entrust himself with the Clan Chattan, who owed him a deep grudge on account of the execution of their last chief, he abandoned the enterprize and returned to the low country. Sir Robert Gordon says that the failure of the expedition was owing to a tumult raised in the earl's camp by the Clan Chattan, who returned home; but we are rather disposed to consider Bishop Lesley's account, which we have followed, as the most correct.†

The failure of this expedition gave great offence to the queen, who, instigated it is supposed by Huntly's enemies, attributed it to negligence on his part. The consequence was, that the earl was committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh in the month of October, where he remained till the month of March following. He was compelled to renounce the earldom of Moray and the lordship of Abernethy, with his tacks and possessions in Orkney and Zetland, and the tacks of the lands of the earldom of Mar and of the lordship of Strathdie, of which he was bailie and steward, and he was moreover condemned to a banishment of five years in France. But as he was about to leave the kingdom, the Queen, taking a more favourable view of his conduct, recalled the sentence of banishment, and restored him to the office of Chancellor, of which he had been deprived; and to make this act of leniency somewhat palatable to the earl's enemies, the queen exacted a heavy pecuniary fine from the earl.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 133.

† Lesley, p. 251.

As the Highlands still continued in a state of misrule, principally owing to the conduct of John of Moidart, the queen sent the earl of Athole to the Highlands, the following year, with a special commission to apprehend this turbulent chief; and he succeeded so well by negotiation as to prevail upon John, two of his sons, and some of his kinsmen, to submit themselves to the queen, who pardoned them, but ordered them to be detained prisoners in the castle of Methven where they were well treated. Disliking such restraint, they effected their escape into their own country privately, where they again began their usual restless course of life.

The great disorders which prevailed in the Highlands at this time, induced the queen-regent to undertake a journey thither in order to punish these breaches of the law, and to repress existing tumults. She accordingly arrived at Inverness in the month of July, fifteen hundred and fifty-five, where she was met by John, Earl of Sutherland, and George, Earl of Caithness. Although the latter nobleman was requested to bring his countrymen along with him to the court, he neglected or declined to do so, and he was therefore committed to prison at Inverness, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, successively, and he was not restored to liberty till he paid a considerable sum of money. Y-Mackay of Far, was also summoned to appear before the queen at Inverness, to answer for his spoliations committed in the country of Sutherland during the absence of Earl John in France; but he refused to appear. Whereupon the queen granted a commission to the earl of Sutherland, to bring Mackay to justice. Th earl accordingly entered Strathnaver with a great force, sacking and spoiling every thing in his way, and possessing himself of all the principal positions to prevent Mackay's escape. Mackay, however, avoided the earl, and as he declined to fight, the earl laid siege to the castle of Borwe, the principal strength in Strathnaver, scarcely two miles distant from Far, which he took after a short siege, and hanged Ruaridh-Mac Iain-Mhoir, the commander. This fort the earl completely demolished

While the earl of Sutherland was engaged in the siege, Mackay entered Sutherland secretly, and burnt the church of Loth. He thereafter went to the village of Knockartoll, where he met Mackenzie and his countrymen in Strathbroray. A slight skirmish took place between them; but Mackay and his men fled after he had lost Angus-Mackeanvoir one of his commanders, and several of his followers. Mackenzie was thereupon appointed by the earl to protect Sutherland from the incursions of Mackay during his stay in Strathnaver. Having been defeated again by Mackenzie, and seeing no chance of escape, Mackay surrendered himself, and was carried south, and committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, in which he remained a considerable time. During the queen's stay in the north, many notorious delinquents were brought to trial, condemned and executed.

During Mackay's detention in Edinburgh, John Mor-Mackay, who took charge of his kinsman's estate, seizing the opportunity of the earl of Sutherland's absence in the south of Scotland, entered Sutherland at the head of a determined body of Strathnaver men, and spoiled and wasted the east corner of that province, and burnt the chapel of St Ninian. Mac-Mhic-Sheumais, chief of the Clan-Gun, the laird of Clyne, the Terrell of the Doill, and James Mac-William having collected a body of Sutherland men, pursued the Strathnaver men, whom they overtook at the foot of the hill called Ben-Moir in Berridell. Here they laid an ambush for them, and having, by favour of a fog, passed their sentinels, they unexpectedly surprised Mackay's men, and attacked them with great fury. The Strathnaver men made an obstinate resistance, but were at length overpowered. Many of them were killed, and others drowned in the water of Garwary. Mackay himself escaped with great difficulty. This was one of the severest defeats the Strathnaver men ever experienced, except at the battle of Knoken-dow-Reywird.

On the release of Mackay from his confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, he was employed in the wars upon the borders, against the English, in which he acquitted himself courageously; and on his return to Strathnaver he submitted himself to the earl of Sutherland, with whom he lived in peace during the remainder of the earl's life. But Mackay incurred the just displeasure of the tribe of Slaight-ean-Voir by the committal of two crimes of the deepest dye. Having imbibed a violent affection for the wife of Tormaid-Mac-Iain-Mhoir, the chieftain of that tribe, he, in order to accomplish his object, slew the chief, after which he violated his wife, by whom he had a son called Donald Balloch Mackay. The insulted clan flew to arms; but they were defeated at Durines, by the murderer and adulterer, after a sharp skirmish. Three of the principal men of the tribe who had given themselves up, trusting to Mackay's clemency, were beheaded.*

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty-one, several petty feuds occurred in Sutherland and Caithness. Hugh Murray, of Aberscors, killed

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 136.

Imhear-Mac-Iain-Mhic-Thomais, a gentleman of the Siol-Thomais, for which act he incurred the displeasure of the earl of Sutherland. Murray thereupon fled into Caithness, and sought the protection of the earl of Caithness. Houcheon Murray, the father of Hugh, being suspected by the earl of Sutherland as having been privy to the murder, was apprehended and imprisoned in Dunrobin castle ; but after a slight confinement he was released as innocent, and by his mediation his son Hugh was restored to the favour of the earl. No reconciliation, however, took place between the Murrays and the Siol-Thomais, who continued for a long period at variance. About the same time, William and Angus Sutherland, and the other Sutherlands of Berridale, killed several of the earl of Caithness people, and wasted the lands of the Clynes in that country. For these acts they were banished by the earl from Caithness; but they again returned, and being assisted by Hugh Murray of Aberscors, they took the castle of Berridale, laid waste the country, and molested the people of Caithness with their incursions. By the mediation of the earl of Sutherland, William and Angus Sutherland, and their accomplices obtained a pardon from Queen Mary, which so exasperated the earl of Caithness, that he imbibed a mortal hatred not only against the earl of Sutherland, but also against the Murrays, and all the inhabitants of Sutherland.*

Amongst the many acts which disgrace the memory of James, Earl of Moray, the bastard brother of queen Mary, the murder of Alexander Gun, son of John Robson, chief of the Clan-Gun, in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-five, must not be overlooked. The cause of the earl's antipathy was this :—On one occasion, the earls of Sutherland and Huntly happened to meet the earl of Moray directly in the face on the high street of Aberdeen. Alexander Gun was then in the service of the earl of Sutherland, and as he was walking in front of his master, he declined to give the earl of Moray any part of the height of the street, and forced him and his company to give way. As he considered this to be a deadly affront put upon him, he resolved upon revenge, and seizing the opportunity of the earl of Sutherland's absence in Flanders, he, by means of Andrew Monroe of Miltoun, entrapped Gun, and made him a prisoner at the Delvines, near the town of Nairn, from whence he was taken to Inverness, and after a mock-trial, was executed. Alexander Gun is reported to have been a very able and strong man, endowed with many good qualities.†

George, earl of Caithness, who had long borne a mortal hatred to John, earl of Sutherland, now projected a scheme for cutting him off, as well as his countess, who was big with child, and their only son, Alexander Gordon ; the earl and countess were accordingly both poisoned at Helmsdale while at supper by Isobel Sinclair, wife of Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, and sister of William Sinclair of Dunbaith, instigated, it is said, by the earl; but their son, Alexander, made a very narrow escape, not having returned in time from a hunting excursion, to join his father and mother at supper. On Alexander's return the earl had become fully aware of the danger of his situation, and he was thus prevented by his father from participating in any part of the supper which remained, and after taking an affectionate and parting farewell, and recommending him to the protection of God and of his dearest friends, he sent him to Dunrobin the same night without his supper. The earl and his lady were carried next morning to Dunrobin, where they died within five days thereafter, in the month of July, fifteen hundred and sixty-seven, and were buried in the cathedral church at Dornoch. Pretending to cover himself from the imputation of being concerned in this murder, the earl of Caithness punished some of the earl's most faithful servants under the colour of avenging his death; but the deceased earl's friends being determined to obtain justice, apprehended Isobel Sinclair, and sent her to Edinburgh to stand her trial, where, after being tried and condemned, she died on the day appointed for her execution. During all the time of her illness she vented the most dreadful imprecations upon her cousin, the earl, who had seduced her to commit the horrid act. Had this woman succeeded in cutting off the earl's son, her own eldest son, John Gordon, but for the extraordinary circumstances of his death to be noticed, would have succeeded to the earldom, as he was the next male heir. This youth happening to be in the house when his mother had prepared the poison, became extremely thirsty, and called for a drink. One of his mother's servants, not aware of the preparation, presented to the youth a portion of the liquid into which the poison had been infused, which he drank. This occasioned his death within two days, a circumstance which, together with the appearances of the body after death, gave a clue to the discovery of his mother's guilt.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 139.

† Ibid. p. 144.

Taking advantage of the calamity which had befallen the house of Sutherland, and the minority of the young earl, now only fifteen years of age, Y-Mackay of Far, who had formed an alliance with the earl of Caithness, invaded the country of Sutherland, wasted the barony of Skibo, entered the town of Dornoch, and, upon the pretence of a quarrel with the Murrays, by whom it was chiefly inhabited, set fire to it, in which outrage he was assisted by the laird of Duffus. This happened in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-seven. These measures were only preliminary to a design which the earl of Caithness had formed to get the earl of Sutherland into his hands, but he had the cunning to conceal his intentions in the meantime, and to instigate Mackay to act as he wished without appearing to be in any way concerned.

In pursuance of his design upon Alexander, the young earl of Sutherland, the earl of Caithness prevailed upon Robert Stuart, bishop of Caithness, to write a letter to the governor of the castle of Skibo, in which the earl of Sutherland resided, to deliver up the castle to him; a request with which the governor complied. Having taken possession of the castle, the earl carried off the young man into Caithness, and although only fifteen years of age, he got him married to Lady Barbara Sinclair, his daughter, then aged thirty-two years. Y-Mackay was the paramour of this lady, and for continuing the connexion with him she was afterwards divorced by her husband.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 147.

After Y-Mackay had burned Dornoch, he made an attack upon Hugh Murray, son of Houcheon Murray of Aberscors, in the village of Pitfur in Strathfleet, took him prisoner, and killed his brother, Donald Roy-Murray, and a kinsman named Thomas Murray. A few of the inhabitants of Sutherland went in pursuit of Mackay, whom they overtook in the Breachat; but Houcheon Murray prevented them from attacking him, as he was afraid that his son, then a prisoner in Mackay's hands, would be killed by the Strathnaver men to prevent a rescue. With a few words of defiance, and some arrows discharged on either side, according to the ordinary custom of commencing skirmishes, the matter ended, and the Sutherland men returned to their homes. The interference of Houcheon Murray was certainly judicious, for Mackay delivered up his son after a short captivity. As the tribe of the Siol-Phaill had been the cause of the dissension between Mackay and the Murrays, a feud occurred on the release of Hugh between the Murrays and the Siol-Phaill, in which lives were sacrificed on both sides, and which continued till a reconciliation was effected by the earl of Sutherland on coming of age.*

The earl of Caithness having succeeded in his wishes in obtaining possession of the earl of Sutherland, entered the earl's country, and took possession of Dunrobin castle, in which he fixed his residence. He also brought the earl of Sutherland along with him, but he treated him meanly, and he burnt all the papers belonging to the house of Sutherland he could lay his hands on. Cruel and avaricious, he, under the pretence of vindicating the law for imaginary crimes, expelled many of the ancient families in Sutherland from that country, put many of the inhabitants to death, disabled those he banished, in their persons, by new and unheard of modes of torture, and stripped them of all their wealth. To be suspected of favouring the house of Sutherland, and to be wealthy, were deemed capital crimes by this oppressor.

As the earl of Sutherland did not live on friendly terms with his wife on account of her licentious connexion with Mackay, and as there appeared no chance of any issue, the earl of Caithness formed the base design of cutting off the earl of Sutherland, and marrying William Sinclair, his second son, to Lady Margaret Gordon, the eldest sister of the earl of Sutherland, whom he had also gotten into his hands, with the view of making William earl of Sutherland. The better to conceal his intentions the earl of Caithness made a journey south to Edinburgh, and gave the necessary instructions to those in his confidence to despatch the earl of Sutherland; but some of his trusty friends having received private intelligence of the designs of the earl of Caithness from some persons who were privy thereto, they instantly set about measures for defeating them by getting possession of the earl of Sutherland's person. Accordingly, under cloud of night, they came quietly to the burn of Golspie, in the vicinity of Dunrobin, where, concealing themselves to prevent discovery, they sent Alexander Gordon of Sidderay to the castle, disguised as a pedler, for the purpose of warning the earl of Sutherland of the danger of his situation, and devising means of escape. Being made acquainted with the design upon his life, and the plans of his friends for rescuing him, the earl, early the following morning, proposed to the residents in the castle, under whose charge he was, to accompany him on a small excursion in the neighbourhood. This proposal seemed so reasonable in itself, that, although he was perpetually watched by the earl of Caithness' servants, and his liberty greatly restrained, they at once agreed; and, going out, the earl being aware of the ambush laid by his friends, led his keepers directly into the snare before they were aware of danger. The earl's friends thereupon rushed from their hiding-place, and seizing him, conveyed him safely out of the country of Sutherland to Strathbogie in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine. As soon as the earl of Caithness' retainers heard of the escape of earl Alexander, they collected a party of men favourable to their interests, and went in hot pursuit of him as far as Port-ne-Coulter: but they found that the earl and his friends had just crossed the ferry. In the act of crossing they were overtaken by a great tempest which suddenly arose, and made a very narrow escape from drowning.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 151.

Shortly after this affair a quarrel ensued between the Monroes and the Clan Kenzie, two very powerful Rosshire clans which happened thus: Lesley, the celebrated Bishop of Ross, had made over to his cousin, the Laird of Balquhain, the right and title of the castle of the Canonry of Ross, together with the castle lands. Notwithstanding of this grant, the Regent Murray, had given the custody of this castle to Andrew Monroe of Milntown; and to make Lesley bear with the loss, the Regent promised him some of the lands of the Barony of Fintry in Buchan, but on condition that he should cede to Monroe the castle and castle lands of the Canonry; but the untimely and unexpected death of the Regent interrupted this arrangement, and Andrew Monroe did not, of course, obtain the title to the castle and castle lands as he expected. Yet Monroe had the address to obtain permission from the earl of Lennox during his regency, and afterwards from the earl of Mar, his successor in that office, to get possession of the castle. The Clan Kenzie grudging to see Monroe in possession, and being desirous to get hold of the castle themselves, they purchased Lesley's right, and, by virtue thereof, demanded delivery of the castle. Monroe refused to accede to this demand, on which the clan laid siege to the castle; but Monroe defended it for three years at the expense of many lives on both sides. It was then delivered up to the Clan Kenzie under the act of pacification.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 151.

No attempt was made by the earl of Sutherland, during his minority, to recover his possessions from the earl of Caithness. In the meantime the latter, disappointed and enraged at the escape of his destined prey, vexed and annoyed still farther the partisans of the Sutherland family. In particular, he directed his vengeance against the Murrays, and made William Sutherland of Evelick, brother to the Laird of Duffus, apprehend John Croy-Murray, under the pretence of bringing him to justice. This proceeding roused the indignation of Hugh Murray of Aberscors, who assembled his friends, and made several incursions upon the lands of Evelick, Pronsies, and Riercher. They also laid waste several villages belonging to the Laird of Duffus, from which they carried off some booty, and apprehending a gentleman of the Sutherlands, they detained him as an hostage for the safety of John Croy-Murray. Upon this the Laird of Duffus collected all his kinsmen and friends, together with the Siol-Phaill at Skibo, and proceeded to the town of Dornoch, with the intention of burning it. But the inhabitants, aided by the Murrays, went out to meet the enemy, whom they courageously attacked and overthrew, and pursued to the gates of Skibo. Besides killing several of Duffus' men they made some prisoners, whom they exchanged for John Croy-Murray. This affair was called the skirmish of Torran-Roy.

The Laird of Duffus, who was father-in-law to the earl of Caithness, and supported him in all his plans, immediately sent notice of this disaster to the earl, who without delay sent his eldest son, John, Master of Caithness, with a large party of countrymen and friends, including Y-Mackay and his countrymen, to attack the Murrays in Dornoch. They besieged the town and castle, which were both manfully defended by the Murrays and their friends; but the Master of Caithness, favoured by the darkness of the night, set fire to the cathedral, the steeple of which, however, was preserved. After the town had been reduced, the Master of Caithness attacked the castle and the steeple of the church, into which a body of men had thrown themselves, both of which held out for the space of a week, and would probably have resisted much longer, but for the interference of mutual friends of the parties, by whose mediation the Murrays surrendered the castle and the steeple of the church; and as hostages for the due performance of other conditions, they delivered up Thomas Murray, son of Houcheon Murray of Aberscors, Houcheon Murray, son of Alexander Mac-Sir-Angus, and John Murray, son of Thomas Murray, the brother of John Murray of Aberscors. But the earl of Caithness refused to ratify the treaty which his son had entered into with the Murrays, and afterwards basely beheaded the three hostages. These occurrences took place in the year fifteen hundred and seventy.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 155.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 156.

CHAPTER X.

Dispersion of the Murrays and other friends of the Earl of Sutherland—Attempt to detach Mackay from the Earl of Caithness—Breaks his engagement—Irruption of the Seill-faille into Strathfleet—Arrest and imprisonment of John, Master of Caithness, by his father—Death of Mackay—Clan Gun attacked by the Strathnaver men—The latter defeated—The Slaight-Ean-Aberigh and the Slaight-Ean-Voir attack the Clan Gun—Attack on the Slaight-Ean-Aberigh by William Mackay and the Slaight-Ean-Roy—Feud between the Clan Gun and the Slaight-Ean-Aberigh—Attack on the Isle of Assint—Meeting of the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland at Elgin—Combination against the Clan Gun—Skirmish of Clan-tom-Richie—Battle of Aldgown—Execution of the Chief of the Clan Gun in Caithness—Another meeting between the two Earls—New confederacy against the Clan Gun—Departure of the Clan from Caithness—Defeated near Loch Broom—Feud between the Macleans and Macdonalds of the Isles—Angus Macdonald of Kintyre arrested by Sir Lauchlan Maclean—His liberation—Sir Lauchlan arrested by Macdonald—His release—Invades Ila—Mutual ravages in Mull and Kintyre—Sir Lauchlan tampers with Mackean of Ardinmurchie—Imprisonment of Maclean and Macdonald in the castle of Edinburgh—New disputes between the Houses of Sutherland and Caithness.

THE Murrays and the other friends of the Sutherland family, no longer able to protect themselves from the vengeance of the earl of Caithness, dispersed themselves into different countries, there to wait for more favourable times when they might return to their native soil without danger. The Murrays went to Strathbogie, where Earl Alexander then resided. Hugh Gordon of Drummoy retired to Orkney, where he married a lady named Ursla Tulloch; but he frequently visited his friends in Sutherland, in spite of many snares laid for him by the earl of Caithness, while secretly going and returning through Caithness. Hugh Gordon's brothers took refuge with the Murrays at Strathbogie. John Gray of Skibo, and his son Gilbert, retired to St Andrew's, where their friend Robert, bishop of Caithness, then resided, and Mac-Mhic-Sheumais of Strathully went to Glengarry.

As the alliance of such a powerful and warlike chief as Mackay, would have been of great importance to the Sutherland interest, an attempt was made to detach him from the earl of Caithness. The plan appears to have originated with Hugh Murray of Aberscors, who made repeated visits to Strathbogie, to consult with the earl of Sutherland and his friends on this subject, and afterwards went into Strathnaver, and held a conference with Mackay, whom he prevailed upon to accompany him to Strathbogie. Mackay then entered into an engagement with the earl of Huntly and the earl of Sutherland, to assist the latter against the earl of Caithness, in consideration of which, and on payment of £300 Scots, he obtained from the earl of Huntly the heritable right and title of the lands of Strathnaver; but Mackay, influenced by Barbara Sinclair, the wife of the earl of Sutherland, with whom he now publicly cohabited, broke his engagement, and continued to oppress the earl's followers and dependants.

About this time the tribe called the Siol-Phaill, made an incursion into Strathfleet, and attacked Hugh Murray of Aberscors. In a skirmish which took place, the Siol-Phaill took three of the Murrays prisoners, whom they afterwards delivered up to the earl of Caithness, who put them to death. In revenge for this cruel act, Hugh Murray afterwards killed two of the principal men of the tribe.*

From some circumstances which have not transpired, the earl of Caithness became suspicious of his son John, the Master of Caithness, as having, in connexion with Mackay, a design upon his life. To put an end to the earl's suspicion, Mackay advised John to go to Girnigo, (castle Sinclair,) and to submit himself to his father's pleasure, a request with which the Master complied; but, after arriving at Girnigo, he was, while conversing with his father, arrested by a party of armed men, who, upon a secret signal being given by the earl, had rushed in at the chamber door. He was instantly fettered and thrust into prison within the castle, where, after a miserable captivity of seven years, he died, a prey to famine and vermin.

Mackay, who had accompanied the Master to Girnigo, and who in all probability would have shared the same fate, escaped and returned home to Strathnaver, where he died, within four months thereafter, of grief and remorse for the many bad actions of his life. During the minority of his son Houcheon, John Mor-Mackay, the cousin, and John Beg-Mackay, the bastard son of Y-Mackay, took charge of the estate; but John Mor-Mackay was speedily removed from his charge by the earl of Caithness, who, considering him as a favourer of the earl of Sutherland, caused him to be apprehended and carried into Caithness, where he was detained in prison till his death. During this time, John Robson, the chief of the Clan Gun, in Caithness and Strathnaver, became a dependant on the earl of Sutherland, and acted as his factor in collecting the rents and duties of the bishop's lands within Caithness which belonged to the earl. This connexion was exceedingly disagreeable to the earl of Caithness, who in consequence took a grudge at John Robson, and to gratify his spleen, he instigated Houcheon Mackay to lay waste the lands of the Clan Gun, in the Brea-Moir, in Caithness, without the knowledge of John Beg-Mackay, his brother. As the Clan Gun had always been friendly to the family of Mackay, John Beg-Mackay was greatly exasperated at the conduct of the earl, in enticing the young chief to commit such an outrage; but he had it not in his power to make any reparation to the injured clan. John Robson the chief, however, assisted by Alexander, earl of Sutherland, invaded Strathnaver and made ample retaliation. Meeting the Strathnaver men at a place called Creach-Drumi-Doun, he attacked and defeated them, killing several of them, and chiefly those who had accompanied Houcheon Mackay in his expedition to the Brea-Moir. He then carried off a large quantity of booty, which he divided among the Clan Gun of Strathully, who had suffered by Houcheon Mackay's invasion.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 163.

The earl of Caithness having resolved to avenge himself on John Beg-Mackay, for the displeasure shown by him at the conduct of Houcheon Mackay, and also on the Clan Gun, prevailed upon Neill-Mac-Iain-Mac-William, chief of the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich, and James Mac-Rory, chief of the Sliochd-Iain-Mhoir, to attack them. Accordingly, in the month of September, fifteen hundred and seventy-nine, these two chiefs, with their followers, entered Balnekill in Durines, during the night-time, and slew John Beg-Mackay, and William Mac-Iain-Mac-Rob, the brother of John Robson, and some of their people. The friends of the deceased were not in a condition to retaliate, but they kept up the spirit of revenge so customary in those times, and only waited a favourable opportunity to gratify it. This did not occur till several years thereafter. In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven, James Mac-Rory, "a fyne gentleman and a good commander," according to Sir Robert Gordon, was assassinated by Donald Balloch-Mackay, the brother of John Beg-Mackay; and two years thereafter John Mackay, the son of John Beg, attacked Neill-Mac-Iain-Mac-William, whom he wounded severely, and cut off some of his followers. "This Neill (says Sir R. Gordon) heir mentioned, wes a good captain, bold, craftie, of a verie good witt, and quick resolution." Shortly after these events the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich were attacked in Seyzer in Strathnaver by William Mackay, brother of John Beg, and the Sliochd-Iain-Roy, and many of them killed.

After the death of John Beg-Mackay, and William Mac-Iain-Mac-Rob, a most deadly and inveterate feud followed, between the Clan Gun and the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich, but no recital of the details has been handed down to us. "The long, the many, the horrible encounters (observes Sir R. Gordon) which happened between these two trybes, with the bloodshed, and infinit spoills committed in every pairt of the diocy of Catteynes by them and their associats, are of so disordered and troublesome memorie, that, what with their asperous names, together with the confusion of place, tymes, and persons, would yet be (no doubt) a warr to the reader to overlook them; and therefor, to favor myne oune paines, and his who should get little profite or delight thereby, I doe pass them over."†

In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-five, a quarrel took place between Neill Houcheonson, and Donald Neilson, the Laird of Assint, who had married Houcheon Mackay's sister. The cause of Donald Neilson was espoused by Houcheon Mackay, and the Clan Gun, who came with an army out of Caithness and Strathnaver, to besiege Neill Houcheonson in the isle of Assint. Neill, who was commander of Assint, and a follower of the earl of Sutherland, sent immediate notice, to the earl, of Mackay's movements, on receiving which, the earl, assembling a body of men, despatched them to Assint to raise the siege; but Mackay did not wait for their coming and retreated into Strathnaver. As the earl of Caithness had sent some of his people to assist Mackay, who was the earl of Sutherland's vassal, the latter resolved to punish both, and accordingly made preparations for entering Strathnaver and Caithness, with an army. But some mutual friends of the parties interfered to prevent the effusion of blood, by prevailing on the two earls to met at Elgin, in the presence of the earl of Huntly and other friends, and get their differences adjusted. A meeting was accordingly held, at which the earls were reconciled. The whole blame of the troubles and commotions which had recently disturbed the peace of Sutherland and Caithness, was thrown upon the Clan Gun, who were alleged to have been the chief instigators, and as their restless disposition might give rise to new disorders, it was agreed, at said meeting, to cut them off, and particularly that part of the tribe which dwelt in Caithness, which was chiefly dreaded, for which purpose the earl of Caithness bound himself to deliver up, to the earl of Sutherland, certain individuals of the clan living in Caithness. This condition was humiliating to the earl of Caithness, who, along with Mackay, had taken the Clan Gun under his protection, and on his return he refused to implement it. On hearing of his refusal the earl of Huntly took a journey into Sutherland, and sent messages to the earl of Caithness and Mackay to meet him at Dunrobin castle. The earl complied; but Mackay declined, and was, therefore, denounced rebel for his disobedience. The earl of Caithness being then called upon to fulfil his promise to deliver up some of the Clan Gun, gave his assurance to that effect, and to enable him to implement his engagement a resolution was entered into to send two companies of men against those of the Clan Gun who dwelt in Caithness and Strathnaver, and to surround them in such a way as to prevent escape. The earl of Caithness, notwithstanding, sent private notice to the clan of the preparations making against them by Angus Sutherland of Mellary, in Berridale; but the clan were distrustful of the earl, as they had already received secret intelligence that he had assembled his people together for the purpose of attacking them.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 173.

† Hist. p. 174.

As soon as the earl of Sutherland could get his men collected he proceeded to march to the territories of the Clan Gun; but meeting by chance, on his way, with a party of Strathnaver men, under the command of William Mackay, brother of Houcheon Mackay, carrying off the cattle of James Mac-Rory, a vassal of his own, from Coireceann

Loch in the Diri-Meanigh, he rescued and brought back his vassal's cattle. After this the earl's party pursued William Mackay and the Strathnaver men during the whole day, and killed one of the principal men of the Clan Gun in Strathnaver, called Angus-Roy, with several others of Mackay's company. This affair was called Latha-Tom-Fraoich, that is, the day of the heather bush. At the end of the pursuit, and towards evening, the pursued party found themselves on the borders of Caithness, where they found the Clan Gun assembled in consequence of the rising of the Caithness people who had taken away their cattle.

This accidental meeting of the Strathnaver men and the Clan Gun was the means, probably, of saving both from destruction. They immediately entered into an alliance to stand by one another, and to live or die together. Next morning they found themselves placed between two powerful bodies of their enemies. On the one side was the earl of Sutherland's party at no great distance, reposing themselves from the fatigues of the preceding day, and on the other were seen advancing the Caithness men, conducted by Henry Sinclair, brother to the laird of Dun, and cousin to the earl of Caithness. A council of war was immediately held to consult how to act in this emergency. William Mackay gave it as his opinion, that they should immediately attack the Sutherland men, who were wearied with the labour of the preceding day, before the Caithness men should arrive, and who might be thus easily defeated. But the Clan Gun objected to Mackay's plan, and proposed to attack the Caithness men first, as they were far inferior in numbers. This proposal having been acceded to, the Clan Gun and their allies, who had the advantage of the hill, attacked the Caithness men with great resolution. The latter foolishly expended their arrows while at a distance from their opponents; but the Clan Gun having husbanded their shot till they came in close contact with the enemy did great execution. The Caithness men were completely overthrown, after leaving one hundred and forty of their party, with their captain, Henry Sinclair, dead on the field of battle. Had not the darkness of the night favoured their flight, they would have all been destroyed. Henry Sinclair was Mackay's uncle, and not being aware that he had been in the engagement till he recognised his body among the slain, Mackay felt extremely grieved at the unexpected death of his relative. This skirmish took place at Aldgown, in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-six. The Sutherland men having lost sight of Mackay and his party among the hills, immediately before the conflict, returned into their own country with the booty they had recovered, and were not aware of the defeat of the Caithness men till some time after that event.

The earl of Caithness afterwards confessed that he had no intention of attacking the Clan Gun at the time in question; but that his policy was to have allowed them to be closely pressed and pursued by the Sutherland men, and then to have relieved them from the imminent danger they would thereby be placed in, so that they might consider that it was to him they owed their safety, and thus lay them under fresh obligations to him. But the deceitful part he acted proved very disastrous to his people, and the result so exasperated him against the Clan Gun, that he hanged John-Mac-Iain-Mac-Rob, chieftain of the Clan Gun, in Caithness, whom he had kept captive for some time.

At the time the affair of Aldgown took place, Houcheon Mackay was on a visit to the earl of Caithness, whose paternal aunt he had married. But when the inhabitants of Caithness understood that William Mackay, his brother, had been with the Clan Gun at Aldgown, they attempted to murder Houcheon, who was, in consequence of this attempt upon his life, obliged to flee privately into Strathnaver.*

The result of all these proceedings was another meeting between the earls of Sutherland and Caithness at the hill of Bingrime in Sutherland, which was brought about by the mediation of Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, who was sent into the north by his nephew, the earl of Huntly, for that purpose. Here again a new confederacy was formed against the Clan Gun in Caithness, who were now maintained and harboured by Mackay. The earl of Sutherland, on account of the recent defeat of the Caithness men, undertook to attack the clan first. He accordingly directed two bodies to march with all haste against the clan, one of which was commanded by James Mack-Rory and Neill Mac-Iain-Mac-William, chief of the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich, who were now under the protection of the earl of Sutherland; and the other by William Sutherland Johnson, George Gordon in Marle, and William Murray in Kinnald, brother of Hugh Murray of Aberscors. Houcheon Mackay seeing no hopes of maintaining the Clan Gun any longer without danger to himself, discharged them from his country, whereupon they made preparations for seeking an asylum in the western isles. But, on their journey thither, they were met near Loch Broom, at a place called Leckmelme, by James Mac-Rory and Neill Mac-Iain-Mac-William, where, after a sharp skirmish, they were overthrown, and the greater part of them killed. Their commander, George Mac-Iain-Mac-Rob, brother of John Mac-Iain-Mac-Rob, who was hanged by the earl of Caithness, was severely wounded, and was taken prisoner after an unsuccessful attempt to escape by swimming across a loch close by. After being carried to Dunrobin castle, and presented to the earl of Sutherland, George Gun was sent by him to the earl of Caithness, who, though extremely grieved at the misfortune which had happened to the Clan Gun, dissembled his vexation, and received the prisoner as if he approved of the earl of Sutherland's proceedings against him and his unfortunate people. After a short confinement, George Gun was released from his captivity by the earl of Caithness, at the entreaty of the earl of Sutherland, not from any favour to the prisoner himself, or to the earl, whom the earl of Caithness hated mortally, but with the design of making Gun an instrument of annoyance to some of the earl of Caithness' neighbours. But the earl of Caithness was disappointed in his object, for George Gun, after his enlargement from prison, always remained faithful to the earl of Sutherland.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, pp. 181—184.

About this time a violent feud arose in the western isles between Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, and Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, in Mull, whose sister Angus had married, which ended almost in the total destruction of the Clandonald and Clanlean. The circumstances which led to this unfortunate dissension were these:—

Donald Gorm Macdonald of Slate, when going on a visit from Slate to his cousin, Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, was forced by contrary winds to land with his party in the island of Jura, which belonged, partly to Sir Lauchlan Maclean, and partly to Angus Macdonald. The part of the island where Macdonald of Slate landed belonged to Sir Lauchlan Maclean. No sooner had Macdonald and his company landed, than by an unlucky coincidence, Macdonald Tearreagh and Houcheon Macgillespoc, two of the Clandonald, who had lately quarrelled with Donald Gorm, arrived at the same time with a party of men; and, understanding that Donald Gorm was in the island, they secretly took away, by night, a number of cattle belonging to the Clanlean, and immediately put to sea. Their object in doing so was to make the Clanlean believe that Donald Gorm and his party had carried off the cattle in the hope that the Macleans would attack Donald Gorm, and they were not disappointed. As soon as the *lifting* of the cattle had been discovered, Sir Lauchlan Maclean assembled his whole forces, and, under the impression that Donald Gorm and his party had committed the spoliation, he attacked them suddenly and unawares, during the night, at a place in the island called Inverchuockwrick, and slew about sixty of the Clandonald. Donald Gorm, having previously gone on board his vessel to pass the night, fortunately escaped.

When Angus Macdonald heard of this "untoward event," he visited Donald Gorm in Skye for the purpose of consulting with him on the means of obtaining reparation for the loss of his men. On his return homeward to Kintyre, he landed in the isle of Mull, and, contrary to the advice of Coll Mac-James and Reginald Mac-James, his two brothers, and of Reginald Mac-Coil, his cousin, who wished him to send a messenger to announce the result of his meeting with Donald Gorm, went to the castle of Duart, the principal residence of Sir Lauchlan Maclean in Mull. His two brothers refused to accompany him, and they acted rightly; for, the day after Angus arrived at Duart, he and all his party were perfidiously arrested by Sir Lauchlan Maclean. Reginald Mac-Coll, the cousin of Angus, alone escaped. The

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 185.

Rhinns of Islay at this time belonged to the Clandonald, but they had given the possession of them to the Clanlean for personal services. Sir Lauchlan, thinking the present a favourable opportunity for acquiring an absolute right to this property, offered to release Angus Macdonald, provided he would renounce his right and title to the Rhinns; and, in case of refusal, he threatened to make him end his days in captivity. Angus, being thus in some degree compelled, agreed to the proposed terms; but before obtaining his liberty, he was forced to give James Macdonald, his eldest son, and Reginald Mac-James, his brother, as hostages, until the deed of conveyance should be delivered to Sir Lauchlan.

It was not, however, the intention of Angus Macdonald to implement this engagement, if he could accomplish the liberation of his son and brother. His cousin had suffered a grievous injury at the hands of Sir Lauchlan Maclean without any just cause of offence, and he himself had, when on a friendly mission, been detained most unjustly as a prisoner, and compelled to promise to surrender into Sir Lauchlan's hands, by a regular deed, a part of his property. Under these circumstances, his resolution to break the unfair engagement he had come under is not to be wondered at. To accomplish his object he had recourse to a stratagem in which he succeeded, as will be shown in the sequel.

After Maclean had obtained delivery of the two hostages, he made a voyage to Islay to get the engagement completed. He left behind, in the castle of Duart, Reginald Mac-James, one of the hostages, whom he put in fetters, and took the other to accompany him on his voyage. Having arrived in the isle of Islay, he encamped at Eilean-Gorm, a ruinous castle upon the Rhinns of Islay, which castle had been lately in the possession of the Clanlean. Angus Macdonald was residing at the time at the house of Mulindry or Mullindhrea, a comfortable and well-furnished residence belonging to him on the island, and to which he invited Sir Lauchlan, under the pretence of affording him better accommodation, and providing him with better provisions than he could obtain in his camp; but Sir Lauchlan having his suspicions, declined to accept the invitation. "There wes (says Sir Robert Gordon) so little trust on either syd, that they did not now meit in friendship or amitie, bot vpon ther owne guard, or rather by messingers, one from another. And true it is (sayeth John Colwin, in his manuscript,) that the islanders are, of nature, verie suspicious; full of invention against ther nighbours, by whatsoever way they may get them destroyed. Besyds this, they are bent and eager in taking revenge, that neither have they regaird to persone, tyme, aige, nor cause; and ar generallie so addicted that way, (as lykwise are the most pairt of all Highlanders) that therein they surpasse all other people whatsoever."

The refusal of Sir Lauchlan, to take up his residence at Mulindry, did not prevent Macdonald from renewing his offer, which he pressed very warmly, saying, that he would make him as welcome as far as he was able, that they should make merry together as long as the provisions at Mulindry lasted, and that when these were exhausted, he would go to Sir Lauchlan's camp and enjoy such fare as he could afford. But Maclean told the bearer of the message frankly, that he was distrustful of Macdonald's intentions, and would not, therefore, come. Angus replied, by means of his messenger, that Maclean's suspicions were unfounded; that he meant to show him nothing but brotherly love and affection; and that as he held his son and brother as pledges, he could run no risk whatever in taking up his residence at Mulindry. Sir Lauchlan was now thrown off his guard by these fair promises, and agreed to pay Macdonald a visit, and accordingly proceeded to Mulindry, accompanied by James Macdonald, his own nephew, and the son of Angus, and eighty-six of his kinsmen and servants. Maclean and his party, on their arrival, were received by Macdonald with much apparent kindness, and were sumptuously entertained during the whole day. In the meantime, Macdonald sent notice to all his friends and well-wishers in the island to come to his house at nine o'clock at night, his design being to seize Maclean and his party. At the usual hour for going to repose, Maclean and his people were lodged in a long-house, which stood by itself, at some distance from the other houses. During the whole day, Maclean had always kept James Macdonald, the hostage, within his reach as a sort of protection to him in case of an attack, and at going to bed he took him along with him. About an hour after Maclean and his people had retired, Angus assembled his men to the number of three or four hundred, and made them surround the house in which Maclean and his company lay. Then going himself to the door, he called upon Maclean, and told him that he had come to give him his reposing drink, which he had forgotten to offer him before going to bed. Maclean answered that he did not wish to drink at that time; but Macdonald insisted that he should rise and receive the drink, it being, he said, his will that he should do so. The peremptory tone of Macdonald made Maclean at once apprehensive of the danger of his situation, and immediately getting up and placing the boy between his shoulders, prepared to preserve his life as long as he could with the boy, or to sell it as dearly as possible. As soon as the door was forced open, James Macdonald, seeing his father with a naked sword in his hand, and a number of his men armed in the same manner, cried aloud for mercy to Maclean, his uncle, which being granted, Sir Lauchlan was immediately removed to a secret chamber, where he remained till next morning. After Maclean had surrendered, Angus Macdonald announced to those within the house, that if they would come without, their lives would be spared; but he excepted Macdonald Terreagh and another individual whom he named. The whole, with the exception of these two, having complied, the house was immediately set on fire, and consumed along with Macdonald Terreagh and his companion. The former was one of the Clan Donald of the western islands, and not only had assisted the Clan Lean against his own tribe, but was also the originator, as we have seen, of all these disturbances; and the latter was a near kinsman to Maclean, one of the oldest of the clan, and celebrated both for his wisdom and prowess. This affair took place in the month of July, fifteen hundred and eighty-six.

When the intelligence of the seizure of Sir Lauchlan Maclean reached the Isle of Mull, Allan Maclean, who was the nearest kinsman to Maclean, whose children were then very young, bethought himself of an expedient to obtain the possessions of Sir Lauchlan. In conjunction with his friends, Allan caused a false report to be spread in the island of Islay, that the friends of Maclean had killed Reginald Mac-James, the remaining hostage at Duart in Mull, by means of which he hoped that Angus Macdonald would be moved to kill Sir Lauchlan, and thereby enable him, (Allan,) to supply his place. But although this device did not succeed, it proved very disastrous to Sir Lauchlan's friends and followers, who were beheaded in pairs by Coll Mac-James, the brother of Angus Macdonald.

The friends of Sir Lauchlan seeing no hopes of his release, applied to the earl of Argyle to assist them in a contemplated attempt to rescue him out of the hands of Angus Macdonald; but the earl perceiving the utter hopelessness of such an attempt with such forces as he and they could command, advised them to complain to King James VI. against Angus Macdonald, for the seizure and detention of their chief. The king immediately directed that Macdonald should be summoned by a herald-at-arms to deliver up Sir Lauchlan into the hands of the earl of Argyle; but the herald was interrupted in the performance of his duty, not being able to procure shipping for Islay, and was obliged to return home. The earl of Argyle had then recourse to negotiation with Macdonald, and after considerable trouble he prevailed on him to release Sir Lauchlan on certain strict conditions, but not until Reginald Mac-James, the brother of Angus, had been delivered up, and the earl, for performance of the conditions agreed upon, had given his own son, and the son of Macleod of Harris, as hostages. But Maclean, quite regardless of the safety of the hostages, and in open violation of the engagements he had come under, on hearing that Angus Macdonald had gone to Ireland on a visit to the Clandonald of the glens in Ireland, invaded Ila, which he laid waste, and pursued those who had assisted in his capture.

On his return from Ireland, Angus Macdonald made great preparations for inflicting a just chastisement upon Maclean. Collecting a large body of men, and much shipping, he invaded Mull and Tiree, carrying havock and destruction along with him, and destroying every human being and every domestic animal of whatever kind. While Macdonald was committing these ravages in Mull and Tiree, Maclean, instead of opposing him, invaded Kintyre, where he took ample retaliation by wasting and burning a great part of that country. In this manner did these hostile clans continue, for a considerable period, mutually to vex and destroy one another till they were almost exterminated root and branch.

In order to strengthen his own power and to weaken that of his antagonist, Sir Lauchlan Maclean attempted to detach John Mac-Iain, of Ardnamurchan, from Angus Macdonald and his party. Mac-Iain had formerly been an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Maclean's mother, and Sir Hector now gave him an invitation to visit him in Mull, promising, at the same time, to give him his mother in marriage. Mac-Iain accepted the invitation, and on his arrival in Mull, Maclean prevailed on his mother to marry Mac-Iain, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated at Torloisk in Mull. Maclean thought, that by gratifying Mac-Iain in his long-wished-for object, he would easily succeed in obtaining his assistance against Macdonald; but he was disappointed in his expectations, for no persuasion could induce Mac-Iain to join against his own tribe, towards which, notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance, he entertained the strongest affection. Chagrined at the unexpected refusal of Mac-Iain, Sir Lauchlan resolved to punish his refractory guest by one of those gross infringements of the laws of hospitality which so often marked the hostility of rival clans. During the dead hour of the night he caused the door of Mac-Iain's bed-chamber to be forced open, dragged him from his bed, and from the arms of his wife, and put him in close confinement, after killing eighteen of his followers. After suffering a year's captivity, he was released and exchanged for Maclean's son, and the other hostages in Macdonald's possession.

The dissensions between these two tribes having attracted the attention of government, the rival chiefs were induced, partly by command of the king, and partly by persuasions and fair promises, to come to Edinburgh in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-one, for the purpose of having their differences reconciled. On their arrival they were committed prisoners within the castle of Edinburgh, but were soon released and allowed to return home on payment of a small pecuniary fine, "and a shamfull remission (says Sir Robert Gordon) granted to either of them."*

In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven, the flames of civil discord, which had lain dormant for a short time, burst forth between the rival houses of Sutherland and Caithness, the immediate cause of which was this: In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-three, Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, obtained from the earl of Huntly a grant of the superiority of Strathnaver, and of the heritable sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver, which last was granted in lieu of the lordship of Aboyne. This grant was confirmed by his Majesty in a charter under the great seal, by which Sutherland and Strathnaver were disjoined and dismembered from the sheriffdom of Inverness. The success which had attended the arms of the earl of Sutherland against the Clan Gun, and the kinsmen and dependants of the earl of Caithness, excited the envy and indignation of the latter, who became more desirous than ever to cripple the power of the earl of Sutherland. And as the strength and influence of the earl of Sutherland were greatly increased by the power and authority with which the superiority of Strathnaver invested him, the earl of Caithness used the most urgent entreaties with the earl of Huntly, who was his brother-in-law, to recal the gift of the superiority which he had granted to the earl of Sutherland, and confer the same on him. The earl of Huntly gave no decided answer to this application, although he seemed rather to listen with a favourable ear to his brother-in-law's request. The earl of Sutherland having been made aware of his rival's pretensions, and of the reception which he had met with from the earl of Huntly, immediately notified to Huntly that he would never restore the superiority either to him or to the earl of Caithness, as the bargain he had made with him had been long finally concluded. The earl of Huntly was much offended at this notice, but he and the earl of Sutherland were soon reconciled through the mediation of Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindun.

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* Hist. p. 192.

Disappointed in his views of obtaining the superiority in question, the earl of Caithness seized the first opportunity, which presented itself, of quarrelling with the earl of Sutherland, and he now thought that a suitable occasion had occurred. George Gordon, a bastard son of Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, having offered many indignities to the earl of Caithness, the earl, instead of complaining to the earl of Sutherland, in whose service this George Gordon was, craved satisfaction and redress from the earl of Huntly. Huntly very properly desired the earl of Caithness to lay his complaint before the earl of Sutherland; but this he declined to do, disdaining to seek redress from Earl Alexander. Encouraged, probably, by the refusal of the earl of Huntly to interfere, and the stubbornness of the earl of Caithness to ask redress from his master, George Gordon, who resided in the town of Marle in Strathully, on the borders of Caithness, not satisfied with the indignities which he had formerly shown to the earl of Caithness, cut off the tails of the earl's horses as they were passing the river of Helmsdale under the care of his servants, on their journey from Caithness to Edinburgh, and in derision desired the earl's servants to show him what he had done.

This George Gordon, it would appear, led a very irregular and wicked course of life, and shortly after the occurrence we have just related, a circumstance happened which induced the earl of Caithness to take redress at his own hands. George Gordon had incurred the displeasure of the earl of Sutherland by an incestuous connexion with his wife's sister, and as he had no hopes of regaining the earl's favour but by renouncing this impure intercourse, he sent Patrick Gordon, his brother, to the earl of Caithness to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with him, as he could no longer rely upon the protection of his master, the earl of Sutherland. The earl of Caithness, who felt an inward satisfaction at hearing of the displeasure of the earl of Sutherland at George Gordon, dissembled his feelings, and pretended to listen with great favour to the request of Patrick Gordon, in order to throw George Gordon off his guard, while he was in reality meditating his destruction. The *ruse* succeeded so effectually, that although Gordon received timeous notice, from some friends, of the intentions of the earl to attack him, he reposed in false security upon the promises held out to him, and made no provision for his personal safety. But he was soon undeceived by the appearance of the earl and a body of men, who, entering Marle under the silence of the night, surrounded his house and required him to surrender. He, however, refused to comply, and when attacked defended the house with great bravery, and killed a gentleman of the name of Sutherland, one of the principal officers of the earl; but being sorely pressed, he made a desperate effort to escape by cutting his way through his enemies and throwing himself into the river of Helmsdale, which he attempted to swim across, but, in his endeavours to reach the opposite bank, was slain by a shower of arrows. This occurrence took place in the month of February fifteen hundred and eighty seven. The earl detained Patrick Gordon, the brother of George, prisoner, but he soon escaped and returned into Sutherland.

The earl of Sutherland, though he disliked the conduct of George Gordon, was highly incensed at his death, and made great preparations to punish the earl of Caithness for his attack upon Gordon. The earl of Caithness in his turn assembled his whole forces, and being joined by Mackay and the Strathnaver men, together with John, the master of Orkney, and the earl of Carrick, brother of Patrick, earl of Orkney, and some of his countrymen, marched to Helmsdale to meet the earl of Sutherland. As soon as the latter heard of the advance of the earl of Caithness, he also proceeded towards Helmsdale, accompanied by Mackintosh, Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, Hector Monroe of Contaligh, and Neill Houcheonson, with the men of Assint. On his arrival at the river of Helmsdale, the earl of Sutherland found the enemy encamped on the opposite side. Neither party seemed inclined to come to a general engagement, but contented themselves with daily skirmishes by annoying each other with guns and arrows from the opposite banks of the river, which, in some instances, proved fatal. The Sutherland men, who were very expert archers, annoyed the Caithness men so much, as to force them to break up their camp on the river side and to remove among the rocks above the village of Easter Helmsdale. Mackay and his countrymen were encamped on the river of Marle, and in order to detach him from the earl of Caithness, Mackintosh crossed that river and had a private conference with him. After reminding him of the friendship which had so long subsisted between his ancestors and the Sutherland family, Mackintosh endeavoured to impress upon his mind the danger he incurred by taking up arms against his own superior the earl of Sutherland, and entreated him, for his own sake, to join the earl; but Mackay remained inflexible.

By the mediation of mutual friends, the two earls agreed to a temporary truce on the ninth of March fifteen hundred and eighty-seven, and thus the effusion of human blood was stopped for a short time. As Mackay was the vassal of the earl of Sutherland, the latter refused to comprehend him in the truce, and insisted upon an unconditional submission, but Mackay obstinately refused to do so, and returned home to his own country, highly chagrined that the earl of Caithness, for whom he had put his life and estate in jeopardy, should have acceded to the earl of Sutherland's request, to exclude him from the benefit of the truce. Before the two earls separated, they came to a mutual understanding to reduce Mackay to obedience; and that he might not suspect their design, they agreed to meet at Edinburgh for the purpose of concerting the necessary measures together. Accordingly, they held a meeting at the appointed place in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight, and came to the resolution to attack Mackay; and to prevent Mackay from receiving any intelligence of their design, both parties swore to keep the same secret; but the earl of Caithness, regardless of his oath, immediately sent notice to Mackay of the intended attack, for the purpose of enabling him to meet it. Instead, however, of following the earl of Caithness' advice, Mackay, justly dreading his hollow friendship, made haste, by the advice of Mackintosh and the Laird of Foulis, to reconcile himself to the earl of Sutherland, his superior, by an immediate submission. For this purpose, he and the earl first met at Inverness, and after conferring together they made another appointment to meet at Elgin, where a perfect and final reconciliation took place in the month of November, fifteen hundred and eighty-eight.

CHAPTER XI.

The Earl of Sutherland invades Caithness—Truce between the two Earls—Caithness breaks the truce—Affair of the Creach-ne-Kamkish—Earl of Sutherland again invades Caithness—Submission of the people—Fresh truce—Sinclair of Murkle invades Strathully—Skirmish at Crissalligh—The Earl of Sutherland enters Caithness a third time—Meeting of the Earls at Elgin—Dispute between the Gordons and Murrays about precedency—Battle of Clyne—Houchcon Mackay invades Caithness—Feud between the Clan Gun and other tribes—The Clan-Chattan opposes the Earl of Huntly—Quarrel between the Gordons and the Grants—Meeting at Forres of the Grants, Clan-Chattan and others—Huntly breaks up the meeting—Huntly's operations against the Earl of Moray—Death of the Earl of Moray—Tumults in consequence—Huntly committed—Revolt of the Clan-Chattan—Defeated by the Camerons—Defeat of the Grants—Clan-Chattan invade Strathdee and Glenmucke—Defeated by the Earl of Huntly—March of the Earl of Argyle to the north—Battle of Glenlivet—Journey of James VI. to the north—Tumults in Ross—Feud in the Western Isles between the Macleans and Macdonalds—Defeat of the Macleans in Ila—Dispute between the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness—Feud between Macdonald of Slate and Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris—Dreadful excesses in Skye and Uist—Defeat of the Macleans in Skye—Reconciliation between Macleod and Macdona

THE truce between the two earls having now expired, the earl of Sutherland, emboldened by the submission of Mackay, demanded redress from the earl of Caithness for the slaughter of George Gordon, an required that the principal actors in that affair should be punished. The earl of Caithness having refused reparation, the earl of Sutherland sent two hundred men into Caithness under the command of John Gordon of Golspietour, afterwards of Embo, and of John Gordon of Kilcalmekill, his brother, to reconnoitre and ascertain the strength of the enemy before invading the country himself. The Gordons and their party, entered the parishes of Dumbaith and Lathron, and after wasting the country and killing John James-son, one of the principal gentlemen in Caithness, and some others, they returned with an immense booty in cattle, which they divided among themselves. This division was long known by the name of Creach-lairn, that is, the harship of Lathron.

Immediately on the return of this party, the earl of Sutherland, accompanied by Mackay, Mackintosh, the Laird of Foulis, the Laird of Assint, and Gille-Calum, Laird of Rasay, entered Caithness with all his forces. In taking this step he was warranted by a commission which he had obtained at court through the influence of chancellor Maitland, against the earl of Caithness for killing George Gordon. The people of Caithness, alarmed at the great force of the earl, fled in all directions on his approach, and he never halted till he reached the strong fort of Girnigo, where he pitched his camp for twelve days. He then penetrated as far as Duncansby, killing several of the country people in his route.

and collecting an immense quantity of cattle and goods, so large, indeed, as to exceed all that had been seen together in that country for many years, all of which was divided among the army, agreeably to the custom in such cases. This invasion had such an effect upon the people of Caithness, that every race, clan, tribe and family there, vied with one another in offering pledges to the earl of Sutherland to keep the peace in all time coming. This affair took place in the month of February, fifteen hundred and eighty-eight, and was called La-na-Creach-Moir, that is, the time of the great slaughter or spoil. The town of Wick was also pillaged and burnt, but the church was preserved. In the church was found the heart of the earl of Caithness' father in a case of lead, which was opened by John Mac-Gille-Calum Rasay, and the ashes of the heart were thrown by him to the winds.

During the time when these depredations were committing, the earl of Caithness shut himself up in the castle of Girnigo; but on learning the disasters which had befallen his country, he desired a cessation of hostilities and a conference with the earl of Sutherland. As the castle of Girnigo was strongly fortified, and as the earl of Caithness had made preparations for enduring a long siege, the earl of Sutherland complied with his request. Both earls ultimately agreed to refer all their differences and disputes to the arbitrament of friends, and the earl of Huntly was chosen by mutual consent to act as umpire or oversman, in the event of a difference of opinion. A second truce was in this way entered into until the decision of the arbiters, when all differences were to cease.*

Notwithstanding this engagement, however, the earl of Caithness soon gave fresh provocation, for before the truce had expired he sent a party of his men to Diri-Chatt in Sutherland, under the command of Kenneth Buy, and his brother, Farquhar Buy, chieftains of the Siol-Mhic-Imheair in Caithness, and chief advisers of the earl of Caithness in his bad actions, and his instruments in oppressing the poor people of Caithness. These men, after killing Donald-Mac-Iain-Moir, a herdsman of the earl of Sutherland, carried off some booty out of Baddenligh. The earl of Sutherland lost no time in revenging himself. At Whitsunday, in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, he sent three hundred men into Caithness with Alexander Gordon of Kilcalmekill at their head. They penetrated as far as Girnigo, laying the country waste everywhere around them, and striking terror into the hearts of the inhabitants, many of whom, including some of the Siol-Mhic-Imheair, they killed. After spending their fury the party returned to Sutherland with a large booty, and without the loss of a single man. This affair was called the Creach-na-Camchic.

To retaliate upon the earl of Sutherland for this inroad, James Sinclair of Markle, brother of the earl of Caithness, collected an army of three thousand men, with which he marched into Strathully, in the month of June, fifteen hundred and eighty-nine. As the earl of Sutherland had been apprehensive of an attack, he had placed a range of sentinels along the borders of Sutherland, to give notice of the approach of the enemy. Of these, four were stationed in the village of Liribell, which the Caithness men entered in the middle of the day unknown to the sentinels, who, instead of keeping an outlook, were at the time carelessly enjoying themselves within the watch-house. On perceiving the Caithness men about entering the house, they shut themselves up within it; but the house being set on fire, three of them perished, and the fourth, rushing through the flames, escaped with great difficulty, and announced to his countrymen the arrival of the enemy.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 157.

From Strathully, Sinclair passed forward with his army to a place called Crissalligh, on the height of Strathbroray, and began to drive away some cattle towards Caithness. As the earl of Sutherland had not yet had sufficient time to collect a sufficient force to oppose Sinclair, he sent in the meantime Houcheon Mackay, who happened to be at Dunrobin, with five or six hundred men, to keep Sinclair in check until a greater force should be assembled. With this body, which was hastily drawn together on the spur of the occasion, Mackay advanced with amazing celerity, and such was the rapidity of his movements, that he most unexpectedly came up with Sinclair, not far from Crissalligh, when his army was ranging about without order, or military discipline. On coming up, Mackay found John Gordon of Kilcalmekill at the head of a small party skirmishing with the Caithness men, a circumstance which made him instantly resolve, though so far inferior in numbers, to attack Sinclair. Crossing therefore the water, which was between him and the enemy, Mackay and his men rushed upon the army of Sinclair, which they defeated after a long and warm contest. The Caithness men retreated with the loss of their booty and part of their baggage, and were closely pursued by a body of men, commanded by John Murray, nicknamed the merchant, to a distance of sixteen miles.*

This defeat, however, did not satisfy the earl of Sutherland, who, having now assembled an army, entered Caithness with the intention of laying it waste. The earl advanced as far as Corrichoigh, and the earl of Caithness convened his forces at Spittle, where he lay waiting the arrival of his enemy. The earl of Huntly having been made acquainted with the warlike preparations of the two hostile earls, sent, without delay, his uncle, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindun to mediate between them, and he luckily arrived at the earl of Sutherland's head-quarters, at the very instant his army was on its march to meet the earl of Caithness. By the friendly interference of Sir Patrick, the parties were prevailed upon to desist from their hostile intentions, and to agree to hold an amicable meeting at Elgin, in presence of the earl of Huntly, to whom they also agreed to refer all their differences. A meeting accordingly took place in the month of November, fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, at which all disputes were settled, and in order that the reconciliation might be lasting, and that no recourse might again be had to arms, the two earls subscribed a deed, by which they appointed Huntly and his successors hereditary judges, and arbitrators of all disputes, or differences, that might from thenceforth arise between these two families and houses.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 199.

This reconciliation, however, as it did not obliterate the rancour which existed between the people of these different countries, was but of short duration. The frequent depredations committed by the vassals and retainers of the earls upon the property of one another, led to an exchange of letters and messages between them, about the means to be used for repressing these disorders. During this correspondence the earl of Sutherland became unwell, and, being confined to his bed, the earl of Caithness, in October fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, wrote him a kind letter which he had scarcely despatched when he most unaccountably entered Sutherland with a hostile force; but he only remained one night in that country, in consequence of receiving intelligence of a meditated attack upon his camp, by John Gordon of Kilcalmekill, and Neill Mac-Iain-Mac-William. A considerable number of the Sutherlands having collected together, they resolved to pursue the Caithness men, who had carried off a large quantity of cattle; but on coming nearly up with them, an unfortunate difference arose between the Murrays and the Gordons, each contending for the command of the vanguard. The Murrays rested their claim upon their former good services to the house of Sutherland; but the Gordons refusing to admit it, all the Murrays, with the exception of William Murray, brother of the laird of Palrossie, and John Murray, *the merchant*, withdrew, and took a station on a hill hard by to witness the combat. This unexpected event seemed to paralyze the Gordons at first; but seeing the Caithness men driving the cattle away before them, and thinking that if they did not attack them they would be accused of cowardice, Patrick Gordon of Gartay, John Gordon of Embo, and John Gordon of Kilcalmekill, after some consultation, resolved to attack the retiring foe without loss of time, and without waiting for the coming up of the Strathnaver men, who were hourly expected. This was a bold and desperate attempt, as the Gordons were only as one to twelve in point of numbers, but they could not brook the idea of being branded as cowards. With such numerical inferiority, and with the sun and wind in their faces to boot, the Sutherland men advanced upon and resolutely attacked the Caithness men near Clyne. In the van of the Caithness army were placed about fifteen hundred archers, a considerable number of whom were from the Western Isles, under the command of Donald Balloch Mackay of Skowrie, who poured a thick shower of arrows upon the men of Sutherland as they advanced, and who, in return, gave their opponents a similar reception. The combat raged with great fury for a considerable time between these two parties: thrice were the Caithness archers driven back upon their rear, which was in consequence thrown into great disorder, and thrice did they return to the conflict cheered on and encouraged by their leader; but, though superior in numbers, they could not withstand the firmness and intrepidity of the Sutherland men, who forced them to retire from the field of battle on the approach of night, and to abandon the cattle which had been carried off. The loss in killed and wounded was about equal on both sides, but with the exception of Nicolas Sutherland, brother of the laird of Forse, and Angus Mac-Angus-Termat, both belonging to the Caithness party, and John Murray, the merchant, on the Sutherland side, there were no principal persons killed. This Angus Mac-Angus was the ablest and most active man in Caithness, and for his extraordinary swiftness was called Birlig. Among the wounded was John Gordon of Kilcalm-Kill, and William Murray before mentioned. This affair took place in the month of October fifteen hundred and ninety. The obstinacy with which the Caithness men fought was owing principally to Donald Balloch Mackay, who at the time in question had been banished from Sutherland and Strathnaver for the murder of James Macrory, and other crimes, and had placed himself under the protection of the earl of Caithness. Being afterwards apprehended and imprisoned in Dunrobin castle, he was, on the entreaty of his brother, Houcheon Mackay, released by the earl of Sutherland, and ever after remained faithful to the earl.*

Houcheon Mackay, taking advantage of the temporary absence of the Caithness men in their late excursion into Sutherland, entered into Caithness, laying waste every thing in his course, even to the gates of Thurso, and carried off a large quantity of booty without opposition, which he divided among his countrymen according to custom. He had previously sent the greater part of his men under the direction of his brother William to assist the Sutherland men; but he was too late in joining them, a circumstance which raised a suspicion that William favoured privately the views of the earl of Caithness.

Vain as the efforts of the mutual friends of the two rival earls had hitherto been to reconcile them effectually, the earl of Huntly and others once more attempted an arrangement, and having prevailed upon the parties to meet at Strathbogie, a final agreement was entered into in the month of March, in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-one, by which they agreed to bury all bygone differences in oblivion, and to live on terms of amity in all time thereafter.

This fresh reconciliation of the two earls was the means of restoring quiet in their districts for a considerable time, which was partially interrupted in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-four by a quarrel between the Clan Gun and some of the other petty tribes. Donald Mac-William-

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* Sir R. Gordon p. 203.

Mac-Henric, Alister Mac-Iain-Mac Rorie, and others of the Clan Gun entered Caithness and attacked Farquhar Buy, one of the captains of the tribe of Siol-Mhic-Imheair, and William Sutherland, alias William Abaraich, the chief favourite of the earl of Caithness, and the principal plotter against the life of George Gordon, whose death has been already noticed. After a warm skirmish, Farquhar Buy, and William Abaraich, and some of their followers, were slain. To revenge this outrage, the earl of Caithness sent the same year his brother, James Sinclair of Murkle, with a party of men against the Clan Gun in Strathie, in Strathnaver, who killed seven of that tribe. George Mac-Iain-Mac-Rob, the chief, and Donald Mac-William-Mac-Henric, narrowly escaped with their lives.

For the sake of continuity, we have deferred noticing those transactions in the north in which George Gordon, earl of Huntly, was more immediately concerned, and which led to several bloody conflicts.

The earl, who was a favourite at court, and personally liked by James the Sixth, finding himself in danger from the prevailing faction, retired to his possessions in the north, for the purpose of improving his estates and enjoying domestic quiet. One of his first measures was to erect a castle at Ruthven, in Badenoch, in the neighbourhood of his hunting forests. This gave great offence to Mackintosh, the chief of the Clan-Chattan, and his people, as they considered that the object of its erection was to overawe the clan. Being the earl's vassals and tenants they were bound to certain services, among which, the furnishing of materials for the building formed a chief part; but instead of assisting the earl's people, they at first indirectly and in an underhand manner, endeavoured to prevent the workmen from going on with their operations, and afterwards positively refused to furnish the necessaries required for the building. This act of disobedience, followed by a quarrel in the year fifteen hundred and ninety, between the Gordons and the Grants, was the cause of much trouble, the occasion of which was this. John Grant, the tutor of Ballendalloch, having withheld the rents due to the widow, and endeavoured otherwise to injure her, James Gordon, her nephew, eldest son of Alexander Gordon of Lismore, along with some of his friends, went to Ballendalloch to obtain justice for her. On their arrival, differences were accommodated so far that the tutor paid up all arrears due to the lady, except a trifle, which he insisted, on some ground or other, on retaining. This led to some altercation, in which the servants of both parties took a share, and latterly came to blows; but they were separated, and James Gordon returned home. Judging from what had taken place, that his aunt's interests would in future be better attended to if under the protection of a husband, he persuaded the brother of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny to marry her, which he did. This act so incensed the tutor of Ballendalloch, that he at once showed his displeasure by killing, at the instigation of the laird of Grant, one of John Gordon's servants. For this the tutor, and such of the Grants as should harbour or assist him, were declared outlaws and rebels, and a commission was granted to the earl of Huntly to apprehend and bring them to justice, in virtue of which, he besieged the house of Ballendalloch, which he took by force, on the second day of November, fifteen hundred and ninety; but the tutor effected his escape. Sir John Campbell of Cadell, a despicable tool of the Chancellor Maitland, who had plotted the destruction of the earl and the laird of Grant, now joined in the conspiracy against him, and stirred up the Clan-Chattan, and Mackintosh their chief, to aid the Grants. They also persuaded the earls of Atholl and Moray to assist them against the earl of Huntly.

As soon as Huntly ascertained that the Grants and Clan-Chattan, who were his own vassals, had put themselves under the command of these earls, he assembled his followers, and, entering Badenoch, summoned his vassals to appear before him, and deliver up the tutor and his abettors, but none of them came. He then proclaimed and denounced them rebels, and obtained a royal commission to invade and apprehend them. To consult on the best means of defending themselves the earls of Moray and Atholl, the Dunbars, the Clan-Chattan, the Grants, and the laird of Cadell, and others of their party met at Forres. Two contrary opinions were given at this meeting. On the one hand Mackintosh, Grant, and Cadell advised the earls, who were pretty well supported by a large party in the north, immediately to collect their forces and oppose Huntly; but the Dunbars, on the other hand, were opposed to this advice, and endeavoured to convince the earls that they were not in a fit condition at that time to make a successful stand against their formidable antagonist. In the midst of these deliberations Huntly, who had received early intelligence of the meeting, and had, in consequence, assembled his forces, unexpectedly made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Forres. This sudden advance of Huntly struck terror into the minds of the persons assembled, and the meeting instantly broke up in great confusion. The whole party, with the exception of the earl of Moray, left the town in great haste, and fled to Tarnoway. The earl of Moray had provided all things necessary for his defence in case he should be attacked; but the earl of Huntly, not aware that he had remained behind, marched directly to Tarnoway in pursuit of the fugitives. On arriving within sight of the castle into which the flying party had thrown themselves, the earl sent John Gordon, brother of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, with a small body of men to reconnoitre; but approaching too near without due caution, he was shot by one of the earl of Moray's servants. As Huntly found the castle well fortified, and as the rebels evacuated it and fled to the mountains, leaving a sufficient force to protect it, he disbanded his men on the twenty-fourth day of November fifteen hundred and ninety, and returned home, from whence he proceeded to Edinburgh.

Shortly after his arrival the earl of Bothwell, who had a design upon the life of Chancellor Maitland, made an attack upon the palace of Holyroodhouse under cloud of night, with the view of seizing Maitland; but, having failed in his object, he was forced to flee to the north to avoid the vengeance of the king. The earl of Huntly, who had been lately reconciled to Maitland, and the duke of Lennox, were sent in pursuit of Bothwell, but he escaped their hands. Understanding afterwards that he was harboured by the earl of Moray at Dunibristle, the chancellor, having procured a commission against him from the king in favour of Huntly, again sent him to the north, accompanied by forty gentlemen to attack the earl of Moray. When the party had arrived near Dunibristle, the earl of Huntly sent captain John Gordon, brother of Gordon of Gight, with a summons to the earl of Moray, requiring him to surrender himself prisoner; but instead of complying, one of the earl's servants levelled a piece at the bearer of the despatch, and wounded him mortally. Huntly, therefore, after giving orders to take the earl of Moray alive if possible, forcibly entered the house; but Sir Thomas Gordon, recollecting the fate of his brother at Tarnoway, and Gordon of Gight, who saw his brother lying mortally wounded before his eyes, entirely disregarded the injunction; and, following the earl, who had fled among the rocks on the adjoining sea-shore, slew him.

The earl of Huntly immediately despatched John Gordon of Buckie to Edinburgh, to lay a statement of the affair before the king and the chancellor. The death of the earl of Moray would have passed quietly over, as an event of ordinary occurrence in those troublesome times; but as he was one of the heads of the protestant party, the presbyterian ministers gave the matter a religious turn by denouncing the catholic earl of Huntly as a murderer, who wished to advance the interest of his church by imbruing his hands in the blood of his protestant countrymen. The effect of the ministers' denunciations was a tumult among the people in Edinburgh, and other parts of the kingdom; which obliged the king to cancel the commission he had granted to the earl of Huntly. The spirit of discontent became so violent that captain John Gordon, who had been left at Innerkeithing for the recovery of his wounds, but who had been afterwards taken prisoner by the earl of Moray's friends and carried to Edinburgh, was tried before a jury, and contrary to law and justice condemned and executed, for having assisted the earl of Huntly acting under a royal commission. The recklessness and severity of this act were still more atrocious, as Captain Gordon's wounds were incurable, and he was fast hastening to his grave. John Gordon of Buckie, who was master of the king's household, was obliged to flee from Edinburgh, and made a narrow escape with his life.

As for the earl of Huntly, he was summoned at the instance of the Lord of St Colme, brother of the deceased earl of Moray, to stand trial. He accordingly appeared at Edinburgh and offered to abide the result of a trial by his peers, and in the mean time was committed a prisoner to the castle of Blackness on the twelfth day of March fifteen hundred and ninety one, till the peers should assemble to try him. On giving sufficient surety, however, that he would appear and stand trial on receiving six days' notice to that effect, he was released by the king on the twentieth day of the same month.

The Clan-Chattan, who had never submitted without reluctance to the earl of Huntly, considered the present aspect of affairs as peculiarly favourable to the design they entertained of shaking off the yoke altogether, and being countenanced and assisted by the Grants, and other friends of the earl of Moray, made no secret of their intentions. At first the earl sent Allen Macdonald-Duibh, the chief of the Clan-Cameron, with his tribe to attack the Clan-Chattan in Badenoch, and to keep them in due order and subjection. The Camerons, though warmly opposed, succeeded in defeating the Clan-Chattan, who lost fifty of their men after a sharp skirmish. The earl next dispatched Mackronald with some of the Lochaber men against the Grants in Strathspey, whom he attacked, killed eighteen of them and laid waste the lands of Ballendalloch. After the Clan-Chattan had recovered from their defeat, they invaded Strathdee and Glenmuck, under the command of Angus Donald Williamson, and killed Henry Gordon of the Knock, Alexander Gordon of Teldow, Thomas Gordon of Blaircharrish, and the old Baron of Breghly, also a Gordon. The baron was much addicted to hospitality, and unsuspicious of any bad design against him he entertained the hostile party in his best manner, but they afterwards basely murdered him. This occurrence took place on the first day of November fifteen hundred and ninety two. To punish this aggression the earl of Huntly collected his forces and entered Pettie, then in possession of the Clan-Chattan, as a fief from the earls of Moray, and laid waste all the lands of the Clan-Chattan there, killed many of them, and carried off a large quantity of cattle which he divided among his army. But in returning from Pettie after disbanding his army, he received the unwelcome intelligence that William Mackintosh, son of Lauchlan Mackintosh, the chief, with eight hundred of the Clan-Chattan, had invaded the lands of Auchindun and Cabberogh. The earl, after desiring the small party which remained with him to follow him as speedily as possible, immediately set off at full speed, accompanied by Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindun, and thirty-six horsemen, in quest of Mackintosh and his party. Overtaking them before they had left the bounds of Cabberogh upon the top of a hill called Stapliegate, he attacked them with his small party, and after a warm skirmish defeated them, killing about sixty of their men and wounding William Mackintosh and others.

After this event the earl of Huntly undertook a second expedition into Pettie. He gave orders to Alexander Gordon of Abergeldie, his bailie in Badenoch, to bring his forces in Lochaber and Badenoch to Inverness, and on his way thither he was desired to send a party under the command of Mackronald to lay waste the lands of the Laird of Grant in Strathspey, and those of Mackintosh in Badenoch, which he accordingly did. In this new expedition the earl of Huntly did great damage to the lands of the rebels, killed several of them, and returned home with a large booty.*

The earl of Huntly, after thus subduing his enemies in the north, now found himself placed at the ban of the government on account of an alleged conspiracy between him and the earls of Angus and Errol and the crown of Spain, to overturn the state and the church. The king and his councillors seemed to be satisfied of the innocence of the earls, but the ministers, who considered the reformed religion in Scotland in danger while these catholic peers were protected and favoured, importuned his majesty to punish them. The king yielding to necessity and to the intrigues of Queen Elizabeth, forfeited their titles, intending to restore them when a proper opportunity occurred, and to silence the clamours of the ministers, convoked a parliament, which was held in the end of the month of May, fifteen hundred and ninety-four. As few of the peers attended, the ministers, having the commissioners of the burghs on their side, carried every thing their own way, and the consequence was, that the three earls were attainted without trial and their arms were torn in presence of the parliament, according to the custom in such cases.

Having so far succeeded, the ministers, instigated by the Queen of England, now entreated the king to send the earl of Argyle, a youth of nineteen years of age, in the pay of queen Elizabeth, with an army against the Catholic earls. The king, still yielding to necessity, complied, and Argyle having collected a force of about twelve thousand men, entered Badenoch and laid siege to the castle of Ruthven, on the twenty-seventh day of September, fifteen hundred and ninety-four. He was accompanied in this expedition by the earl of Athol, Sir Lauchlan Maclean with some of his islanders, the chief of the Mackintoshes, the laird of Grant, the Clan-Gregor, Macneil of Barra with all their friends and dependents, together with the whole of the Campbells, and a variety of others whom a thirst for plunder or malice towards the Gordons had induced to join the earl of Argyle's standard. The castle of Ruthven was so well defended by the Clan-Pherson, who were the earl of Huntly's vassals, that Argyle was obliged to give up the siege. He then marched through Strathspey, and encamped at Drummin, upon the river Avon, on the second day of October, from whence he issued orders to Lord Forbes, the Frasers, the Dunbars, the Clan-Kenzie, the Irvings, the Ogilvies, the Leslies, and other tribes and clans in the north, to join his standard with all convenient speed.

The earls, against whom this expedition was directed, were by no means dismayed. They knew that although the king was constrained by popular clamour to levy war upon them, he was in secret friendly to them; and they were, moreover, aware that the army of Argyle, who was a youth of no military experience, was a raw and undisciplined militia, and composed, in a great measure, of Catholics, who could not be expected to feel very warmly for the Protestant interest, to support which, the expedition was professedly undertaken. The seeds of disaffection, besides, had been already sown in Argyle's camp by the corruption of the Grants and Campbell of Lochnell.

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* Sir Robert Gordon, p. 218.

On hearing of Argyle's approach, the earl of Errol immediately collected a select body of about one hundred horsemen, being gentlemen, on whose courage and fidelity he could rely, and with these he joined the earl of Huntly at Strathbogie. The forces of Huntly, after this junction, amounted, it is said, to nearly fifteen hundred men, almost altogether horsemen, and with this body he advanced to Carnborrow, where the two earls and their chief followers made a solemn vow to conquer, or to die. Marching from thence, Huntly's army arrived at Auchindun the same day that Argyle's army reached Drummin. At Auchindun, Huntly received intelligence that Argyle was on the eve of descending from the mountains to the lowlands, which induced him, on the following day, to send captain Thomas Carr and a party of horsemen to reconnoitre the enemy, while he himself advanced with his main army. The reconnoitring party soon fell in, accidentally, with Argyle's scouts, whom they chased, and some of whom they killed. This occurrence, which was looked upon as a prognostic of victory, so encouraged Huntly and his men, that he resolved to attack the army of Argyle before he should be joined by Lord Forbes, and the forces which were waiting for his appearance in the lowlands. Argyle had now passed Glenlivet, and had reached the banks of a small brook named Altchonlachan.

On the other hand, the earl of Argyle had no idea that the earls of Huntly and Errol would attack him with such an inferior force; and he was, therefore, astonished at seeing them approach so near him as they did. Apprehensive that his numerical superiority in foot would be counterbalanced by Huntly's cavalry, he held a council of war to deliberate whether he should at once engage the enemy, or retreat to the mountains, which were inaccessible to Huntly's horsemen, till his lowland forces, which were chiefly cavalry, should come up. The council advised Argyle to wait till the king, who had promised to appear with a force, should arrive, or, at all events, till he should be joined by the Frasers and Mackenzies from the north, and the Irvings, Forbesses, and Leslies from the lowlands with their horse. This opinion, which was considered judicious by the most experienced of Argyle's army, was however disregarded by him, and he determined to wait the attack of the enemy; and to encourage his men he pointed out to them the small number of those they had to combat with, and the spoils they might expect after victory. He disposed his army on the declivity of a hill, betwixt Glenlivet and Glenrinnes in two parallel divisions. The right wing consisting of the Macleans and Mackintoshes was commanded by Sir Lauchlan Maclean and Mackintosh—the left, composed of the

Grants, Macneills, and Macgregors, by Grant of Gartinbeg, and the centre, consisting of the Campbells, &c., was commanded by Campbell of Auchinbreck. This vanguard consisted of four thousand men, one-half of whom carried muskets. The rear of the army, consisting of about six thousand men, was commanded by Argyle himself. The earl of Huntly's vanguard was composed of three hundred gentlemen, led by the earl of Errol, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindun, the laird of Gight, the laird of Bonnitoun, and captain, afterwards Sir Thomas Carr. The earl himself followed with the remainder of his forces, having the laird of Cluny upon his right hand and the laird of Abergeldy upon his left. Three pieces of field ordnance under the direction of Captain Andrew Gray, afterwards colonel of the English and Scots, who served in Bohemia, were placed in front of the vanguard. Before advancing, the earl of Huntly harangued his little army to encourage them to fight manfully; he told them that they had no alternative before them but victory or death—that they were now to combat, not for their own lives only, but also for the very existence of their families, which would be utterly extinguished if they fell a prey to their enemes.

The position which Argyle occupied on the declivity of the hill gave him a decided advantage over his assailants, who, from the nature of their force, were greatly hampered by the mossiness of the ground at the foot of the hill, which was interspersed by pits from which turf had been dug. But, notwithstanding these obstacles, Huntly advanced up the hill with a slow and steady pace. It had been arranged between him and Campbell of Lochnell, who had promised to go over to Huntly as soon as the battle had commenced, that, before charging Argyle with his cavalry, Huntly should fire his artillery at the yellow standard. Campbell bore a mortal enmity at Argyle, as he had murdered his brother, Campbell of Calder, in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-two; and as he was Argyle's nearest heir, he probably had directed the firing at the yellow standard in the hope of cutting off the earl. Unfortunately for himself, however, Campbell was shot dead at the first fire of the cannon, and upon his fall all his men fled from the field. Macneill of Barra was also slain at the same time. The Highlanders, who had never before seen field pieces, were thrown into disorder by the cannonade, which being perceived by Huntly he charged the enemy, and rushing in among them with his horsemen increased the confusion. The earl of Errol was directed to attack the right wing of Argyle's army commanded by Maclean, but as it occupied a very steep part of the hill, and as Errol was greatly annoyed by thick vollies of shot from above, he was compelled to make a detour, leaving the enemy on his left. But Gordon of Auchindun disdaining such a prudent course, galloped up the hill with a party of his own followers, and charged Maclean with great impetuosity; but Auchindun's rashness cost him his life. The fall of Auchindun so exasperated his followers that they set no bounds to their fury; but Maclean received their repeated assaults with firmness, and manœuvred his troops so well as to succeed in cutting off the earl of Errol and placing him between his own body and that of Argyle, by whose joint forces he was completely surrounded. At this important crisis when no hopes of retreat remained, and when Errol and his men were in danger of being cut to pieces, the earl of Huntly, very fortunately, came up to his assistance and relieved him from his embarrassment. The battle was now renewed and continued for two hours, during which both parties fought with great bravery, the one, says Sir Robert Gordon, "for glorie, the other for necessitie." In the heat of the action the earl of Huntly had a horse shot under him, and was in imminent danger of his life; but another horse was immediately procured for him. After a hard contest the main body of Argyle's army began to give way, and retreated towards the rivulet of Altchonlachan; but Maclean still kept the field and continued to support the falling fortune of the day. At length, finding the contest hopeless, and after losing many of his men, he retired in good order with the small company that still remained about him. Huntly pursued the retiring foe beyond the water of Altchonlachan when he was prevented from following them farther by the steepness of the hills so unfavourable to the operations of cavalry. The success of Huntly was mainly owing to the treachery of Lochnell and of John Grant of Gartinbeg, one of Huntly's vassals, who, in terms of a concerted plan, retreated with his men as soon as the action began, by which act the centre and the left wing of Argyle's army was completely broken. On the side of Argyle five hundred men were killed besides Macneill of Barra, and Lochnell, and Auchinbreck, the two cousins of Argyle. The earl of Huntly's loss was comparatively trifling. About fourteen gentlemen were slain, including Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindun and the Laird of Gight; and the earl of Errol and a considerable number of persons were wounded. At the conclusion of the battle the conquerors returned thanks to God on the field for the victory they had achieved. This battle is called by some writers the battle of Glenlivet, and by others the battle of Altchonlachan. Among the trophies found on the field was the ensign belonging to the earl of Argyle, which was carried with other spoils to Strathbogie, and placed upon the top of the great tower. So certain had Argyle been of success in his enterprize, that he had made out a paper apportioning the lands of the Gordons, the Hays, and all who were suspected to favour them, among the chief officers of his army. This document was found among the baggage which he left behind him on the field of battle.*

When Lord Forbes, Lesley of Balquhain, and Irving of Drum, who had assembled all their forces and followers for the purpose of joining Argyle, heard of his defeat, they resolved to unite themselves with the Dunbars and the other forces which were marching from the provinces of Ross and Moray to assist Argyle, and to make an attack upon the

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* Sir R. Gordon, pp. 226, 227, 228, 229.—Shaw's Moray, pp. 266, 267, 268.

Gordons on their return homewards to revenge old quarrels. For this purpose, and to conceal their plans, the whole of the Forbeses, and the greater part of the Leslies and Irvings, met under cloud of night at Druminor and proceeded on their journey; but a singular occurrence took place which created such confusion and amazement in their minds as to induce them to return home. They had not gone far when a gentleman of the name of Irving, while riding alongside of Lord Forbes, was most unexpectedly shot dead by an unknown hand, and strange to tell, although all the fire arms carried by the party were immediately searched for the purpose of ascertaining the individual who had committed the deed, every one was found to be loaded. This affair raised suspicions among the party, and becoming distrustful of one another, they dissolved their companies and returned home. The tribes and clans of the north who were to have joined Argyle were prevented from doing so by the policy of John Dunbar of Muyness, who was a partizan of the earl of Huntly. Thus the Gordons escaped the snare which had been laid for them.

Although Argyle certainly calculated upon being joined by the king, it seems doubtful if James ever entertained such an intention, for he stopt at Dundee, from whence he did not stir till he heard of the result of the battle of Glenlivet. Instigated by the ministers and other enemies of the earl of Huntly, who became now more exasperated than ever at the unexpected failure of Argyle's expedition, the king proceeded north to Strathbogie, and in his rout he permitted, most unwillingly, the house of Craig in Angus, belonging to Sir John Ogilvie, son of Lord Ogilvie, that of Bagaes in Angus, the property of Sir Walter Lindsay, the house of Culsamond in Garioch, appertaining to the laird of Newton-Gordon, the house of Slaines in Buchan belonging to the earl of Errol, and the castle of Strathbogie, to be razed to the ground, under the pretext that priests and jesuits had been harboured in them. In the meantime the earl of Huntly and his friends retired into Sutherland, where they remained six weeks with Earl Alexander; and on the king's departure from Strathbogie, Huntly returned thither, leaving his eldest son George, Lord Gordon, in Sutherland with his aunt till the return of more peaceable times.

The king left the duke of Lennox to act as his lieutenant in the north, with whom the two earls held a meeting at Aberdeen, and as their temporary absence from the kingdom might allay the spirit of violence and discontent, which was particularly annoying to his majesty, they agreed to leave the kingdom during the king's pleasure. After spending sixteen months in travelling through Germany and Flanders, Huntly was recalled, and on his return, he, as well as the earls of Angu and Errol, were restored to their former honours and estates by the Parliament, held at Edinburgh in the month of November, fifteen hundred and ninety-seven, and in testimony of his regard for Huntly, the king, two years thereafter, created him a marquis. This signal mark of the royal favour had such an influence upon the Clan-Chattan, the Clan-Kenzie, the Grants, Forbeses, Leslies, and the other hostile clans and tribes, that they at once submitted themselves to the marquis.

The warlike operations in the north seem, for a time, to have drawn off the attention of the clans from their own feuds; but in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-seven, a tumult occurred at Loggiewreid in Ross, which had almost put that province and the adjoining country into a flame. The quarrel began between John Mac-Gille-Calum, brother of Gille-Calum, laird of Rasay, and Alexander Bane, brother of Duncan Bane of Tulloch, in Ross. The Monroes took the side of the Banes, and the Mackenzies aided John Mac-Gille-Calum. In this tumult John Mac-Gille-Calum and John Mac-Murthow-Mac-William, a gentleman of the Clan-Kenzie, and three persons of that surname, were killed on the one side, and on the other side were slain John Monroe of Culcraigie, his brother Houcheon Monroe, and John Monroe Robertson. This occurrence renewed the ancient animosity between the Clan-Kenzie and the Monroes, and both parties began to assemble their friends for the purpose of attacking one another; but their differences were, in some measure, happily reconciled by the mediation of mutual friends.

In the following year the ambition and avarice of Sir Lauchlan Maclean, of whom notice has been already taken, brought him to an untimely end, having been slain in Islay by Sir James Macdonald, his nephew, eldest son of Angus Macdonald of Kintyre. Sir Lauchlan had long had an eye upon the possessions of the Clanronald in Islay; but having failed in extorting a conveyance thereof from Angus Macdonald in the way before alluded to, he endeavoured by his credit at court and by bribery or other means, to obtain a grant from the crown, in fifteen hundred and ninety-five, of these lands. At this period Angus Macdonald had become infirm from age, and his son, Sir James Macdonald, was too young to make any effectual resistance to the newly acquired claims of his covetous uncle. After obtaining the gift, Sir Lauchlan collected his people and friends and invaded Islay, for the purpose of taking possession of the lands which belonged to the Clandonald. Sir James Macdonald, on hearing of his uncle's landing, collected his friends and landed in Islay to dispossess Sir Lauchlan of the property. To prevent the effusion of blood, some mutual friends of the parties interposed, and endeavoured to bring about an adjustment of their differences. They prevailed upon Sir James to agree to resign the half of the island to his uncle during the life of the latter, provided he would acknowledge that he held the same for personal service to the Clandonald in the same manner as Maclean's progenitors had always held the Rhinns of Islay; and he moreover offered to submit the question to any impartial friends Maclean might choose, under this reasonable condition, that in case they should not agree, his Majesty should decide. But Maclean, contrary to the advice of his best friends, would listen to no proposals short of an absolute surrender of the whole of the island. Sir

James, therefore, resolved to vindicate his right by an appeal to arms, though his force was far inferior to that of Sir Lauchlan. Taking possession of a hill at the head of Loch Groynard, which the Macleans had ineffectually endeavoured to secure, Sir James attacked their advanced guard, which he forced to fall back upon their main body. A desperate struggle then took place, in which great valour was displayed on both sides. Sir Lauchlan was killed fighting at the head of his men, who were at length compelled to retreat to their boats and vessels. Besides their chief, the Macleans left eighty of their principal men, and two hundred common soldiers, dead on the field of battle. Lauchlan Barroch-Maclean, son of Sir Lauchlan, was dangerously wounded, but escaped. Sir James Macdonald was also so severely wounded that he never fully recovered from his wounds. About thirty of the Clandonald were killed and about sixty wounded. Sir Lauchlan, according to Sir Robert Gordon, had consulted a witch before he undertook this journey into Islay, who advised him, in the first place, not to land upon the island on a Thursday ; secondly, that he should not drink of the water of a well near Groynard ; and lastly, she told him that one Maclean should be slain at Groynard. " The first he transgressed unwillingly (says Sir Robert), being driven into the island of Ila by a tempest upon a Thursday ; the second he transgressed negligentlie, haveing drank of that water befor he wes awair ; and so he wes killed ther at Groinard, as wes foretold him, bot doubtfullie. Thus endeth all these that doe trust in such kynd of responces, or doe hunt after them !"*

On hearing of Maclean's death and the defeat of his men, the king became so highly incensed against the Clandonald, that, finding he had a right to dispose of their possessions both in Kintyre and Islay, he made a grant of them to the earl of Argyle and the Campbells. This gave rise to a number of bloody conflicts between the Campbells and the Clandonald in the years sixteen hundred and fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen, which ended in the ruin of the latter.

The rival houses of Sutherland and Caithness had now lived on friendly terms for some years. After spending about eighteen months at court, and attending a convention of the estates at Edinburgh, in July, fifteen hundred and ninety eight, John, sixth earl of Sutherland, went to the continent, where he remained till the month of September, sixteen hundred. The earl of Caithness, deeming the absence of the earl of Sutherland a fit opportunity for carrying into effect some designs against him, caused William Mackay obtain leave from his brother Houcheon Mackay to hunt in the policy of Durines belonging to the earl of Sutherland. The earl of Caithness thereupon assembled all his vassals and dependants, and, under the pretence of hunting, made demonstrations for entering Sutherland or Strathnaver. As soon as Mackay was informed of his intentions he sent a message to the earl of Caithness, intimating to him that he would not permit him to enter either of these countries, or to cross the marches. The earl of Caithness returned a haughty answer; but he did not carry his threat of invasion into execution on account of the arrival of the earl of Sutherland from the continent. As the earl of Caithness still continued to threaten an invasion, the earl of Sutherland collected his forces, in the month of July, sixteen hundred and one, to oppose him. Mackay, with his countrymen, soon joined the earl of Sutherland at Lagan-Gaincamhd in Dirichat, where he was soon also joined by the Monroes under Robert Monroe of Contaligh, and the laird of Assint with his countrymen.

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* Hist. p. 238.

While the earl of Sutherland's force was thus assembling, the earl of Caithness advanced towards Sutherland with his army. The two armies encamped at the distance of about three miles asunder, near the hill of Bengrime. In expectation of a battle the morning after their encampment, the Sutherland men took up a position in a plain which lay between the two armies, called Leathad Reidh, than which a more convenient station could not have been selected. But the commodiousness of the plain was not the only reason for making the selection. There had been long a prophetic tradition in these countries that a battle was to be fought on this ground between the inhabitants of Sutherland, assisted by the Strathnaver men, and the men of Caithness; that although the Sutherland men were to be victorious their loss would be great, and that the loss of the Strathnaver men should even be greater, but that the Caithness men should be so completely overthrown that they should not be able, for a considerable length of time, to recover the blow which they were to receive. This superstitious idea made such an impression upon the minds of the men of Sutherland that it was with great difficulty they could be restrained from immediately attacking their enemies.

The earl of Caithness, daunted by this circumstance, and being diffident of the fidelity of some of his people, whom he had used with great cruelty, sent messengers to the earl of Sutherland expressing his regret at what had happened, stating that he was provoked to his present measures by the insolence of Mackay, who had repeatedly dared him to the attack, and that, if the earl of Sutherland would pass over the affair, he would permit him and his army to advance twice as far into Caithness as he had marched into Sutherland. The earl of Sutherland, on receipt of this offer, called a council of his friends to deliberate upon it. Mackay and some others advised the earl to decline the proposal, and attack the earl of Caithness; they represented to him that as he had collected an excellent and resolute army, and as this was his first enterprise, he should give to the world a specimen of his prowess; that if he let the present occasion for humbling his enemies escape, that they would again grow bold and insolent, and, presuming upon his weakness, might attempt new aggressions. Others, however, of the earl's advisers were of a contrary opinion, and thought it neither fit nor reasonable to risk so many lives when such ample satisfaction was offered. A sort of middle course was, therefore, adopted by giving the earl of Caithness an opportunity to escape if he inclined. The messengers were accordingly sent back with this answer, that if the earl of Caithness and his army would remain where they lay till sunrise next morning they might be assured of an attack.

When this answer was delivered in the earl of Caithness' camp, his men got so alarmed that the earl, with great difficulty, prevented them from running away immediately. He remained on the field all night watching them in person, encouraging them to remain, and making great promises to them if they stood firm. But his entreaties were quite unavailing, for as soon as the morning dawned, on perceiving the approach of the earl of Sutherland's army, they fled from the field in the utmost confusion, jostling and overthrowing one another in their flight, and leaving their whole baggage behind them. The advanced guard of the earl of Sutherland was commanded by Patrick Gordon of Gartay and Donald Balloch Mackay. The right wing of the main body, consisting of the Strathnaver men, was led by Mackay; the Monroes and the men of Assint formed the left wing, and the earl of Sutherland commanded the centre, composed of the Sutherland men. A body of the Gordons, under the direction of William Gun-Mac-Mhic-Sheumais of Killeirnan, was despatched, by a circuitous route, for the purpose of attacking the Caithness men in their rear; but, on arriving at the place appointed for them, they found that the earl of Caithness' army had disappeared. They, therefore, waited for the coming up of the main body, which was at some distance. The earl of Sutherland resolved to pursue the flying enemy; but, before proceeding on the pursuit, his army collected a quantity of stones which they accumulated into a heap to commemorate the flight of the Caithness men, which heap was called Carn-Teiche, that is, the Flight Cairn.

Not wishing to encounter the earl of Sutherland under the adverse circumstances which had occurred, the earl of Caithness, after entering his own territories, sent a message to this effect to his pursuer, that having complied with his request in withdrawing his army, he hoped hostile proceedings would cease, and that if the earl of Sutherland should advance with his army into Caithness, Earl George would not hinder him; but he suggested to him the propriety of appointing some gentlemen on both sides to see the respective armies dissolved. The earl of Sutherland acceded to this proposal, and sent George Gray of Cuttle, eldest son of Gilbert Gray of Sordell, with a company of resolute men into Caithness to see the army of the earl of Caithness broken up, who accordingly witnessed the disbanding of the Caithness men, who returned joyfully to their homes, having, as they conceived, made a narrow escape with their lives. The earl of Caithness, in his turn, despatched Alexander Bane, chief of the Caithness Banes, who witnessed the dismissal of the earl of Sutherland's army.*

About the period in question, great commotions took place in the north-west isles, in consequence of a quarrel between Donald Gorm Macdonald of Slate, and Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris, which arose out of the following circumstances. Donald Gorm Macdonald, who had married the sister of Sir Roderick, instigated by jealousy, had conceived displeasure at her and put her away. Having complained to her brother of the treatment thus received, Sir Roderick sent a message to Macdonald requiring him to take back his wife. Instead of complying with this request, Macdonald brought an action of divorce against her, and having obtained decree therein, he, thereupon, married the sister of Kenneth Mackenzie, lord of Kintail. Sir Roderick, who considered himself disgraced and his family dishonoured by such proceedings, now determined to wipe away the stain, as he thought, by avenging himself upon his brother-in-law. Assembling, therefore, all his countrymen and his tribe, the Siol-Thormaid, without delay, he invaded with fire and sword the lands of Macdonald, in the isle of Skye, to which he laid claim as his own. Macdonald retaliated this aggression by landing in Harris with his forces, which he laid waste, and after killing some of the inhabitants retired with a large booty in cattle. To make amends for this loss, Sir Roderick invaded Uist, which belonged to Macdonald, and despatched his cousin, Donald Glas Macleod, with forty men into the interior, to lay the island waste, and to carry off a quantity of goods and cattle which the inhabitants had placed within the precincts of the church of Kiltrynard as within a sanctuary. This exploit turned out to be very serious, as Donald Macleod and his party were most unexpectedly attacked in the act of carrying off their prey by John Mac-Iain-Mhic-Sheumais, a kinsman of Macdonald, at the head of a body of twelve men who had remained in the island, by whom Donald Macleod and the greater part of his men were cut to pieces, and the booty rescued. Sir Roderick thinking that the force which had attacked his cousin was much greater than it was, retired from the island, intending to return on a future day with a greater force to revenge his loss.

This odious system of warfare continued till the hostile parties had almost exterminated one another; and to such extremities were they reduced by the ruin and desolation which followed their footsteps, that they were compelled to eat horses, dogs, and cats, and other filthy animals, to preserve a miserable existence. To put an end, if possible, at once to this destructive contest, Macdonald collected all his remaining forces, with the determination of striking a decisive blow at his opponent; and accordingly, in the year sixteen hundred and one, he entered Sir Roderick's territories with the design of bringing him to battle. Sir Roderick was then in Argyle soliciting aid and advice from the earl of Argyle against the Clandonald; but on hearing of the approach of Macdonald, Alexander Macleod, brother of Sir Roderick, resolved to try the result of a battle. Assembling, therefore, all the inhabitants of his brother's lands, together with the whole tribe of the Siol-Thormaid and some of the Siol-Thorcuill, he encamped close by the hill of Benquhillin, in Skye, resolved to give battle to the Clandonald next morning, who were equally prepared for the combat. Accordingly, on the arrival of morning, an obstinate and deadly fight took place, which lasted the whole day, each side contending with the utmost valour for victory; but at length the Clandonald overthrew their opponents. Alexander Macleod was wounded and taken prisoner, along with Neill-Mac-Alastair-Ruaidh, and thirty others of the choicest men of the Siol-Thormaid. Iain-Mac-Thormaid and Thormaid-Mac-Thormaid, two near kinsmen of Sir Roderick, and several others, were slain.

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* Sir Robert Gordon, p. 243.

After this affair, a reconciliation took place between Macdonald and Sir Roderick, at the solicitation of old Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, the laird of Coll, and other friends, when Macdonald delivered up to Sir Roderick the prisoners he had taken at Benquhillin; but although these parties never again showed any open hostility, they brought several actions at law against each other, the one claiming from the other respectively, certain parts of their possessions. When the bloody strife between these two rivals was over, Macdonald paid a visit to the earl of Sutherland, and renewed the ancient league of friendship and alliance, which had been contracted between their predecessors.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 245.

CHAPTER XII.

Feud between the Colquhouns and Macgregors—Defeat of the Colquhouns and Buchanans—Harsh proceedings against the Macgregors—The chief of the Macgregors surrenders himself—Base Execution of the Chief and his hostages—Quarrel between the Clan-Kenzie and Glengarry—The latter outlawed—Proceedings against him and his people—Alister Mack-William-Moir beheaded—Murder of Angus Mack-Kenneth-Mack-Alister—Circumstances which led thereto—The Earl of Caithness attempts to disturb the North—Deadly quarrel in Dornoch—Meeting of the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness at Elgin—Their reconciliation—Dispute between the Earls of Caithness and Orkney—Feud between the Murrays and some of the Seill-Thomas—Dissentions in Moray among the Dunbars—Quarrel between the Earl of Caithness and the Chief of the Mackays—Commotions in Lewis among the Macleods—Proceedings of Torquill Connaldagh—Avaricious conduct of the Mackenzies—Invasion of Lewis by Fife adventurers—They are forced to abandon it—Second invasion and final abandonment of Lewis—Plans of Lord Kintail to obtain possession thereof—Acquires right thereto—Expulsion of Neill Macleod—Quarrel between the Laird of Rasay and Mackenzie of Gairloch—Rasay and Mackenzie, younger of Gairloch, killed—Depredations of William Mack-Angus-Rory—Apprehension of Arthur Smith, a false coiner—His trial and liberation—Employed by the Earl of Caithness—Commission against Smith—Apprehended in Thurso—Tumult in the town in consequence—The Earl of Caithness prosecutes the Commissioners—Submission of differences.

In the early part of the year sixteen hundred and two, the west of Scotland was thrown into a state of combustion, in consequence of the renewal of some old quarrels between Colquhoun of Luss, the chief of that surname, and Alexander Macgregor chief of the Clan-Gregor. Aggressions had formerly been committed on both sides; first by Luss and his party against some of the Macgregors, and then by John Macgregor, the brother of Alexander, against the laird of Luss and his dependants and tenants. To put an end to these dissensions, Alexander Macgregor left Rannoch, accompanied by about two hundred of his kinsmen and friends, entered Lennox, and took up his quarters on the confines of Luss's territory, where he expected, by the mediation of his friends, to bring matters to an amicable adjustment. As the laird of Luss was suspicious of Macgregor's real intentions, he assembled all his vassals, with the Buchanans and others, to the number of 300 horse, and 500 foot, with the design, if the result of the meeting should not turn out to his expectations and wishes, to cut off Macgregor and his party. But Macgregor, anticipating his intention, was upon his guard, and, by his precautions, defeated the design upon him. A conference was held for the purpose of terminating all differences; but the meeting broke up without any adjustment; Macgregor then proceeded homewards. The laird of Luss, in pursuance of his plan, immediately followed Macgregor with great haste through Glenfreon, in the expectation of coming upon him unawares, and defeating him; but Macgregor, who was on the alert, observed, in due time, the approach of his pursuers, and made his dispositions accordingly. He divided his company into two parts, the largest of which he kept under his own command, and placed the other part under the command of John Macgregor, his brother, whom he dispatched by a circuitous route, for the purpose of attacking Luss's party in the rear, when they should least expect to be assailed. This stratagem succeeded, and the result was, that after a keen contest, Luss's party was completely overthrown, with the loss of two hundred men, besides several gentlemen and burgesses of the town of Dumbarton. It is remarkable that of the Macgregors, John, the brother of Alexander, and another person alone, were killed, though some of the party were wounded.

The laird of Luss and his friends sent early notice of their disaster to the king, and they succeeded so effectually by misrepresenting the whole affair to him, and exhibiting to his majesty eleven score bloody shirts belonging to those of their party who were slain, that the king grew exceedingly incensed at the Clan-Gregor, who had no person about the king to plead their cause, proclaimed them rebels, and interdicted all the lieges from harbouring or having any communication with them. The earl of Argyle with the Campbells were afterwards sent against the proscribed clan, who hunted them through the country. About sixty of the clan made a brave stand at Bentoik against a party of two hundred chosen men belonging to the Clan-Cameron, Clan-Nab, and Clan-Ronald, under the command of Robert Campbell, son of the laird of Glenorchy, when Duncan Aberigh, one of the chieftains of the Clan-Gregor, and his son Duncan, and seven gentlemen of Campbell's party were killed. But although they made a brave resistance, and killed many of their pursuers, the Macgregors, after many skirmishes and great losses, were at last overcome. Commissions were thereafter sent through the kingdom, for fining those who had harboured any of the Clan, and for punishing all persons who had kept up any communication with them, and the fines so levied were given by the king to the earl of Argyle, who converted the same to his own use as a recompense for his services against the unfortunate Macgregors.

Alexander Macgregor, the chief, after suffering many vicissitudes of fortune, and many privations, at last surrendered himself to the earl of Argyle, on condition that he should grant him a safe conduct into England to king James, that he might lay before his majesty a true state of the whole affair from the commencement, and crave the royal mercy; and as a security for his return to Scotland, he delivered up to Argyle thirty of his choicest men, and of the best reputation among the clan as hostages to remain in Argyle in custody, till his return from England. But no sooner had Macgregor arrived in Berwick on his way to

London, than he was basely arrested, and brought back by the earl to Edinburgh, and, by his influence, executed along with the thirty hostages. Argyle hoped, by these means, ultimately to annihilate the whole clan; but in this cruel design he was quite disappointed, for the clan speedily increased, and became almost as powerful as before.*

While the Highland borders were thus disturbed by the warfare between the Macgregors and the Colquhouns, a commotion happened in the interior of the Highlands, in consequence of a quarrel between the Clan-Kenzie and the laird of Glengarry, who, according to Sir Robert Gordon, was "unexpert and unskilfull in the lawes of the realme." From his want of knowledge of the law, the Clan-Kenzie are said by the same writer to have "easalie intrapped him within the compas thereof," certainly by no means a difficult matter in those lawless times; and having thus made him commit himself, they procured a warrant for citing him to appear before the justiciary court at Edinburgh, which they took good care should not be served upon him personally. Either not knowing of these legal proceedings, or neglecting the summons, Glengarry did not appear at Edinburgh on the day appointed, but went about revenging the slaughter of two of his kinsmen, whom the Clan-Kenzie had killed after the summons for Glengarry's appearance had been issued. The consequence was that Glengarry and some of his followers were outlawed. Through the interest of the earl of Dunfermline, lord chancellor of Scotland, Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards created Lord Kintail, obtain a commission against Glengarry and his people, which occasioned great slaughter and trouble. Being assisted by many followers from the neighbouring country, Mackenzie, by virtue of his commission, invaded Glengarry's territories, which he wasted and destroyed with fire and sword without control. On his return, Mackenzie besieged the castle of Strome, which ultimately surrendered to him. To assist Mackenzie in this expedition, the earl of Sutherland, in token of the ancient friendship which had subsisted between his family and the Mackenzies, sent two hundred and forty well equipped and able men, under the command of John Gordon of Embo. Mackenzie again returned into Glengarry, where he had a skirmish with a party commanded by Glengarry's eldest son, in which the latter and sixty of his followers were killed. The Mackenzies also suffered some loss on this occasion. At last, after much trouble and bloodshed on both sides, an agreement was entered into, by which Glengarry renounced in favour of Kenneth Mackenzie, the castle of Strome and the adjacent lands.*

In the year sixteen hundred and five, the peace of the northern Highlands was about being disturbed by one of those atrocious occurrences, so common at that time. The chief of the Mackays had a servant named Alastair-Mac-Uilleam-Mhoir. This man having some business to transact in Caithness, went there without the least apprehension of danger, as the earls of Sutherland and Caithness had settled all their differences. No sooner, however, did the latter hear of Mac-Uilleam-Mhoir's arrival in Caithness, than he sent Henry Sinclair, his bastard brother, with a party of men to kill him. Mac-Uilleam-Mhoir, being a bold and resolute man, was not openly attacked by Sinclair; but on entering the house where Mac-Uilleam-Mhoir had taken up his residence, he and his party pretended that they had come on a friendly visit to him to enjoy themselves in his company. Not suspecting their hostile intentions, he invited them to sit down and drink with him; but scarcely had they taken their seats when they seized Mac-Uilleam-Mhoir, and carried him off prisoner to the earl of Caithness, who caused him to be beheaded, in his own presence, the following day. The fidelity of this unfortunate man to Mackay, his master, during the disputes between the earls of Sutherland and Caithness, was the cause for which he suffered. Mackay, resolved upon getting the earl punished, entered a legal prosecution against him at Edinburgh, but by the mediation of the marquis o Huntly the suit was quashed.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 247.

† Ibid. p. 248.

In July, sixteen hundred and five, a murder was committed in Strathnaver, by Robert Gray of Hopsdale or Ospisdell, upon the body of Angus-Mac-Kenneth-Mac-Alister, one of the Siol-Mhurchaidh-Rhaibhaich, under the following circumstances. John Gray of Skibo held the lands of Ardinsh under John, the fifth of that name, earl of Sutherland, as superior, which lands the grandfather of Angus Mac-Kenneth had in possession from John Mackay, son of Y-Roy-Mackay, who, before the time of this earl John, possessed some lands in Breachat. When John Gray obtained the grant of Ardinsh from John the fifth, he allowed Kenneth Mac-Alister, the father of Angus Mac-Kenneth, to retain possession thereof, which he continued to do till about the year fifteen hundred and seventy-three. About this period a variance arose between John Gray and Hugh Murray of Aberscors, in consequence of some law-suits which they carried on against one another; but they were reconciled by Alexander, earl of Sutherland, who became bound to pay a sum of money to John Gray, for Hugh Murray, who was in the meantime to get possession of the lands of Ardinsh in security. As John Gray still retained the property and kept Kenneth Mac-Alister in the possession thereof at the old rent, the Murrays took umbrage at him, and prevailed upon the earl of Sutherland to grant a conveyance of the wadset or mortgage over Ardinsh in favour of Angus Murray, formerly bailie of Dornoch. In the meantime, Kenneth Mac-Alister died, leaving his son, Angus Mac-Kenneth, in possession. Angus Murray having acquired the mortgage, now endeavoured to raise the rent of Ardinsh, but Angus Mac-Kenneth refusing to pay more than his father had paid, was dispossessed, and the lands were let to William Mac-Iain-Mac-Kenneth, cousin of Angus Mac-Kenneth. This proceeding so exasperated Angus that he murdered his cousin William Mackenneth, his wife, and two sons, under cloud of night, and so determined was he that no other person should possess the lands but himself, that he killed no less than nine other persons, who had successively endeavoured to occupy them. No more tenants being disposed to occupy Ardinsh at the risk of their lives, and Angus Murray getting wearied of his possession, resigned his right to Gilbert Gray of Skibo on the death of John Gray, his father. Gilbert, thereafter, conveyed the property to Robert Gray of Ospisdell, his second son; but Robert, being disinclined to allow Angus Mackenneth, who had again obtained possession, to continue tenant, he dispossessed him and let the land to one Finlay Logan, but this new tenant was murdered by Mackenneth in the year sixteen hundred and four. Mackenneth then fled into Strathnaver with a party composed of persons of desperate and reckless passions like himself, with the intention of annoying Robert Gray by their incursions. Gray having ascertained that they were in the parish of Creich, he immediately attacked them and killed Murdo Mackenneth, the brother of Angus, who made a narrow escape, and again retired into Strathnaver. He again returned into Sutherland on the first of May sixteen hundred and five, and, in the absence of Robert Gray, burnt his stable with some of his cattle at Ospisdell. Gray then obtained a warrant against Mackenneth, and having procured the assistance of a body of men from John, earl of Sutherland, he entered Strathnaver and attacked Mackenneth at the Cruffs of Hoip and slew him.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 253.

The earl of Caithness, disliking the unquiet state in which he had for some time been forced to remain, made another attempt in the month of July, sixteen hundred and seven, to hunt in Bengrime, without asking permission from the earl of Sutherland; but he was prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the sudden appearance in Strathully, of the earl of Sutherland, attended by his friend Mackay, and a considerable body of their countrymen. Almost the whole of the inhabitants of Dornoch turned out on this occasion, and went to Strathully. During their absence a quarrel ensued in the town between one John Macphaill, and three brothers of the name of Pope, in which one of the latter was killed; the circumstances leading to and attending which were these. In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-five, William Pope, a native of Ross, settled in Sutherland, and, being a man of good education, was appointed schoolmaster in Dornoch, and afterwards became its resident minister. He also received another clerical appointment in Caithness, by means of which, and of his other living, he became, in course of time, wealthy. This good success induced two younger brothers, Charles and Thomas, to leave their native country and settle in Sutherland. Thomas was soon made chancellor of Caithness, and minister of Rogart. Charles became a notary public and a messenger-at-arms, and having by his good conduct and agreeable conversation ingratiated himself with the earl of Sutherland, he was appointed to the office of sheriff-clerk of Sutherland. Charles and Thomas, being, like their brother, of very provident dispositions, soon acquired considerable wealth, which they laid out, in conjunction with their brother William, in the purchase of houses in the town of Dornoch, where they chiefly resided. Having acquired a very considerable property in this way, many of the inhabitants of the town envied their acquisitions, and took every occasion to insult them as intruders, who had a design, as they supposed, to drive the ancient inhabitants of the place from their possessions. On the occasion in question, William and Thomas Pope, along with other ministers, had held a meeting at Dornoch on church affairs, on dissolving which, they went to breakfast at an inn. While at breakfast, John Macphaill entered the house, and demanded some liquor from the mistress of the inn, but she refused to give him any, as she knew him to be a troublesome and quarrelsome person. Macphaill, irritated at the refusal, spoke harshly to the woman, and the ministers having made some excuse for her, Macphaill vented his abuse upon them. Being threatened by Thomas Pope, for his insolence, he pushed an arrow with a barbed head, which he held in his hand, into one of Pope's arms. The parties then separated, but the two Popes being observed walking in the churchyard, in the evening, with their swords girt about them, by Macphaill, who looked upon their so arming themselves as a threat, he immediately made the circumstance known to Houcheon Macphaill, his nephew, and one William Murray, all of whom entered the churchyard and assailed the two brothers with the most vituperative abuse. Charles Pope, who had been absent from town the whole day, learning, on his return, the danger his brothers were in, immediately hastened to the spot, where he found the two parties engaged. Charles attacked Murray, whom he wounded in the face, whereupon Murray instantly killed him. William and Thomas were grievously wounded by Macphaill and his nephew, and left for dead, but they ultimately recovered. As there were at that time no persons in the town friendly to the Popes, almost the whole population having gone to Strathully, the murderers escaped. Macphaill and his nephew fled to Holland, where they ended their days. After this occurrence, the surviving brothers left Sutherland and went back into their own country.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 254.

By the mediation of the marquis of Huntly, the earls of Caithness and Sutherland again met at Elgin with their mutual friends, and once more adjusted their differences. On this occasion, the earl of Sutherland was accompanied by large parties of the Gordons, the Frasers, the Dunbars, the Clan-Kenzie, the Monroes, the Clan-Chattan, and other friends, which so displeased the earl of Caithness, who was grieved to see his rival so honourably attended, that he could never afterwards be induced to meet again with the earl of Sutherland or any of his family.

In the following year, viz. sixteen hundred and eight, the earl of

Caithness embroiled himself with the notorious Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney. Some servants of the latter being forced, by stress of weather, to land in Caithness, the earl of Caithness apprehended them, and, after forcing them to swallow a quantity of spirits, which completely intoxicated them, he ordered one side of their heads and beards to be shaved, which being done, he compelled them to go to sea although the storm had not abated. Having with some difficulty reached Orkney, they laid their case before their master, who immediately complained to the king and council. His majesty directed his council to take steps for bringing the case to trial; but the two earls having arrived in Edinburgh for the purpose of mutual recrimination, they were induced, by their friends, to adjust their private quarrels between themselves, a proposal to which they wisely acceded, for assuredly neither could gain by a contrary proceeding, and both might, by exposing one another's crimes, have suffered greatly.

During the year last mentioned, a quarrel occurred in Sutherland between Iver Mac-Donald-Mac-Alister, one of the Siol Thomais, and Alexander Murray in Auchindough. Iver, and his eldest son, John, meeting one day with Alexander Murray, and his son Thomas, an altercation took place on some questions in dispute. From words they proceeded to blows, and the result was, that John, the son of Iver, and Alexander Murray, were killed. Iver then fled into Strathnaver, whither he was followed by Thomas Murray, accompanied by a party of twenty-four men, to revenge the death of his father. Iver, however, avoided them, and having assembled some friends, he attacked Murray, unawares, at the hill of Binchlibrig, and compelled him to flee, after taking five of his men prisoners, whom he released after a captivity of five days. As the chief of the Mackays protected Iver, George Murray of Pulrossie took up the quarrel, and annoyed Iver and his party; but the matter was compromised by Mackay, who paid a sum of money to Pulrossie and Thomas Murray, as a reparation for divers losses they had sustained at Iver's hands during his outlawry. This compromise was the more readily entered into by Pulrossie, as the earl of Sutherland was rather favourable to Iver, and was by no means displeased at him for the injuries he did to Pulrossie, who had not acted dutifully towards him. Besides having lost his own son in the quarrel, who was killed by Thomas Murray, Iver was unjustly dealt with in being made the sole object of persecution.*

A civil dissension occurred about this time in Moray, among the Dunbars, which nearly proved fatal to that family. To understand the origin of this dispute, it is necessary to state the circumstances which led to it, and to go back to the period when Patrick Dunbar, sheriff of Moray, and tutor and uncle of Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, was killed, along with the earl of Moray at Dunibristle. Alexander Dunbar did not enjoy his inheritance long, having died at Dunkeld, shortly after the death of his uncle, under circumstances which led to a suspicion that he had been poisoned. As he died without issue he was succeeded by Alexander Dunbar, son of Patrick, slain at Dunibristle, by a sister of Robert Dunbar of Burgy. This Alexander was a young man of great promise, and was directed in all his proceedings by his uncle Robert Dunbar of Burgy. Patrick Dunbar of Blery and Kilbuyack and his family, imagining that Robert Dunbar, to whom they bore a grudge, was giving advice to his nephew, to their prejudice, conceived a deadly enmity at both, and seized every occasion to annoy the sheriff of Moray and his uncle. An accidental meeting having taken place between Robert Dunbar, brother of Alexander, and William Dunbar, son of Blery, high words were exchanged, and a scuffle ensued, in which William Dunbar received considerable injury in his person. Patrick Dunbar and his sons were so incensed at this occurrence, that they took up arms and attacked their chief, Alexander Dunbar, sheriff of Moray, in the town of Forres, where he was shot dead by Robert Dunbar, son of Blery. John Dunbar, sheriff of Moray, who succeeded his brother Alexander, and his brother Robert Dunbar of Burgy, endeavoured to bring the murderers of his brother to justice ; but they failed in consequence of Alexander Dunbar being, at the time of his death, a rebel to the king, having been denounced at the horn for a civil cause. The absurdity of a man being declared an outlaw whom any person might slay with impunity, merely because he had not fulfilled a civil contract, became now so apparent, that the king procured an act to be passed in the ensuing parliament declaring that any man who killed one of the king's subjects should be liable to the penalties of the law, unless the person killed should at the time of his death have stood denounced for a criminal cause. But although John Dunbar and his brother did not succeed in their prosecution, Blery was obliged to pay a sum of money to John Dunbar in satisfaction of his brother's slaughter, and he was compelled to remit his claim upon Robert Dunbar for the bodily injury which his son had received. Robert Dunbar, son of Blery, consented to go into voluntary banishment into Ireland ; and thus this deadly feud was stayed, and a sort of reconciliation effected by the friendly mediation of the earl of Dunfermline, then lord chancellor of Scotland, who fixed the terms of the arrangement above-mentioned.*

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 259.

In the year sixteen hundred and ten the earl of Caithness and Houcheon Mackay, chief of the Mackays, had a difference in consequence of the protection given by the latter to a gentleman named John Sutherland, the son of Mackay's sister. Sutherland lived in Berridale under the earl of Caithness, but he was so molested by the earl that he lost all patience, and went about avenging the injuries he had sustained. The earl, therefore, cited him to appear at Edinburgh to answer to certain charges made against him; but not obeying the summons, he was denounced and proclaimed a rebel to the king. Reduced, in consequence, to great extremities, and seeing no remedy by which he could retrieve himself, he became an outlaw, wasted and destroyed the earl's country, and carried off herds of cattle, which he transported into Strathnaver, the country of his kinsman. The earl thereupon sent a party of the Siol-Mhic-Imheair to attack him, and, after a long search, they found him encamped near the water of Shin in Sutherland. He, however, was aware of their approach before they perceived him, and, taking advantage of this circumstance, he attacked them in the act of crossing said water before they were acquainted with his movements. They were in consequence defeated and pursued, leaving several of their party dead on the field.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 261.

This disaster exasperated the earl, who resolved to prosecute Mackay and his son, Donald Mackay, for giving succour and protection within their country to John Sutherland, an outlaw. Accordingly, he served both of them with a notice to appear before the privy council to answer to the charges he had preferred against them. Mackay at once obeyed the summons, and went to Edinburgh, where he met Sir Robert Gordon, who had come from England for the express purpose of assisting Mackay on the present occasion. The earl, who had grown tired of the troubles which John Sutherland had occasioned in his country, was induced, by the entreaties of friends, to settle matters on the following conditions:—that he should forgive John Sutherland all past injuries, and restore him to his former possessions; that John Sutherland and his brother Donald should be delivered, the one after the other, into the hands of the earl to be kept prisoners for a certain time; and that Donald Mac-Thomais-Mhoir, one of the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich, and a follower of John Sutherland, in his depredations, should be also delivered up to the earl to be dealt with as to him should seem meet, all of which stipulations were complied with. The earl hanged Donald Mac-Thomais as soon as he was delivered up. John Sutherland was kept a prisoner at Girnigo about twelve months, during which time Donald Mackay made several visits to Earl George, for the purpose of getting John Sutherland released, in which he at last succeeded; besides procuring a discharge to Donald Sutherland, who, in his turn, should have surrendered himself as prisoner on the release of his brother John; but upon the condition that he and his father Houcheon Mackay should pass the next following Christmas with the earl at Girnigo. Mackay and his brother William, accordingly, spent their Christmas at Girnigo, but Donald Mackay was prevented by business from attending. The design of the earl of Caithness in thus favouring Mackay, was to separate him from the interests of the earl of Sutherland, but he was unsuccessful.

Some years before the events we have just related, a commotion took place in the Lewis, occasioned by the pretensions of

Torcuill Connaldagh of the Cogigh to the possessions of Roderick Macleod of the Lewis his reputed father. Roderick had first married Barbara Stuart, daughter of Lord Methven, by whom he had a son named Torcuill-Ire, who, on arriving at manhood, gave proofs of a warlike disposition. Upon the death of Barbara Stuart, Macleod married a daughter of Mackenzie, lord of Kintail, whom he afterwards divorced for adultery with the Breive of the Lewis, a sort of judge among the islanders, to whose authority they submitted themselves when he determined any debateable point between them. Macleod next married a daughter of Maclean, by whom he had two sons, Torcuill Dubh and Tormaid.

In sailing from the Lewis to Skye, Torcuill-Ire, eldest son of Macleod, and two hundred men, perished in a great tempest. Torquill Connaldagh, above mentioned, was the fruit of the adulterous connexion between Macleod's second wife and the Breive, at least Macleod would never acknowledge him as his son. This Torcuill being now of age, and having married a sister of Glengarry, he took up arms against Macleod, his reputed father, to vindicate his supposed rights as Macleod's son, being assisted by Tormaid, Ougigh, and Murthow, three of the bastard sons of Macleod. The old man was apprehended and detained four years in captivity, when he was released on the condition that he should acknowledge Torcuill Connaldagh as his lawful son. Tormaid Oagigh having been slain by Donald Macleod, his brother, another natural son of old Macleod, Torcuill Connaldagh, assisted by Murthow Macleod, his reputed bastard brother, took Donald prisoner and carried him to Cogigh, but he escaped from thence and fled to his father in the Lewis, who was highly offended at Torcuill for seizing his son Donald. Macleod then caused Donald to apprehend Murthow, and having delivered him to his father, he was imprisoned by him in the castle of Stornoway. As soon as Torcuill heard of this occurrence, he went to Stornoway and attacked the fort, which he took, after a short siege, and released Murthow. He then apprehended Roderick Macleod, killed a number of his men, and carried off all the charters and other title-deeds of the Lewis, which he gave in custody to the Mackenzies. Torcuill had a son named John Macleod, who was in the service of the marquis of Huntly; he now sent for him, and on his arrival committed the charge of the castle of Stornoway to him, into which old Macleod was imprisoned. John Macleod being now master of the Lewis, and acknowledged superior thereof, he proceeded to expel Rorie-Og and Donald, two of Roderick Macleod's bastard sons, from the island; but Rorie-Og attacked him in Stornoway, and after killing him, released Roderick Macleod, his father, who possessed the island in peace during the remainder of his life. Torcuill Connaldagh, by the assistance of the Clan-Kenzie, got Donald Macleod into his possession and executed him at Dingwall.

Upon the death of Roderick Macleod, his son Torcuill Dubh succeeded him in the Lewis and married a sister of Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris. Taking a grudge at Rorie-Og, his brother, he apprehended him and sent him to Maclean to be detained by him in prison; but he escaped out of Maclean's hands, and afterwards perished in a snow storm. As Torcuill Dubh excluded Torcuill Connaldagh from the succession of the Lewis, as a bastard, the Clan-Kenzie formed a design to purchase and conquer the Lewis, which they calculated on accomplishing from the simplicity of Torcuill Connaldagh, who had now no friend to advise with, and from the dissensions which unfortunately existed among the race of the Siol-Thorcuill. This scheme, moreover, received the aid of a matrimonial alliance between Torcuill Connaldagh and the clan, by a marriage between his eldest daughter and Roderick Mackenzie, the lord of Kintail's brother. The clan did not avow their design openly, but they advanced their enterprise under the pretence of assisting Torcuill Connaldagh, who was a descendant of the Kintail family, and they ultimately succeeded in destroying the family of Macleod of Lewis, together with his tribe, the Siol-Thorcuill, and by the ruin of that family and some neighbouring clans, this ambitious clan became very powerful and made themselves complete masters of Lewis and other places. As Torcuill Dubh was the chief obstacle in their way, they formed a conspiracy against his life, preparatory to which a private meeting was held, which was attended by Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Kintail, Torcuill Connaldagh, Macleod, Breive of Lewis, and Murthow Macleod, the bastard brother of Torcuill Dubh. At this meeting Kenneth Mackenzie delivered an opinion, that in order to advance Torcuill Connaldagh to the possession of the Lewis, it was absolutely necessary to put Torcuill Dubh out of the way, a proposition which was unanimously adopted; but a difficulty occurred in getting a person willing to undertake such a barbarous task. At last the Breive was persuaded by the earnest entreaties of the other three, and on being promised a great reward, to agree to assassinate Torcuill Dubh, after which the meeting broke up. Thereafter the Breive, accompanied by the greater part of his tribe, the Clann-Mhic-Ghille-Moir, went in a galley towards the isle of Rasay, and in his course fell in with a Dutch ship partly laden with wine, which he compelled to follow him into the Lewis. Having arrived there, he invited Torcuill Dubh and a party of his people to a banquet on board the Dutch vessel; but they had scarcely seated themselves, in the expectation of being regaled with wine, when they were all apprehended, tied with cords and carried to the country of the Clan-Kenzie, into the presence of the lord of Kintail, who ordered Torcuill Dubh and his company to be beheaded, which they accordingly were in the month of July fifteen hundred and ninety-seven. At the time of their execution an earthquake happened, which struck terror into the minds of the executioners.

The Mackenzies had now gained a great step in the advancement of their avaricious plans, but they nevertheless hated the Breive and the tribe for their perfidy towards their master. These, repenting of what they had done, and seeing themselves detested by all men, returned into Lewis, and dreading an attack, strengthened themselves within a fort in the island called Neisse. But they were soon driven from this stronghold by Neill Macleod, the bastard brother of Torcuill Dubh with the loss of several men.

Some of the barons and gentlemen of Fife, hearing of these disturbances in Lewis, were enticed, by the encouragement held out by persons who had visited the island, and by the reputed fertility of the soil, to attempt to take possession of the island. The professed object of these adventurers was to civilize the inhabitants, but their real design was, by means of a colony, to supplant the ancient inhabitants, and to drive them from the island; but the speculation proved ruinous to many of them, who, in consequence of the losses they sustained, lost their estates, and were, in the end, obliged to abandon the island. In pursuance of their plan, they obtained from the king, in the year fifteen hundred and ninety nine, a gift of the Lewis, which was then alleged to be at his gratuitous disposal. Having assembled in Fife, these adventurers collected a body of soldiers and artificers of all sorts, whom they sent, along with every thing necessary for a plantation, into the Lewis, where, immediately on their arrival, they began to erect houses in a convenient part of the island, and soon completed a small but handsome town, in which they took up their quarters. The new settlers were however much annoyed in their operations by Neill and Murthow Macleod, the only sons of Roderick Macleod who remained in the island. Murthow Macleod succeeded in apprehending the Laird of Balcolmy, and, having taken his ship, killed all his men. After detaining Balcolmy six months in captivity, he was released upon promising a ransom; but he died on his return to Fife, and Murthow in consequence was disappointed of the promised sum.

In the meantime, Neill Macleod quarrelled with his brother Murthow, for harbouring and maintaining the Breive, and such of his tribe as were still alive, who had been the chief instruments in the murder of Torcuill Dubh. Neill thereupon apprehended his brother, and some of the Clan-Mhic-Ghille-Mhoir, all of whom he killed, reserving his brother only alive. When the Fife speculators were informed that Neill had taken Murthow, his brother, prisoner, they sent him a message offering to give him a share of the island and to assist him in revenging the death of Torcuill Dubh, provided he would deliver Murthow into their hands. Neill agreed to this proposal, and having gone thereafter to Edinburgh, he received a pardon from the king for all his past offences.

These proceedings frustrated for a time the designs of the Mackenzies upon the island, and the lord of Kintail almost despaired of obtaining possession by any means. As the new settlers now stood in his way, he resolved to desist from persecuting the Siol-Torcuill, and to cross the former in all their undertakings, by all the means in his power. He had for some time kept Tormaid Macleod, the lawful brother of Torcuill Dubh, a prisoner; but he now released him, thinking that, upon his appearance in the Lewis, all the islanders would rise in his favour, and he was not deceived in his expectations, for, as Sir Robert Gordon observes, "all these islanders, (and lykwayes the Hielanders,) are, by nature, most bent and prone to adventure themselves, their lyffs, and all they have, for their masters and lords, yea beyond all other people."* In the meantime, Murthow Macleod was carried to St Andrews, and there executed. Having at his execution revealed the designs of the lord of Kintail, the latter was committed by the order of the king to the castle of Edinburgh, from which, however, he contrived to escape without trial, by means, as is supposed, of the then Lord-Chancellor of Scotland.

On receiving pardon Neill Macleod returned into the Lewis with the Fife adventurers; but he had not been long in the island when he quarrelled with them on account of an injury he had received from Sir James Spence of Wormistoun. He, therefore, abandoned them, and watched a favourable opportunity for attacking them. They then attempted to apprehend him by a stratagem. In the middle of a very dark night Sir James Spence sent a party to apprehend Neill and Donald Dubh-Mac-Rory, a gentleman of the island, who had assisted Neill against them; but Neill, contrary to Sir James's expectations, was completely on his guard, and as soon as he became aware of the approach of the party, he attacked them furiously, killed sixty of them, and pursued the remainder till day light next morning, when they took refuge in their camp. When the lord of Kintail heard of this disaster, he thought the time was now suitable for him to stir, and accordingly he sent Tormaid Macleod into the Lewis, as he had intended, promising him all the assistance in his power if he would attack the Fife settlers.

As soon as Tormaid arrived in the island, his brother Neill, and all the natives, assembled and acknowledged him as their lord and master. He immediately attacked the camp of the adventurers, which he forced, burnt the fort, killed the greater part of their men, took the commanders prisoners, whom he released, after a captivity of eight months, on their solemn promise not to return again to the island, and on their giving a pledge that they should obtain a pardon from the king for Tormaid and his followers for all past offences. After Tormaid had thus obtained possession of the island, John Mac-Donald-Mac-Houcheon apprehended Torcuill Connaldagh, and carried him into Lewis to his brother, Tormaid Macleod. Tormaid inflicted no punishment upon Connaldagh, but merely required from him delivery of the title deeds of the Lewis, and the other papers which he had carried off when he apprehended his father Roderick Macleod. Connaldagh informed him that he had it not in his power to give them up, as he had delivered them to the Clan-Kenzie, in whose possession they still were. Knowing this to be the fact, Tormaid released Torcuill Connaldagh, and allowed him to leave the island contrary to the advice of all his followers and friends, who were for inflicting the punishment of death upon Torcuill, as he had been the occasion of all the miseries and troubles which had befallen them.

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* Hist. p. 271.

The Breive of Lewis soon met with a just punishment for the crime he had committed in betraying and murdering his master, Torcuill Dubh Macleod. The Breive and some of his relations had taken refuge in the country of Assint. John Mac-Donald-Mac-Houcheon, accompanied by four persons, having accidentally entered the house where the Breive and six of his kindred lodged, found themselves unexpectedly in the same room with them. Being of opposite factions, the consequence was that a battle immediately ensued, in the course of which the Breive and his party fled out of the house, but they were pursued by John and his men, and the Breive and five of his friends killed. To revenge the death of the Breive, Gille-Calum-Mhoir-Mac-Iain, who became chief of the Clan-Mhic-Ghille-Mhoir after the death of the Breive, searched for John Mac-Donald-Mac-Houcheon to kill him. Meeting one day by chance, in the Cogigh, Gille-Calum-Mhoir was defeated by John, the greater part of his men killed, and he himself was taken prisoner, and being carried into the Lewis to Tormaid Macleod, was there beheaded.

Although the Fife settlers had engaged not to return again into the Lewis, they nevertheless made preparations for invading it, having obtained the king's commission against Tormaid Macleod and his tribe, the Siol-Thorcuill. They were aided in this expedition by forces from all the neighbouring countries. The earl of Sutherland, in particular, sent a party of men under the command of William Mac-Mhic-Sheumais, chief of the Clan-Gun in Sutherland, to assist the gentlemen of Fife in subduing Tormaid Macleod. As soon as they had effected a landing in the island with all their forces, they sent a message to Macleod, acquainting him that if he would surrender himself to them, in name of the king, they would transport him safely to London where his majesty then was; and that, upon his arrival there, they would not only obtain his pardon, but also allow him to deal with the king in behalf of his friends, and for the means of supporting himself. Macleod, afraid to risk his fortune against the numerous forces brought against him, agreed to the terms proposed, contrary to the advice of his brother Neill, who refused to yield. Tormaid was thereupon sent to London, where he took care to make the king to be rightly informed of all the circumstances of his case; he showed his majesty that the Lewis was his just inheritance, and that his majesty had been deceived by the Fife adventurers in making him believe that the island was at his disposal, which act of deception had occasioned much trouble and a great loss of blood. He concluded by imploring his majesty to do him justice, by restoring him to his rights. Understanding that Macleod's representations were favourably received by his majesty, the adventurers used all their influence at court to thwart him; and as some of them were the king's own domestic

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abandoned every idea of again taking possession of the island; and, along with their co-proprietor, sold their right to Lord Kintail for a sum of money, who thus at length obtained what he had so long and anxiously desired.

Lord Kintail lost no time in taking possession of the island, and all the inhabitants, shortly after his landing, with the exception of Neill Macleod and a few others, submitted to him. Neill, along with his nephews, Malcolm, William, and Roderick, the three sons of Roderick Og, the four sons of Torcuill Blair, and thirty others, retired to an impregnable rock in the sea called Berrissay, into which Neill had been accustomed, for some years, to send provisions and other necessary articles to serve him, in case of necessity. Neill lived on this rock for three years, during which period Lord Kintail died, which occurrence took place in the year sixteen hundred and eleven. In the following year, Neill and his company left Berrissay, and landed on the Lewis for the purpose of refreshing themselves upon the land, when they were attacked by some of the Clan-Kenzie, and part of the inhabitants; but they all escaped, and again took refuge on the rock of Berrissay. As Macleod could not be attacked in his impregnable position, and as the nearness of his presence was a source of annoyance, the Clan-Kenzie fell on the following expedient to get quit of him. They gathered together the wives and children of those that were in Berrissay, and also all persons in the island related to them by consanguinity or affinity, and having placed them on a rock in the sea, so near Berrissay that they could be heard and seen by Neill and his party, the Clan-Kenzie vowed that they would suffer the sea to overwhelm them, on the return of the flood-tide, if Neill did not instantly surrender the fort. This appalling spectacle had such an effect upon Macleod and his companions, that they immediately yielded up the rock, and left the Lewis.

Neill Macleod then retired into Harris, where he remained concealed for a time; but not being able to avoid discovery any longer, he gave himself up to Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris, and entreated him to carry him into England to the king, a request with which Sir Roderick promised to comply. In proceeding on his journey, however, along with Macleod, he was charged at Glasgow, under pain of treason, to deliver up Neill Macleod to the privy council. Sir Roderick obeyed the charge, and Neill, with his eldest son Donald, were presented to the privy council at Edinburgh, where Neill was executed in April, sixteen hundred and thirteen. His son, Donald, was banished from the kingdom of Scotland, and immediately went to England, where he remained three years with Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, and from England he afterwards went to Holland, where he died.

While Neill Macleod was on the rock of Berrissay, Peter Love, an English pirate, arrived in the Lewis with a ship laden with a valuable cargo which he had taken. The pirate and Neill being both outlaws, became very friendly and familiar, and they even proposed, by uniting their forces, to make themselves masters of Lewis both by sea and land. But after the pirate had remained some time in the island, he and all his men were taken prisoners by Torcuill Blair and his sons, and were sent, along with the ship, by Neill Macleod to Edinburgh to the privy council, by doing which he hoped not only to obtain his own pardon, but also the release of his brother, Tormaid Macleod, from prison. He was, however, disappointed in this expectation. The pirate and his crew were hanged at Leith.

After the death of Neill Macleod, Roderick and William, the sons of Roderick Og, were apprehended by Roderick Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, and executed. Malcolm Macleod, his third son, who was kept a prisoner by Roderick Mackenzie, escaped, and having associated himself with the Clandonald in Islay and Kintyre during their quarrel with the Campbells in sixteen hundred and fifteen and sixteen, he annoyed the Clan-Kenzie with frequent incursions. Malcolm, thereafter, went to Flanders and Spain, where he remained with Sir James Macdonald. Before going to Spain, he returned from Flanders into the Lewis, in sixteen hundred and sixteen, where he killed two gentlemen of the Clan-Kenzie.*

The foregoing is a brief sketch of the history of the decay of the family of Macleod of the Lewis and of his tribe, and the causes which led to it; a just punishment for the cruelties which they exercised upon one another during their intestine broils.

From the occurrences in Lewis, we now direct the attention of our readers to some proceedings in the isle of Rasay, which, as usual, ended in bloodshed. The quarrel lay between Gille-Calum, laird of the island, and Murdo Mackenzie of Gairloch, the occasion of which was this:—The lands of Gairloch originally belonged to the Clann-Mhic-Ghille-Chalum, the predecessors of the laird of Rasay; and when the Mackenzies began to prosper and to rise, one of them obtained the third part of these lands in mortgage or wadset from the Clann-Mhic-Ghille-Chalum. In process of time the Clan-Kenzie, by some means or other, unknown to the proprietor of Gairloch, obtained a right to the whole of these lands, but they did not claim possession of the whole till the death of Torcuill Dubh Macleod of the Lewis, whom the laird of Rasay and his tribe followed as their superior. But upon the death of Torcuill Dubh, the laird of Gairloch took possession of the whole of the lands of Gairloch in virtue of his pretended right, and chased the Clann-Mhic-Ghille-Chalum from the lands with fire and sword. The Clan retaliated in their turn by invading the laird of Gairloch, plundering his lands and committing slaughters. In a skirmish which took place in the year sixteen hundred and ten, in which lives were lost on both sides, the laird of Gairloch apprehended John Mac-Alain-Mac-Rory, one of the principal men of the clan; but being desirous to get hold also of John Holmoch-Mac-Rory, another of the chiefs, he sent his son Murdo the following year along with Alexander Bane, the son and heir of Bane of Tulloch in Ross, and some others, to search for and pursue John Holmoch; and as he understood that John Holmoch was in Skye, he hired a ship to carry his son and party thither; but instead of going to Skye, they unfortunately, from some unknown cause, landed in Rasay.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 276.

On their arrival in Rasay, Gille-Calum, laird of Rasay, with twelve of his followers, went on board with the intention of purchasing some wine. When Murdo Mackenzie saw them approaching, he and his party, that they might not be seen, concealed themselves in the lower part of the vessel, leaving the mariners only on deck. On coming on board, the laird of Rasay, after some conversation with the sailors, left the vessel, intending to return immediately. When Murdo Mackenzie understood that Rasay and his party had gone on shore, he came upon deck, and on perceiving Rasay return, he resolved to conceal himself no longer. When Rasay returned first from the vessel, he had desired his brother, Murdo Mac-Ghille-Chalum, to accompany him to the ship with another galley to carry the wine, which he said he had bought from the sailors. On returning to the ship he unexpectedly found Murdo Mackenzie on board. After consulting with his men, he resolved to take Mackenzie prisoner, in security for his cousin, John Mac-Alain-Mac-Rory, whom the laird of Gairloch detained in captivity. The party then attempted to seize Mackenzie, but he and his party resisting, a keen conflict took place on board, which continued a considerable time. At last, Murdo Mackenzie, Alexander Bane, and the whole of their party, with the exception of three only, were slain. These three fought manfully, and succeeded in killing the laird of Rasay and the whole men who accompanied him on board, and they wounded several persons that remained in the two boats. Finding themselves seriously wounded, they took advantage of a favourable wind which offered, and sailed away from the island, but the whole three expired on the voyage homewards. The laird of Gairloch, after this event, obtained peaceable possession of these lands.*

About the time this occurrence took place, the peace of the north was almost again disturbed in consequence of the conduct of William Mac-Angus-Roy, one of the Clan Gun, who, though born in Strathnaver, had become a servant to the earl of Caithness. This man had done many injuries to the people of Caithness by command of the earl; and the mere displeasure of Earl George at any of his people, was considered by William Mac-Angus as sufficient authority for him to steal and take away their goods and cattle. William got so accustomed to this kind of service, that he began also to steal the cattle and horses of the earl, his master, and, after collecting a large booty in this way, he took his leave. The earl was extremely enraged at his *quondam* servant for so acting; but, as William Mac-Angus was in possession of a warrant in writing under the earl's own hand, authorising him to act as he had done towards the people of Caithness, the earl was afraid to adopt any proceedings against him, or against those who protected and harboured him, before the privy council, lest he might produce the warrant which he held from the earl. The confidence which the earl had reposed in him served, however, still more to excite the earl's indignation.

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* Sir Robert Gordon, p. 278.

As William Mac-Angus continued his depredations in other quarters, he was apprehended in the town of Tain, on a charge of cattle-stealing; but he was released by the Monroes, who gave security to the magistrates of the town for his appearance when required, upon due notice being given that he was wanted for trial. The Monroes granted this favour out of respect to the chief of the Mackays, whose countryman William Mac-Angus was; but, as a measure of precaution, they detained Mac-Angus in the castle of Foulis until they should receive Mackay's instructions how to act. Impatient of confinement, and think, ing that his friends in Strathnaver were either careless about him in not sending back an answer to the notice sent by the Monroes, or, considering his life in danger, William determined to attempt an escape by jumping from the height of the tower of the castle of Foulis, but he injured one of his legs so much in the fall, that he could not proceed. The laird of Foulis again took him into custody, and, being offended at him for his attempt, he delivered him back again to the provost and bailies of Tain, from whence he was sent into Caithness by Sir William Sinclair of May, sheriff of Tain. The earl of Caithness thereupon put him in fetters, and imprisoned him within Castle Sinclair. His confinement in Castle Sinclair was, however, of short duration; for, disengaging himself from his fetters, he jumped from the castle into the sea which washed its walls, swam safely to the shore, and, after lurking two days among the rocks and mountains in the neighbourhood, effected his escape into Strathnaver in the year sixteen hundred and twelve. The earl of Caithness sent his son, William, Lord Berridale, in pursuit of him; and, understanding that he was in the town of Gall-waill in Strathnaver, he hastened there with a party of men, but missing the fugitive, he, in revenge, apprehended a servant of Mackay, called Angus Henriach, without any authority from his majesty, and carried him to Castle Sinclair, where he was put into fetters and closely imprisoned on the pretence that he had assisted William Mac-Angus in effecting his escape from Gall-waill. When this occurrence took place, Donald Mackay, son of Houcheon Mackay, the chief, was at Dunrobin castle, who, on hearing of the apprehension and imprisonment of his father's servant, could scarcely be made to believe the fact on account of the recent friendship which had been contracted between his father and the earl the preceding Christmas. But being made sensible thereof, and of the cruel usage which the servant had received, he prevailed with his father to summon the earl and his son to answer to the charge of having apprehended and imprisoned Angus Henriach, a free subject of the king, without a commission. The earl was also charged to present his prisoner before the privy council at Edinburgh in the month of June next following, which he accordingly did; and Angus being tried before the lords and declared innocent, was delivered over to Sir Robert Gordon, who then acted for Mackay.*

During the same year (1612) another event occurred in the north, which created considerable uproar and discord in the northern Highlands. A person of the name of Arthur Smith, who resided in Banff, had counterfeited the coin of the realm, in consequence of which he, and a man who had assisted him, fled from Banff into Sutherland, where, being apprehended in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-nine, they were sent by the countess of Sutherland to the king, who ordered them to be imprisoned in Edinburgh for trial. They were both accordingly tried and condemned, and having confessed to crimes even of a deeper dye, Smith's accomplice was burnt at the place of execution. Smith himself was reserved for farther trial. During his imprisonment he contrived to get possession of instruments belonging to his trade, and made a lock of such ingenious device and beautiful workmanship, that it could no where be matched. The lock was presented to the king as a rare and curious piece of work, who was so pleased with it that he ordered Smith's execution to be delayed. Lord Elphinston, the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, regretting that such an ingenious workman should be deprived of life, obtained a fresh respite for him, and afterwards got him liberated from jail. Smith then went to Caithness, and entered into the service of George, Earl of Caithness, in whose employment he continued for seven or eight years. His workshop was under the rock of Castle Sinclair, in a quiet retired place called the Gote, and to which there was a secret passage from the earl's bedchamber. No person was admitted to Smith's workshop but the earl; and the circumstance of his being often heard working during the night, raised suspicions that some secret work was going on which could not bear the light of day. The mystery was at last disclosed by an inundation of counterfeit coin in Caithness, Orkney, Sutherland, and Ross, which was first detected by Sir Robert Gordon, brother of the earl of Sutherland when in Scotland, in the year sixteen hundred and eleven, and who, on his return to England, made the king acquainted therewith. His Majesty thereupon addressed a letter to the lords of the privy council of Scotland, authorising them to grant a commission to Sir Robert to apprehend Smith, and bring him to Edinburgh. Sir Robert returned to Scotland the following year, but was so much occupied with other concerns that he could not get the commission executed himself; but before his departure to England, he entrusted the commission to Donald Mackay, his nephew, and to John Gordon, younger of Embo, whose name was jointly inserted in the commission along with that of Sir Robert. Accordingly, Mackay and Gordon, accompanied by Adam Gordon Georgeson, John Gordon in Broray, and some other Sutherland men, went to Strathnaver, and assembling some of the inhabitants, they marched into Caithness next morning, and entered the town of Thurso, where Smith then resided.

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* Sir R. Gordon p. 281.

After remaining about three hours in the town, the party went to Smith's house and apprehended him. On searching his house they found a quantity of fictitious gold and silver coin. Donald Mackay caused Smith to be put on horseback, and then rode off with him out of the town. To prevent any tumult among the inhabitants, Gordon remained behind in the town with some of his men to show them, if necessary, his Majesty's commission for apprehending Smith. Scarcely, however, had Mackay left the town, when the town-bell was rung and all the inhabitants assembled. There were present in Thurso at the time, John Sinclair of Stirkage, son of the earl of Caithness' brother, James Sinclair, brother of the laird of Dun, James Sinclair of Dyrren, and other friends, on a visit to Lady Berridale. When information was brought them of the apprehension of Smith, Sinclair of Stirkage, transported with rage, swore that he would not allow any man, no matter whose commission he held, to carry away his uncle's servant in his uncle's absence. Lady Berridale and the rest of the company remonstrated with him on the impropriety of such a rash resolution, and advised him to submit to the king's authority; but he contemned the advice given him, and upbraiding his party, ran hastily out of the house. His friends followed him quickly, and overtook him just as the inhabitants of the town were collecting. There was no time for deliberation, and seeing Sinclair and the people resolute, they joined him in attacking John Gordon and his party. A furious onset was made upon Gordon, but his men withstood it bravely, and after a warm contest, the inhabitants were defeated with some loss, and obliged to retire to the centre of the town. Donald Mackay hearing of the tumult, returned to the town to aid Gordon, but the affair was over before he arrived. Sinclair of Stirkage was killed on this occasion, and James Sinclair, brother of the laird of Dun, was left for dead, and would probably have died but for the kind attentions of John Gordon in Broray, and Adam Gordon Georgeson, his kinsmen. James Sinclair of Dyrren saved himself by flight, but was so closely pursued, that he received several blows on his back while running away. Some of the Sutherland men were wounded, including John Gordon in Broray, Adam Gordon Georgeson, and John Baillie in Killen. To prevent the possibility of the escape or rescue of Smith, he was killed by the Strathnaver men as soon as they heard of the tumult in the town. This affair happened in the month of May sixteen hundred and twelve.

Sir Robert Gordon being at this time in Edinburgh, his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon, immediately made him acquainted with all that had taken place under the commission; and Sir John Sinclair of Greenland sent a gentleman, at the same time, to Edinburgh to inform his brother, the earl of Caithness, of the occurrences in the town of Thurso. The earl was exceedingly grieved at the death of his nephew, for whom he entertained a great affection, and he was extremely vexed to think that an affair, so disgraceful, as he thought, to himself personally, should have occurred in the heart of his own country, and in his chief town. The earl, therefore, resolved to prosecute Donald Mackay, John Gordon, younger of Embo, with their followers, for the slaughter of Sinclair of Stirkage, and the mutilation of James Sinclair, brother of the laird of Dun, and summoned them, accordingly, to appear at Edinburgh. On the other hand, Sir Robert Gordon and Donald Mackay prosecuted the earl of Caithness and his son, Lord Berridale, with several other of their countrymen for resisting the king's commission, attacking the commissioners, and apprehending Angus Herriach, without a commission, which was declared treason by the laws. The earl of Caithness endeavoured to make the Privy Council believe that the affair at Thurso arose out of a premeditated design against him, and that Sir Robert Gordon's intention in obtaining a commission against Arthur Smith was, under the cloak of its authority, to find means to slay him and his brethren; and that in pursuance of his plan, Sir Robert had, a little before the skirmish in Thurso, caused the earl to be denounced and proclaimed a rebel to the king, and had lain in wait to kill him; but Sir Robert showed the utter groundlessness of these charges to the Lords of the Council, and although it was quite true that he had caused the earl to be denounced rebel, yet he made it evident, from various circumstances, that his reason for this was very different from that assigned by the earl.

On the day appointed for appearance, the parties met at Edinburgh, attended by their respective friends. The earl of Caithness and his son, Lord Berridale, were accompanied by the Lord Gray, the laird of Roslin, the laird of Cowdenknowes, a son of the sister of the earl of Caithness, and the lairds of Murkle and Greenland, brothers of the earl, along with a large retinue of subordinate attendants. Sir Robert Gordon and Donald Mackay were attended by the earl of Winton and his brother, the earl of Eglintoun, with all their followers, the earl of Linlithgow, with the Livingstones, the Lord Elphinston, with his friends, the Lord Forbes, with his friends, the Drummonds, Sir John Stewart, captain of Dumbarton, and bastard son of the duke of Lennox; the Lord Balfour, the laird of Lairg Mackay in Galloway; the laird of Foulis, with the Monroes, the laird of Duffus, some of the Gordons, as Sir Alexander Gordon, brother of the earl of Sutherland, Cluny, Lesmoir, Buckie, Knokespock, with other gentlemen of respectability. The absence of the earl of Sutherland and Houcheon Mackay mortified the earl of Caithness, who could not conceal his displeasure at being so much overmatched in the respectability and number of attendants by seconds and children, as he was pleased to call his adversaries.

According to the usual practice on such occasions, the parties were accompanied by their respective friends, from their lodgings, to the house where the council was sitting; but few were admitted within. The council spent three days in hearing the parties and deliberating upon the matters brought before them, but they came to no conclusion, and adjourned their proceedings till the king's pleasure should be known. In the mean time, the parties, at the entreaty of the Lords of the Council, entered into recognizances to keep the peace, in time coming, towards each other, which extended not only to their kinsmen but also to their friends and dependants. Lord Elphinston became surety for the earl of Sutherland, and his friends and the laird of Cowdenknowes engaged for the other party. As soon as this arrangement had been entered into, the earl of Caithness dispatched one of his friends to England to lay a favourable statement of his case before the king; but Sir Robert Gordon being made acquainted with the earl's design, and afraid that he might, by his statement, prejudice his majesty, he posted in haste to England, and arrived at Eltham Park, where the Court was then held, before the earl's messenger reached his destination. Having made the king acquainted with the real state of the facts, Sir Robert returned to Edinburgh.

The king, after fully considering the state of affairs between the rival parties, and judging that if the law was allowed to take its course, the peace of the northern countries might be disturbed by the earls and their numerous followers, proposed to the Lords of the Privy Council to endeavour to prevail upon them to submit their differences to the arbitration of mutual friends. Accordingly, after a good deal of entreaty and reasoning, the parties were persuaded to agree to the proposed measure. A deed of submission was then subscribed by the earl of Caithness and William, Lord Berridale, on the one part, and by Sir Robert Gordon and Donald Mackay on the other part, taking burden on them for the earl of Sutherland and Mackay. The arbiters appointed by Sir Robert Gordon were the earl of Kinghorn, the master of Elphinston, the earl of Haddington, afterwards Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, and Sir Alexander Drummond of Meidhop. And the Archbishop of Glasgow, Sir John Preston, Lord President of the Council, Lord Blantyre, and Sir William Oliphant, Lord Advocate, were named by the earl of Caithness. The earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was chosen oversman and umpire by both parties. As the arbiters had then no time to hear the parties, or to enter upon the consideration of the matters submitted to them, they appointed them to return to Edinburgh in the month of May, sixteen hundred and thirteen.

At the appointed time, the earl of Caithness and his brother, Sir John Sinclair of Greenland, came to Edinburgh, where Sir Robert Gordon also arrived, at the same time, from England. Sir Alexander Gordon, brother of Sir Robert, likewise went to Edinburgh to give him his advice and assistance. The arbiters, however, who were all members of the Privy Council, being much occupied with state affairs, and finding the matters submitted to them to be of too tedious and intricate a nature to take up at that time, resolved to adopt the following course. They made the parties subscribe a new deed of submission, under which they gave authority to the marquis of Huntly, by whose friendly offices the differences between the two houses had formerly been so often adjusted, to act in the matter by endeavouring to bring about a fresh reconciliation. As the marquis was the cousin-german of the earl of Sutherland, and brother-in-law of the earl of Caithness, who had married his sister, the council thought him the most likely person to be entrusted with such an important negotiation. Besides the authority of the council, the marquis had sufficient powers conferred on him, many years before, to decide all questions which might arise between the earls under a bond subscribed by Alexander, earl of Sutherland, and the earl of Caithness. The marquis entered upon the performance of the task assigned him, but finding the parties obstinate and determined not to yield a single point of their respective claims and pretensions, he declined to act farther in the matter, and remitted the whole affair back to the Privy Council.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Clan-Cameron disturb Lochaber—Invaded by Lord Gordon—Threats of the Earl of Caithness to invade Sutherland and Strathnaver—Earl of Sutherland prepares to oppose him—Sir Donald Mackay and others pardoned—Earl of Sutherland imprisoned as a suspected Catholic—Liberated—Returns to prison—Liberated again—Fresh attempts of the Earl of Caithness—William Mack-Kames settles in Strathnaver—Apprehended stealing in the Glen of Loth—Oppressions of the Earl of Caithness—Firing of the corns of Sanset—Discovery of the Fire-raisers—Legal proceedings against the Guns—Earl of Caithness refuses to deliver them up—Agreement between the Earl of Caithness, Sir Robert Gordon, and Lord Forbes—Apprehension and imprisonment of Lord Berridale—Released—Imprisoned again for debt—Alliance between the Earl of Caithness and Sir Donald Mackay—Sir Robert Gordon protects the Clan-Gun—Mackay's attempts against the Clan—Dispute between the Earl of Caithness and Sir Alexander Gordon of Navidale—Meeting on the marches of Rimbisdale—Mackay and Sir R. Gordon reconciled—Quarrel between the Earl of Enzie and the Clan-Chattan—The Chief committed to prison—Is reconciled with the Earl—Dispute between the Laird of Duffus and Gordon, younger of Embo—Slaughter of Thomas Lindsay—Hostile preparations against the Earl of Caithness—Liberation of Lord Berridale—Expedition into Caithness—Flight of the Earl—Reduction and Pacification of Caithness.

During the years sixteen hundred and twelve and thirteen, the peace of Lochaber was disturbed by the Clan-Cameron, who put the whole of that country into an uproar. George, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, raised a force to put them down, and wrote to Sir Robert Gordon and Donald Mackay to meet him at Inverness, for the purpose of accompanying him into Lochaber. Having collected a body of three hundred men, well armed and appointed, they went to Inverness at the time appointed; but on arriving there, in the month of August, they were informed that the proposed expedition had, in the meantime, been postponed. In the course of the following year, however, the enterprize was entered upon, and the earl of Sutherland, who had just returned from his travels, sent Donald Mackay and John Gordon, younger of Embo, with three hundred able and resolute men, and one hundred and forty servants, to assist Lord Gordon in his expedition. Immediately on their arrival in Lochaber, the Sutherland men accidentally fell in with Alain-Mac-Dhonnil-Duibh, captain of the Clan-Cameron, and his party, whom they proposed immediately to attack; but they were dissuaded from engaging by some of Lord Gordon's men, who assured them that a truce, for two days, had been entered into between the clan and his lordship. Lord Gordon having pursued these disturbers of the peace, and restored

Lochaber to quiet in the meantime, returned home; but he was soon again despatched thither by the privy council, in consequence of fresh disturbances on the part of Alain-Mac-Dhonnil-Duibh, who had killed thirteen of his clan whom he suspected of treachery. Order was again restored, for a time, by the submission of Alain-Mac-Dhonnil-Duibh, who surrendered himself to Lord Gordon in the latter end of sixteen hundred and fourteen. Alain was imprisoned at Inverness, but was released from confinement on giving sufficient surety to keep the king's peace in time coming.*

As the privy council showed no inclination to decide the questions submitted to them by the earl of Caithness and his adversaries, the earl sent his brother, Sir John Sinclair of Greenland, to Edinburgh, to complain of the delay which had taken place, and desired him to throw out hints, that if the earl did not obtain satisfaction for his supposed injuries, he would take redress at his own hands. The earl thought that he would succeed by such a threat in concussing the council to decide in his favour, for he was well aware that he was unable to carry it into execution. To give some appearance of an intention to enforce it, he, in the month of October, sixteen hundred and thirteen, while the earl of Sutherland, his brothers and nephews, were absent from the country, made a demonstration of invading Sutherland or Strathnaver, by collecting his forces at a particular point, and bringing thither some pieces of ordnance from Castle Sinclair. The earl of Sutherland, having arrived in Sutherland while the earl of Caithness was thus employed, immediately assembled some of his countrymen, and along with his brother Sir Alexander, went to the marches between Sutherland and Caithness, near the height of Strathully, where they waited the approach of the earl of Caithness. Here they were joined by Mackay who had given notice of the earl of Caithness's movements to the lairds of Foulis, Balnagown, and Assint, and the sheriff of Cromarty, and the tutor of Kintail, all of whom prepared themselves to assist the earl of Sutherland on receiving notice that their services were wanted.

While matters stood thus, Sir John Sinclair returned from Edinburgh, who, along with the laird of Murkle, went to his brother's camp, reported what he had done, and advised him not to hazard an appeal to arms, but wait the pleasure of the council, who would undoubtedly give him satisfaction. Earl George, very wisely, took his brother's advice, and returned home with his men, who made a narrow escape from drowning, in consequence of being overtaken in their journey home by a tremendous tempest of wind and rain. The earl of Sutherland sent his brother, Sir Alexander, Donald Mackay, and Gordon, younger of Embo, with a party of men after the earl of Caithness, to watch his movements, who remained in Caithness three days, and having witnessed the dissolution of his force, returned to Sutherland.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 295.

To prevent the earl of Caithness from attempting any farther interference with the privy council, either in the way of intrigue or intimidation, Sir Robert Gordon obtained a remission and pardon from the king, in the month of December, sixteen hundred and thirteen, to his nephew, Donald Mackay, John Gordon, younger of Embo, John Gordon in Broray, Adam Gordon Georgeson, and their accomplices, for the slaughter of John Sinclair of Stirkage at Thurso. An impediment was thrown in the way of its passing the seals by Sir Gideon Murray, the Deputy Treasurer of Scotland, in consequence of a private warrant from his Majesty, directed to Sir Gideon to pass the signature of the remission gratis; but this impediment was removed by a second warrant from the king to Sir Gideon, who passed the remission through the seals, in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and sixteen.*

The earl of Caithness, being thus baffled in his designs against the earl of Sutherland and his friends, fell upon a device which never failed to succeed in times of religious intolerance and persecution. Unfortunately for mankind and for the interests of Christianity, the principles of religious toleration, involving the inalienable right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, have been, till of late, but little understood, and at the period in question, and for upwards of one hundred and sixty years thereafter, the statute book of Scotland was disgraced by penal enactments against the Catholics, almost unparalleled for their sanguinary atrocity. By an act of the first parliament of James VI., any Catholic who assisted at the offices of his religion, was, " for the first fault," that is, for following the dictates of his conscience, to suffer confiscation of all his goods, moveable and immoveable, personal and real; for the second banishment; and death for the third fault! But the law was not confined to overt acts only—the mere suspicion of being a Catholic placed the suspected person out of the pale and protection of the law, for if, on being warned by the bishops and ministers, he did not recant and give confession of his faith according to the approved form, he was excommunicated and declared infamous and incapable to sit or stand in judgment, pursue or bear office. †

Under this last mentioned law, the earl of Caithness now sought to gratify his vengeance against the earl of Sutherland. Having represented to the archbishop of St Andrews and the clergy of Scotland, that the earl of Sutherland was a Catholic in private, he prevailed upon the bishops, with little difficulty, it is supposed, to acquaint the king thereof. His majesty, thereupon, issued a warrant against the earl of Sutherland, who was, in consequence, apprehended and imprisoned at St Andrews. The earl applied to the bishops for a month's delay, namely, till the fifteenth day of February, sixteen hundred and fourteen, pro-

* Sir R. Gordon, p. 298.

† Act James VI., Parl. 3 Cap. 45.

mising that, before that time, he would either give the church satisfaction, or surrender himself; but his application was refused by the High Commission of Scotland. Sir Alexander Gordon, the brother of the earl, being then in Edinburgh, immediately gave notice to his brother, Sir Robert Gordon, who was at the time in London, of the proceedings against their brother, the earl. Sir Robert having applied to his Majesty for the release of the earl for a time, that he might make up his mind on the subject of religion, and look after his affairs in the north, his Majesty granted a warrant for his liberation till the month of August following. On the expiration of the time, he returned to his confinement at St Andrews, from whence he was removed, on his own application, to the abbey of Holyrood house, where he remained till the month of March, sixteen hundred and fifteen, when he obtained leave to go home, "having," says Sir Robert Gordon, "in some measure satisfied the church concerning his religion."

The earl of Caithness, thus again defeated in his views, tried, as a dernier resort, to disjoin the families of Sutherland and Mackay. Sometimes he attempted to prevail upon the marquis of Huntly to persuade the earl of Sutherland and his brothers to come to an arrangement altogether independent of Mackay; and at other times he endeavoured to persuade Mackay, by holding out certain inducements to him, to compromise their differences without including the earl of Sutherland in the arrangement; but he completely failed in these attempts.*

Ever since the death of John Sinclair at Thurso, the earl of Caithness used every means in his power to induce such of his countrymen, individually, as were daring enough, to show their prowess and dexterity to make incursions into Sutherland or Strathnaver, for the purpose of annoying the vassals and dependants of the earl of Sutherland and his ally, Mackay. Amongst others he often communicated on this subject with William Kenneth-son, whose father, Kenneth Buidhe, had always been the principal instrument in the hands of Earl George in oppressing the people of his own country, and for the furtherance of his plans he at last prevailed upon William, who already stood rebel to the king in a criminal cause, to go into voluntary banishment into Strathnaver, and put himself under the protection of Mackay, to whom he was to pretend that he had left Caithness to avoid any solicitations from the earl of Caithness to injure the inhabitants of Strathnaver. To cover their designs they caused a report to be spread that William Mac-Kenneth was to leave Caithness because he would not obey the orders of the earl to execute some designs against Sir Robert Gordon, the tutor of Sutherland, and Mackay, and when this false rumour had been sufficiently spread, Mac-Kenneth, and his brother John, and their dependents, fled into Strathnaver and solicited the favour and protection of Mackay. The latter received them kindly; but as William and his party had been long addicted to robbery and theft, he strongly advised them to abstain from such practices in all time coming; and that they might not afterwards plead necessity as an excuse for continuing their depredations, he allotted them some lands to dwell on. After staying a month or two in Strathnaver, during which time they stole some cattle and horses out of Caithness, William received a private visit, by night, from Kenneth Buidhe, his father, who had been sent by the earl of Caithness for the purpose of executing a contemplated depredation in Sutherland. Mackay was then in Sutherland on a visit to his uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, which being known to William Mac-Kenneth, he resolved to enter Sutherland with his party, and carry off into Caithness all the booty they could collect. Being observed in the Glen of Loth, by some of the Clan Gun, collecting cattle and horses, they were immediately apprehended, with the exception of Iain-Garbh-Mac-Chonald-Mac-Mhurchidh-Mhoir, who, being a very resolute man, refused to surrender, and was, in consequence, killed. The prisoners were presented to Sir Robert Gordon at Dornoch, who committed William and his brother, John, to the castle of Dornoch for trial. In the meantime, two of the principal men of Mac-Kenneth's party were tried, convicted and executed, and the remainder were allowed to return home on giving surety to keep the peace. This occurrence took place in the month of January, sixteen hundred and sixteen.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 299.

The earl of Caithness, whose restless disposition and lawless proceedings have been already so fully noticed, now finished his career of iniquity by the perpetration of a crime, which, though trivial in its consequences, was of so highly a penal nature in itself as to bring his own life into jeopardy. As the circumstances which led to the burning of the corn of William Innes, a servant of Lord Forbes at Sanset in Caithness, and the discovery of the earl of Caithness as the instigator, are somewhat curious, it is thought that a recital of them may not be here out of place.

Among other persons who had suffered at the hands of the earl was his own kinsman, William Sinclair of Dumbaith. After annoying him in a variety of ways, the earl instigated his bastard brother, Henry Sinclair, and Kenneth Buidhe, to destroy and lay waste part of Dumbaith's lands, who, unable to resist, and being in dread of personal risk, locked himself up in his house at Dunray, which they besieged. William Sinclair immediately applied to John, earl of Sutherland, for assistance, who sent his friend Mackay, with a party to rescue Sinclair from his perilous situation. Mackay succeeded and carried Sinclair along with him into Sutherland, where he remained for a time, but he afterwards went to reside in Moray where he died. Although thus cruelly persecuted and forced to become an exile from his country, by the earl of Caithness, no entreaties could induce him to apply for redress, choosing rather to suffer himself than to see his relative punished. William Sinclair was succeeded by his grandson, George Sinclair, who married a sister of Lord Forbes. By the persuasion of his wife, who was a mere tool in the hands of the earl of Caithness, George Sinclair was induced to execute a deed of entail, by which, failing of heirs male of his own body, he left the whole of his lands to the earl. When the earl had obtained this deed, he began to devise means to make away with Sinclair, and he actually persuaded Sinclair's wife to assist him in this nefarious design. Having obtained notice of this conspiracy against his life, Sinclair left Caithness and took up his residence with his brother-in-law, Lord Forbes, who received him with great kindness and hospitality, and reprobated very strongly the wicked conduct of his sister. Sinclair now recalled the entail in favour of the earl of Caithness, and made a new deed by which he conveyed his whole estate to Lord Forbes. George Sinclair died soon after the execution of the deed, and having left no issue, Lord Forbes took possession of his lands of Dunray and Dumbaith.

Disappointed in his plans to acquire Sinclair's property, the earl of Caithness seized every opportunity of annoying Lord Forbes in his possessions, by oppressing his tenants and servants, in every possible way, under the pretence of discharging his duty as sheriff, to which office he had been appointed by the earl of Huntly on occasion of his marriage with Huntly's sister. Complaints were made from time to time against the earl, on account of these proceedings, to the Privy Council of Scotland, who, in some measure, afforded redress ; but to protect his tenants more effectually, Lord Forbes took up a temporary residence in Caithness, relying upon the aid of the house of Sutherland in case of need.

As the earl was aware that any direct attack on Lord Forbes would be properly resented, and as any enterprise undertaken by his own people would be laid to his charge, however cautious he might be in dealing with them, the earl fixed on the Clan-Gun as the fittest instruments for effecting his designs against Lord Forbes. Besides being the most resolute men in Caithness, always ready to undertake any desperate action, they depended more upon the earl of Sutherland and Mackay, from whom they held some lands, than upon the earl of Caithness, a circumstance which the earl supposed, should the contemplated outrages of the Clan-Gun ever become matter of inquiry, might throw the suspicion upon the earl of Sutherland and Mackay as the silent instigators. Accordingly, the earl opened a negotiation with John Gun, chief of the Clan-Gun in Caithness, and with his brother, Alexander Gun, whose father he had hanged in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-six. In consequence of an invitation, the two brothers, along with Alexander Gun, their cousin-german, repaired to Castle Sinclair, where they met the earl. The earl did not at first divulge his plans to all the party ; but taking Alexander Gun, the cousin, aside, he pointed out to him the injury he alleged he had sustained, in consequence of Lord Forbes having obtained a footing in Caithness,—that he could no longer submit to the indignity shown him by a stranger,—that he had made choice of him (Gun) to undertake a piece of service for him, on performing which, he would reward him most amply; and to secure compliance, the earl desired him to remember the many favours he had already received from him, and how well he had treated him, promising at same time, to show him even greater kindness in time coming. Alexander, thereupon, promised to serve the earl, though at the hazard of his life; but upon being interrogated by the earl whether he would undertake to burn the corn of Sanset, belonging to William Innes, a servant of Lord Forbes, Gun, who had never imagined that he was to be employed in such an ignoble affair, expressed the greatest astonishment at the proposal, and refused, in the most peremptory and indignant manner, to undertake its execution; yet, to satisfy the earl, he told him that he would, at his command, undertake to assassinate William Innes, an action which he considered less criminal and dishonourable, and more becoming a gentleman, than burning a quantity of corn! Finding him obdurate, the earl enjoined him to secrecy.

The earl next applied to the two brothers, John and Alexander, with whom he did not find it so difficult to treat. They, at first, hesitated with some firmness in undertaking the business on which the earl was so intent; and they pleaded an excuse, by saying, that as justice was then more strictly executed in Scotland than formerly, they could not expect to escape, as they had no place of safety to retreat to after the crime was committed; as a proof of which, they instanced the cases of the Clan-Donald and Clan-Gregor, two races of people much more powerful than the Clan-Gun, who had been brought to the brink of ruin, and almost annihilated, under the authority of the laws. The earl replied, that as soon as they should perform the service for him, he would send them to the western isles, to some of his acquaintances and friends, with whom they might remain until Lord Forbes and he were reconciled, when he would obtain their pardon,—that in the mean time he would profess, in public, to be their enemy, but that he would be their friend secretly, and permit them to frequent Caithness without danger. Alexander Gun, overcome at last by the entreaties of the earl, reluctantly consented to his request, and going into Sanset, in the dead of night, with two accomplices, he set fire to all the corn stacks which were in the barn-yard, belonging to William Innes, and which were in consequence consumed. This affair occurred in the month of November, sixteen hundred and fifteen. The earl of Caithness immediately spread a report through the whole country that Mackay's tenants had committed this outrage; but the deception was of short duration.

Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, having arrived in the north of Scotland from England, in the month of December following this occurrence, resolved to probe the matter to the bottom, not merely on account of his nephew, Mackay, whose men were suspected, but to satisfy Lord Forbes, who was now on friendly terms with the house of Sutherland; but the discovery of the perpetrators soon became an easy task, in consequence of a quarrel among the Clan-Gun themselves, who upbraided one another as the authors of the fire-raising. Alexander Gun, the cousin of Alexander Gun the real criminal, thereupon fled from Caithness, and sent some of his friends to Sir Robert Gordon and Donald Mackay with these proposals;—that if they would receive him into favour, and secure him from danger, he would confess the whole circumstances, and reveal the authors of the conflagration, and that he would declare the whole before the privy council, if required. On receiving this proposal, Sir Robert Gordon appointed Alexander Gun to meet them privately at Helmsdale, in the house of Sir Alexander Gordon, brother of Sir Robert. A meeting was accordingly held at the place appointed, at which Sir Robert and his friends agreed to do every thing in their power to preserve Gun's life; and Mackay promised, moreover, to give him a possession in Strathie, where his father had formerly lived.

When the earl of Caithness heard of Alexander Gun's flight into Sutherland, he became greatly alarmed, lest Alexander should reveal the affair of Sanset; and anticipating such a result, the earl gave out every-where, that Sir Robert Gordon, Mackay, and Sir Alexander Gordon, had hired some of the Clan-Gun to accuse him of having burnt William Innes' corn. But this artifice was of no avail, for as soon as Lord Forbes received notice from Sir Robert Gordon of the circumstances related by Alexander Gun, he immediately cited John Gun, and his brother Alexander, and their accomplices, to appear for trial at Edinburgh, on the second day of April, sixteen hundred and sixteen, to answer to the charge of burning the corn at Sanset; and he also summoned the earl of Caithness, as sheriff of that county, to deliver them up for trial. John Gun, thinking that the best course he could pursue, under present circumstances, was to follow the example of his cousin, Alexander, sent a message to Sir Alexander Gordon, desiring an interview with him; which being granted, they met at Navidale. John Gun then offered to confess and reveal every thing he knew concerning the fire, on condition that his life should be spared; but Sir Alexander observed, that he could come under no engagement, as he was uncertain how the king and the council might view such a proceeding; but he promised, that as John had not been an actor in the business, but a witness only to the arrangement between his brother and the earl of Caithness, he would do what he could to save him, if he went to Edinburgh in compliance with the summons.

In this state of matters, the earl of Caithness wrote to the marquis of Huntly, accusing Sir Robert Gordon and Mackay of a design to bring him within the reach of the law of treason, and to injure the honour of his house by slandering him with the burning of the corn at Sanset,—that, in the year sixteen hundred and twelve, they had insinuated to the king and council that he was privy to Arthur Smith's doings,—that his brother's son had lost his life in consequence, and that not satisfied therewith, they were now accusing him of new treasonable practices. He, therefore, requested the marquis, as a mutual friend, to persuade them to desist from pursuing this business, and he offered, on his own part, to submit to the marquis any controversy between them. Sir Robert Gordon and Mackay having occasion to meet the marquis at the Bog-a-Gight on other business, they were made acquainted by him of the earl's communication. They observed, in answer, that they had never at any time insinuated any thing against the earl of Caithness; but that if his own conscience did accuse him of any thing, they were not to be blamed on that account,—that they could not refuse to assist Lord Forbes in finding out the persons who had burned the corn at Sanset, but that they had never imagined that the earl would have acted so base a part as to become an accomplice in such a criminal act; and farther, that as Mackay's men were challenged with the deed, they certainly were entitled at least to clear Mackay's people from the charge, by endeavouring to find out the malefactors,—in all which they considered they had done the earl no wrong. And as to John Sinclair's death, the same had been occasioned by his own act in opposing his majesty's warrant, on which account the king had pardoned the parties concerned, by a remission under the great seal. The marquis of Huntly did not fail to write the earl of Caithness the answer he had received from Sir Robert Gordon and Mackay, which grieved him exceedingly, as he was too well aware of the consequences which would follow if the prosecution of the Guns was persevered in.

At the time appointed for the trial of the Guns, Sir Robert Gordon, Mackay, and Lord Forbes, with all his friends, went to Edinburgh, and upon their arrival they entreated the council to prevent a remission in favour of the earl of Caithness being passed the signet until the affair in hand was tried; a request with which the council complied. The earl of Caithness did not appear; but he sent his son, Lord Berridale, to Edinburgh, along with John Gun and all those persons who had been summoned by Lord Forbes, with the exception of Alexander Gun and his two accomplices. He alleged as his reason for not sending them that they were not his men, being Mackay's own tenants, and dwelling in Dilred, the property of Mackay, which was held by him of the earl of Sutherland, who, he alleged, was bound to present the three persons alluded to. But the lords of the council would not admit of this excuse, and again required Lord Berridale and his father to present the three culprits before the court on the tenth day of June following, because, although they had possessions in Dilred, they had also lands from the earl of Caithness on which they usually resided. Besides, the deed was committed in Caithness, of which the earl was sheriff, on which account also he was bound to apprehend them. Lord Berridale, whose character was quite the reverse of that of his father, apprehensive of the consequences of a trial, now offered satisfaction in his father's name to Lord Forbes, if he would stop the prosecution; but his lordship refused to do any thing without the previous advice and consent of Sir Robert Gordon and Mackay, who, upon being consulted, made articles of agreement to be drawn up, which were presented to Lord Berridale by neutral persons for his acceptance, but considering the conditions sought to be imposed upon his father too hard, he rejected them.

In consequence of the refusal of Lord Berridale to accede to the terms proposed, John Gun was apprehended by one of the magistrates of Edinburgh, on the application of Lord Forbes, and committed a prisoner to the jail of that city. Gun thereupon requested to see Sir Robert Gordon and Mackay, whom he entreated to use their influence to procure him his liberty, promising to declare every thing he knew of the business for which he was prosecuted before the lords of the council. Sir Robert and Mackay then deliberated with Lord Forbes and Lord Elphinston on the subject, and they all four promised faithfully to Gun to do every thing in their power to save him, and that they would from thenceforth maintain and defend him and his cousin, Alexander Gun, against the earl of Caithness or any person, as long as they had reason and equity on their side; besides which, Mackay promised him a liferent lease of the lands of Strathie to compensate for his possessions in Caithness, of which he would, of course, be deprived by the earl for revealing the earl's connexion with the fire-raising at Sanset. John Gun was accordingly examined the following day by the lords of the council, when he confessed that the earl of Caithness made his brother, Alexander Gun, burn the corn of Sanset, and that the affair had been proposed and discussed in his presence. Alexander Gun, the cousin, was examined also at the same time, and stated the same circumstances precisely as John Gun had done. After examination, John and Alexander were again committed to prison.

As neither the earl of Caithness nor his son, Lord Berridale, complied with the commands of the council to deliver up Alexander Gun and his accomplices in the month of June, they were both outlawed and denounced rebels; and were summoned and charged by Lord Forbes to appear personally at Edinburgh in the month of July immediately following, to answer to the charge of causing the corn of Sanset to be burnt. This fixed determination on the part of Lord Forbes to bring the earl and his son to trial, had the effect of altering their tone, and they now earnestly entreated him and Mackay to agree to a reconciliation on any terms; but they declined to enter into any arrangement until they had consulted Sir Robert Gordon. After obtaining Sir Robert's consent, and a written statement of the conditions which he required, from the earl of Caithness in behalf of his nephew, the earl of Sutherland, the parties entered into a final agreement, in the month of July, sixteen hundred and sixteen. The principal heads of the contract, which was afterwards recorded in the books of council and session, were as follow:—That all civil actions between the parties should be settled by the mediation of mutual friends,—that the earl of Caithness and his son should pay to Lord Forbes and Mackay the sum of 20,000 merks Scots money,—that all quarrels and criminal actions should be mutually forgiven, and particularly, that the earl of Caithness and all his friends should forgive and remit the slaughter and mutilation at Thurso, —that the earl of Caithness and his son should renounce for themselves and their heirs all jurisdiction, criminal or civil, within Sutherland and Strathnaver, and any other jurisdiction which they should thereafter happen to acquire over any lands lying within the diocese of Caithness then pertaining, or which should afterwards belong, to the earl of Sutherland or his heirs,—that the earl of Caithness should deliver Alexander Gun and his accomplices to Lord Forbes,—that the earl, his son, and their heirs, should never from thenceforth contend with the earl of Sutherland for precedency in parliament or priority of place,—that the earl of Caithness and his son, their friends and tenants, should keep the peace in time coming, under the penalty of great sums of money, and should never molest nor trouble the tenants of the earl of Sutherland and Lord Forbes,—that the earl of Caithness, his son, or their friends, should not receive nor harbour any fugitives from Sutherland or Strathnaver,—and that there should be good friendship and amity kept amongst them in all time to come.

In consequence of this agreement, the two sons of Kenneth Buy, William and John before-mentioned, were delivered to Lord Berridale, who gave security for their keeping the peace; and John Gun and Alexander, his cousin, were released and delivered to Lord Forbes and Mackay, who gave surety to the lords of the council to present them for trial whenever required; and as the earl of Caithness had deprived them of their possessions in Caithness on account of the discovery they had made, Mackay, who had lately been knighted by the king, gave them lands in Strathnaver as he had promised. Matters being thus settled, Lord Berridale presented himself before the court at Edinburgh to abide his trial; but no person of course appearing against him, the trial was postponed. The earl of Caithness, however, failing to appear, the diet against him was continued till the twenty-eighth day of August following.

Although the king was well pleased, on account of the quiet which such an adjustment would produce in his northern dominions, with the agreement which had been entered into, and the proceedings which followed thereon, all of which were made known to him by the privy council; yet, as the passing over such a flagrant act as wilful fire-raising, without punishment, might prove pernicious, he wrote a letter to the privy council of Scotland, commanding them to prosecute, with all severity, those who were guilty of, or accessory to the crime. Lord Berridale was thereupon apprehended on suspicion, and committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; and his father, perceiving the determination of the king to prosecute the authors of the fire, again declined to appear for trial on the appointed day, on which account he was again outlawed, and declared a rebel as the guilty author.

In this extremity Lord Berridale had recourse to Sir Robert Gordon, then resident at court, for his aid. He wrote him a letter, entreating him that as all controversies were now settled, he would, in place of an enemy, become a faithful friend,—that for his own part, he, Lord Berridale, had been always innocent of all the jars and dissensions which had happened between the two families,—that he was also innocent of the crime with which he was charged,—and that he wished his majesty to be informed by Sir Robert of these circumstances, hoping that he would order him to be released from confinement. Sir Robert's answer was to this effect,—that he had long desired a perfect agreement between the houses of Sutherland and Caithness, which he would endeavour to maintain during his administration in Sutherland,—that he would intercede with the king, in behalf of his lordship, to the utmost of his power,—that all disputes being now at an end, he would be his faithful friend,—that he had a very different opinion of his disposition, from that he entertained of his father, the earl; and he concluded by entreating him to be careful to preserve the friendship which had been now commenced between them.

As the king understood that Lord Berridale was supposed to be innocent of the crime with which he and his father stood charged, and as he could not, without a verdict against Berridale, proceed against the family of Caithness by forfeiture, in consequence of his lordship having been infeft many years before in his father's estate; his majesty, on the earnest entreaty of the then bishop of Ross, Sir Robert Gordon, and Sir James Spence of Wormistoun, was pleased to remit and forgive the crime on the following conditions:—1st. That the earl of Caithness and his son should give satisfaction to their creditors, who were constantly annoying his majesty with clamours against the earl, and craving justice at his hands. 2d. That the earl of Caithness, with consent of Lord Berridale, should freely renounce and resign perpetually, into the hands of his majesty, the heritable sheriffship and justiciary of Caithness. 3d. That the earl of Caithness should deliver the three criminals who had burnt the corn, that public justice might be satisfied upon them, as a terror and example to others. 4th. That the earl of Caithness, with consent of Lord Berridale, should give and resign *in perpetuum* to the bishop of Caithness, the house of Strabister, with as many of the feu lands of that bishoprick as should amount to the yearly value of two thousand merks Scots money, for the purpose of augmenting the income of the bishop which was at that time small in consequence of the greater part of his lands being in the hands of the earl. Commissioners were sent down from London to Caithness, in October sixteen hundred and sixteen, to see that these conditions were complied with. The second condition as well as the last was immediately implemented; and as the earl and his son promised to give satisfaction to their creditors, and to do every thing in their power to apprehend the burners of the corn; the latter was released from the castle of Edinburgh, and directions were given for drawing up a remission and pardon to the earl of Caithness. Lord Berridale, however, had scarcely been released from the castle, when he was again imprisoned within the jail of Edinburgh, at the instance of Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes, his cousin german, who had become surety for him and his father to their creditors for large sums of money. The earl himself narrowly escaped the fate of his son and retired to Caithness, but his creditors had sufficient interest to prevent his remission from passing till they should be satisfied. With consent of the creditors the council of Scotland gave him a personal protection, from time to time, to enable him to come to Edinburgh for the purpose of settling with them, but he made no arrangement and returned privately into Caithness before the expiration of the supersedere which had been granted him, leaving his son to suffer all the miseries of a prison. After enduring a captivity of five years Lord Berridale was released from prison by the good offices of the earl of Enzie, and put, for behoof of himself, and his own, and his father's creditors, in possession of the family estates from which his father was driven by Sir Robert Gordon acting under a royal warrant, a just punishment for the many enormities of a long and misspent life.*

Desperate as the fortunes of the earl of Caithness were even previous to the disposal of his estates, he most unexpectedly found an ally in Sir Donald Mackay who had taken offence at Sir Robert Gordon, and who being a man of quick resolution and of an inconstant disposition, determined to forsake the house of Sutherland, and to ingratiate himself with his mortal enemy, the earl of Caithness. The pretended cause of Mackay's discontent was, that Sir Robert Gordon had excluded him from all share in the government of Sutherland, in which he had participated jointly with John the last earl of Sutherland, and that Sir Robert had dispossessed him of all the property he had purchased or intended to purchase in that country; that he had taken from him by a decree-arbitral a part of the Diriemoor which John, the last earl, had given him, and that Sir Robert, instead of countenancing, was rather an enemy to such as depended upon him in Sutherland; in one word, that all the favours he had received from the earl were now withdrawn from him by his uncles Sir Robert and Sir Alexander. Besides these reasons, Mackay was influenced by pecuniary considerations; for having, as he alleged, burdened his estates with debts incurred for some years past in following the house of Sutherland, he thought that, in time coming, he might, by procuring the favour of the earl of Caithness, turn the same to his own advantage and that of his countrymen; and as he had been induced to his own prejudice to grant certain liferent tacks of the lands of Strathie and Dilred to John and Alexander

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 329. et seq.

Gun, and others of the Clan-Gun for revealing the affair of Sanset, he thought that by joining the earl of Caithness, these Clan-Gun might be destroyed, by which means he would get back his lands which he meant to convey to his brother, John Mackay, as a portion; and he, moreover, expected that the earl would give him and his countrymen some possessions in Caithness. But the chief ground of discontent on the part of Sir Donald Mackay was an action brought against him and Lord Forbes before the court of session, to recover a contract entered into between the last earl of Sutherland and Mackay, in the year sixteen hundred and thirteen, relative to their marches and other matters of controversy, which being considered by Mackay as prejudicial to him, he had endeavoured to get destroyed through the agency of some persons about Lord Forbes, into whose keeping the deed had been intrusted.

After brooding over these subjects of discontent for some years, Mackay, in the year sixteen hundred and eighteen, suddenly resolved to break with the house of Sutherland, and to form an alliance with the earl of Caithness, who had long borne a mortal enmity at that family. Accordingly, Mackay sent John Sutherland, his cousin-german, into Caithness to request a private conference with the earl in any part of Caithness he might appoint. This offer was too tempting to be rejected by the earl, who expected, by a reconciliation with Sir Donald Mackay, to turn the same to his own personal gratification and advantage. In the first place, he hoped to revenge himself upon the Clan-Gun, who were his principal enemies, and upon Sir Donald himself, by detaching him from his superior, the earl of Sutherland, and from the friendship of his uncles, who had always supported him in all his difficulties. In the second place, he expected that, by alienating Mackay from the duty and affection he owed the house of Sutherland, that he would weaken its power and influence. And lastly, he trusted that Mackay would not only be prevailed upon to discharge his own part, but would also persuade Lord Forbes to discharge his share of the sum of 20,000 merks Scots, which he and his son, Lord Berridale, had become bound to pay them, on account of the burning at Sanset.

The earl of Caithness having at once agreed to Mackay's proposal, a meeting was held by appointment in the neighbourhood of Dunray, in the parish of Reay, in Caithness. The parties met in the night-time, accompanied each by three men only. After much discussion, and various conferences, which were continued for two or three days, they resolved to destroy the Clan-Gun, and particularly John Gun, and Alexander, his cousin. To please the earl, Mackay undertook to despatch these last, as they were obnoxious to him, on account of the part they had taken against him, in revealing the burning at Sanset. They persuaded themselves that the house of Sutherland would defend the clan, as they were bound to do by their promise, and that that house would be thus drawn into some snare. And to confirm their friendship, the earl and Mackay arranged that John Mackay, the only brother of Sir

Donald, should marry a niece of the earl, a daughter of James Sinclair of Murkle, who was a mortal enemy of all the Clan-Gun. Having thus planned the line of conduct they were to follow, they parted, after swearing to continue in perpetual friendship.

Notwithstanding of the private way in which the meeting was held, accounts of it immediately spread through the kingdom; and every person wondered at the motives which could induce Sir Donald Mackay to take such a step so unadvisedly, without the knowledge of his uncles, Sirs Robert and Alexander Gordon, or of Lord Forbes. The Clan-Gun receiving secret intelligence of the design upon them, from different friendly quarters, retired into Sutherland. The clan were astonished at Mackay's conduct, as he had promised, at Edinburgh, in presence of Lords Forbes and Elphingston and Sir Robert Gordon, in the year sixteen hundred and sixteen, to be a perpetual friend to them, and chiefly to John Gun and to his cousin Alexander.

After Mackay returned from Caithness, he sent his cousin-german, Angus Mackay of Bighouse to Sutherland, to acquaint his uncles, who had received notice of the meeting, that his object in meeting the earl of Caithness was for his own personal benefit, and that nothing had been done to their prejudice. Angus Mackay met Sir Robert Gordon at Dunrobin, to whom he delivered his kinsman's message, which, he said, he hoped Sir Robert would take in good part, adding, that Sir Donald would show, in presence of both his uncles, that the Clan-Gun had failed in duty and fidelity to him and the house of Sutherland, since they had revealed the burning; and, therefore, that if his uncles would not forsake John Gun, and some others of the clan, he would adhere to them no longer. Sir Robert Gordon returned a verbal answer, by Angus Mackay, that, when Sir Donald came in person to Dunrobin to clear himself, as in duty he was bound to do, he would then accept of his excuse, and not till then. And he, at the same time, wrote a letter to Sir Donald, to this effect—That for his own (Sir Robert's) part, he did not much regard Mackay's secret journey to Caithness, and his reconciliation with Earl George, without his knowledge or the advice of Lord Forbes; and that, however unfavourable the world might construe it, he would endeavour to colour it in the best way he could, for Mackay's own credit. He desired Mackay to consider that a man's reputation was exceedingly tender, and that if it were once blemished, though wrongfully, there would still some blot remain, because the greater part of the world would always incline to speak the worst; that whatever had been arranged in that journey, between him and the earl of Caithness, beneficial to Mackay, and not prejudicial to the house of Sutherland, he should be always ready to assist him therein, although concluded without his consent: and, as to the Clan-Gun, he could not with honesty or credit abandon them, and particularly John and his cousin Alexander, until tried and found guilty, as he had promised faithfully to be their friend, for revealing the affair of Sanset.

that he had made them this promise at the earnest desire and entreaty of Sir Donald himself; that the house of Sutherland did always esteem their truth and constancy to be their greatest jewel; and seeing that he and his brother, Sir Alexander, were almost the only branches of it then of age or man's estate, they would endeavour to prove true and constant, wheresoever they did possess friendship; and that neither the house of Sutherland, nor any greater house whereof they had the honour to be descended, should have the least occasion to be ashamed of them in that respect: that if Sir Donald had quarrelled or challenged the Clan-Gun, before going into Caithness and his arrangement with Earl George, the clan might have been suspected; but he saw no reason to forsake them until they were found guilty of some great offence. Such was the substance of Sir Robert Gordon's letter to Sir Donald Mackay, who was displeased that his uncles should hesitate for a moment in forsaking John Gun and his clan, at his desire.

Sir Robert Gordon, therefore, acting as tutor for his nephew, took the Clan-Gun under his immediate protection, with the exception of Alexander Gun, the burner of the corn, and his accomplices. John Gun thereupon demanded a trial before his friends, that they might hear what Sir Donald had to lay to his charge. A meeting was accordingly held at Dornoch, at which the parties met, in presence of Sir Robert and his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon, before whom the whole matter was debated; but nothing was laid to the charge of the Clan-Gun but mere imputations, which were suggested by the earl of Caithness, who alleged that they had suggested to him a plot against Sir Donald's life. This charge being unsupported by any evidence, John Gun and his kinsmen were acquitted, and declared innocent of any offence, either against the house of Sutherland or Mackay, since the fact of the burning.

Sir Donald Mackay, dissatisfied with this result, went to Edinburgh, for the purpose of obtaining a commission against the Clan-Gun from the council, for old crimes, committed by them before his Majesty had left Scotland for England; but he was successfully opposed in this, by Sir Robert Gordon, who wrote a letter to the lord chancellor and to the earl of Melrose, afterwards earl of Haddington and lord privy seal, showing that the object of Sir Donald, in asking such a commission, was to break the king's peace, and to breed fresh troubles in Caithness. Disappointed in this attempt, Sir Donald returned home to Strathnaver, and, in the month of April, sixteen hundred and eighteen, he went to Braill, in Caithness, where he met the earl, with whom he continued three nights. On this occasion, they agreed to despatch Alexander Gun, the burner of the corn, lest Lord Forbes should request the earl to deliver him up; and they hoped that, in consequence of such an occurrence, the tribe might be drawn into some snare. Before parting, the earl delivered to Mackay some old writs of certain lands in Strathnaver, and other places within the diocese of Caithness, which belonged to Sir Donald's predecessors; by means of which the earl thought he would put Sir Donald by the ears with his uncles, who, he expected, would bring an action against the earl of Sutherland, for the warrandice of Strathnaver, and thus free himself from the superiority of the earl of Sutherland.

Shortly after this meeting was held, Sir Donald entered Sutherland, privately, for the purpose of capturing John Gun; but, after lurking two nights in Golspie, watching Gun, without effect, he was discovered by Adam Gordon of Kilcalmkill, a trusty dependant of the house of Sutherland, and thereupon returned to his country. In the mean time, the earl of Caithness, who sought every opportunity to quarrel with the house of Sutherland, disputed with Sir Alexander Gordon of Navidale, about the marches between Torrish, in Strathully, and the lands of Berridale. The earl, alleging that Sir Alexander's servants had built their summer sheillings beyond their old accustomed limits, sent some men to pull them down; and he, moreover, sent a letter to Sir Alexander Gordon, complaining that he had passed the old marches of Torrish, and desiring him, out of courtesy and kindness, to confine himself within his own bounds. Sir Alexander received this letter, and the intelligence that the sheillings had been cast down, at one and the same time, when he returned for answer, that he did not expect such treatment from him; but, as the earl had thought proper to begin matters in such a way, Sir Alexander assured him, that, on a certain day during the ensuing week, he would repair these sheillings again, whatever opposition the earl might show to the measure. When Sir Donald Mackay heard of this dispute, and the threat of Sir Alexander Gordon, he sent a message to the earl of Caithness, desiring to know whether he had any intention of meeting Sir Alexander and the Sutherland men on the day appointed, as he intended to be present also, if the earl meant to attend. The earl, however, neither returned an answer nor met Sir Alexander, who was consequently allowed to rebuild his sheillings without molestation.

When Sir Robert Gordon heard of these occurrences in the north, he returned home from Edinburgh, where he had been for some time; and, on his return, he visited the Marquis of Huntly at Strathbogie, who advised him to be on his guard, as he had received notice from the earl of Caithness that Sir Donald meant to create some disturbances in Sutherland. The object the earl had in view, in acquainting the Marquis of Mackay's intentions, was to screen himself from any imputation of being concerned in Mackay's plans, although he favoured them in secret. As soon as Sir Robert Gordon was informed of Mackay's intentions, he hastened to Sutherland; but, before his arrival there, Sir Donald had entered Strathully with a body of men, in quest of Alexander Gun, the burner, against whom he had obtained letters of caption. He expected that if he could find Gun in Strathully, where the clan of that name chiefly dwelt, they, and particularly John Gun, would protect Alexander, and that in consequence he would ensnare John Gun and his tribe, and bring them within the reach of the law, for having resisted the king's authority; but Mackay was disappointed in his expectations, for Alexander Gun escaped, and none of the Clan-Gun made the least movement, not knowing how Sir Robert Gordon stood affected towards Alexander Gun. In entering Strathully, without acquainting his uncles of his intention, Sir Donald had acted improperly, and contrary to his duty, as the vassal of the house of Sutherland: but, not satisfied with this trespass, he went to Badinloch, and there apprehended William M'Corkill, one of the Clan-Gun, and carried him along with him towards Strathnaver, on the ground that he had favoured the escape of Alexander Gun; but M'Corkill escaped, while his keepers were asleep, and went to Dunrobin, where he met Sir Alexander Gordon, to whom he related the circumstance.

Hearing that Sir Robert Gordon was upon his journey to Sutherland, Mackay left Badinloch in haste and went privately to the parish of Culmaly, and took up his residence in Golspietour with John Gordon, younger of Embo, till he should learn in what manner Sir Robert would act towards him. Mackay perceiving that his presence in Golspietour was likely to lead to a tumult among the people, he sent his men home to Strathnaver, and went himself, the following day, taking only one man along with him, to Dunrobin castle, where he met Sir Robert Gordon, who received him kindly according to his usual manner; and after Sir Robert had opened his mind very freely to him on the bad course he was pursuing, he began to talk to him about a reconciliation with John Gun; but Sir Donald would not hear of any accommodation, and, after staying a few days at Dunrobin, returned home to his own country.

A dispute having occurred on the subject of the eastern marches between Sutherland and Strathnaver, it was agreed by the parties interested that some mutual friends should meet at Rimbisdale for the purpose of fixing them. The time fixed had now arrived, and, accordingly, Sir Alexander Gordon, John Mackay, and John Monroe of Leamlair, who were appointed to adjust the marches, met at the time and place appointed. To save trouble, it was agreed that they should meet with only twenty-four men on each side; but the inhabitants of Caithness having flocked to the place of meeting to await the issue, the people of Strathnaver also generally attended, a circumstance which induced Sir Robert Gordon to send five hundred men, without delay, to attend his brother, Sir Alexander, for protecting him in case of necessity, while Sir Robert himself was prepared to join him with the rest of the inhabitants of Sutherland. The affair of the marches was, however, so effectually settled by Monroe of Leamlair, that all the parties returned quietly to their respective homes.

Sir Donald Mackay perceiving the danger in which he had placed himself, and seeing that he could place no reliance on the hollow and inconstant friendship of the earl of Caithness, became desirous of a reconciliation with his uncles by submitting himself to the house of Sutherland, and with this view he offered to refer all matters in dispute to the arbitrament of friends, and to make such satisfaction for his offences as they might enjoin. As Sir Robert Gordon still had a kindly feeling towards Mackay, and as the state in which the affairs of the house of Sutherland stood during the minority of his nephew, the earl, could not conveniently admit of following out hostile measures against Mackay, Sir Robert embraced Mackay's offer. The parties, therefore, met at Tain, and matters being discussed in presence of Sir Alexander Gordon of Navidale, George Monroe of Milntoun, and John Monroe of Leamlair, they adjudged that Sir Donald should send Angus Mackay of Bighouse, and three gentlemen of the Slaight-ean-Abterigh, to Dunrobin, there to remain prisoners during Sir Robert's pleasure, as a punishment for apprehending William M'Corkill at Badinloch. After settling some other matters of little moment, the parties agreed to hold another meeting for adjusting all remaining questions, at Elgin, in the month of June of the following year, sixteen hundred and nineteen, and subscribed a submission to that effect. Sir Donald wished to include Gordon of Embo and others of his friends, in Sutherland, in this arrangement; but as they were vassals of the house of Sutherland, Sir Robert would not allow Mackay to treat for them.

In the month of November, sixteen hundred and eighteen, the peace of the Highlands was in danger of being disturbed in consequence of a quarrel between George, Lord Gordon, earl of Enzie, and Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, chief of the Clan-Chattan, which arose out of the following circumstances:—When the earl went into Lochaber, in the year sixteen hundred and thirteen, in pursuit of the Clan-Cameron, he requested Mackintosh to accompany him, both on account of his being the vassal of the marquis of Huntly, the earl's father, and also on account of the ancient enmity which had always existed between the Clan-Chattan and Clan-Cameron, in consequence of the latter keeping forcible possession of certain lands belonging to the former in Lochaber. To induce Mackintosh to join him, the earl promised to dispossess the Clan-Cameron of the lands belonging to Mackintosh, and to restore him to the possession of them; but, by advice of the laird of Grant, his father-in-law, who was an enemy of the house of Huntly, he declined to accompany the earl in his expedition. The earl was greatly displeased at Mackintosh's refusal, which, afterwards, led to some disputes between them. A few years after the date of this expedition, in which the earl subdued the Clan-Cameron and took their chief prisoner, whom he imprisoned at Inverness, in the year sixteen hundred and fourteen, Mackintosh obtained a commission against Mackronald, younger of Moydart, and his brother, Donald Glas, for laying waste his lands in Lochaber; and, having collected all his friends, he entered Lochaber for the purpose of apprehending them, but, being unsuccessful in his attempt to capture them, he returned home. As Mackintosh conceived that he had a right to the services of all his clan, some of whom were tenants and dependants of the marquis of Huntly, he ordered the latter to follow him, and compelled such of them as were refractory to accompany him into Lochaber. This proceeding gave offence to the earl of Enzie, who summoned Mackintosh before the lords of the privy council for having, as he asserted, exceeded his commission. He, moreover, got Mackintosh's commission recalled, and obtained a new commission in his own favour from the lords of the council, under which he invaded Lochaber, and expelled Mac-Ronald and his brother, Donald, from that country.

As Mackintosh held certain lands from the earl and his father for services to be done, which the earl alleged had not been performed by Mackintosh, agreeably to the tenor of his titles, the earl brought an action against Mackintosh in the year sixteen hundred and eighteen, for evicting these lands, on the ground of his not having implemented the conditions on which he held them. And, as the earl had right to the tithes of Culloden, which belonged to Mackintosh, he served him, at same time, with an inhibition, prohibiting him to dispose of these tithes. As the time for tithing drew near, Mackintosh, by advice of the Clan-Kenzie and the Grants, circulated a report that he intended to oppose the earl in any attempt he might make to take possession of the tithes of Culloden in kind, because such a practice had never before been in use, and that he would try the issue of an action of spuilzie, if brought against him. Although the earl was much incensed at such a threat on the part of his own vassal, yet, being a privy counsellor, and desirous of showing a good example in keeping the peace, he abstained from enforcing his right; but, having formerly obtained a decree against Mackintosh for the value of the tithes of the preceding years, he sent two messengers-at-arms to poind and distrain the corns upon the ground under that warrant. The messengers were, however, resisted by Mackintosh's servants, and forced to desist in the execution of their duty. The earl, in consequence, pursued Mackintosh and his servants before the privy council, and got them denounced and proclaimed rebels to the king. He, thereupon, collected a number of his particular friends with the design of carrying his decree into execution, by distraining the crop at Culloden and carrying it to Inverness. Mackintosh prepared himself to resist, by fortifying the house of Culloden and laying in a large quantity of ammunition, and having collected all the corn within shot of the castle and committed the charge of it to his two uncles, Duncan and Lauchlan, he waited for the approach of the earl. As the earl was fully aware of Mackintosh's preparations, and that the Clan-Chattan, the Grants, and the Clan-Kenzie, had promised to assist Mackintosh in opposing the execution of his warrant, he wrote to Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, to meet him at Culloden on the fifth day of November, sixteen hundred and eighteen, being the day fixed by him for enforcing his decree. On receipt of this letter, Sir

Robert Gordon left Sutherland for Bog-a-Gight, where the marquis of Huntly and his son then were, and on his way paid a visit to Mackintosh with the view of bringing about a compromise; but Mackintosh, who was a young man of a headstrong disposition, refused to listen to any proposals, and rode post haste to Edinburgh, from whence he went privately into England.

In the meantime, the earl of Enzie having collected his friends, to the number of eleven hundred horsemen well appointed and armed, and six hundred Highlanders on foot, came to Inverness with this force on the day appointed, and, after consulting his principal officers, marched forwards toward Culloden. When he arrived within view of the castle the earl sent Sir Robert Gordon to Duncan Mackintosh, who, with his brother, commanded the house, to inform him, that, in consequence of his nephew's extraordinary boasting, he had come thither to put his majesty's laws in execution, and to carry off the corn which of right belonged to him. To this message Duncan made this reply,—that he did not mean to prevent the earl from taking away what belonged to him, but that, in case of attack, he would defend the castle which had been committed to his charge. Sir Robert, on his return, begged the earl to send Lord Lovat, who had some influence with Duncan Mackintosh, to endeavour to prevail on him to surrender the castle. At the desire of the earl, Lord Lovat accordingly went to the house of Culloden, accompanied by Sir Robert Gordon and George Monroe of Milntoun, and, after some entreaty, Mackintosh agreed to surrender at discretion; a party thereupon took possession of the house, and sent the keys to the earl. He was, however, so well pleased with the conduct of Mackintosh, that he sent back the keys to him, and as neither the Clan-Chattan, the Grants, nor the Clan-Kenzie, appeared to oppose him, he disbanded his party and returned home to Bog-a-Gight. He did not even carry off the corn, but gave it to Mackintosh's grandmother, who enjoyed the liferent of the lands of Culloden as her jointure.

As the earl of Enzie had other claims against Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, he cited him before the lords of council and session, but failing to appear, he was again denounced rebel, and outlawed for his disobedience. Sir Lauchlan, who was then in England at court, informed the king of the earl's proceedings, which he described as harsh and illegal, and, to counteract the effect which such a statement might have upon the mind of his majesty, the earl posted to London and laid before him a true statement of matters. The consequence was, that Sir Lauchlan was sent home to Scotland and committed to the castle of Edinburgh, until he should give the earl full satisfaction. This step appears to have brought him to reason, and induced him to apply, through the mediation of some friends, for a reconciliation with the earl, which took place accordingly, at Edinburgh, in the year sixteen hundred and nineteen. Sir Lauchlan, however, became bound to pay a large sum of money to the earl, part of which he afterwards remitted.

The laird of Grant, by whose advice Mackintosh had acted in opposing the earl, also submitted to the earl; but the reconciliation was more nominal than real, for the earl was afterwards obliged to protect the chief of the Clan-Cameron against them, and this circumstance gave rise to many dissensions between them and the earl, which ended only with the lives of Mackintosh and the laird of Grant, who both died in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two, when the ward of part of Mackintosh's lands fell to the earl, as his superior, during the minority of his son. The earl of Seaforth and his clan, who had also favoured the designs of Mackintosh, were in like manner reconciled, at the same time, to the earl of Enzie, at Aberdeen, through the mediation of the earl of Dunfermline, the chancellor of Scotland, whose daughter the earl of Seaforth had married.*

In no part of the Highlands did the spirit of faction operate so powerfully, or reign with greater virulence, than in Sutherland and Caithness, and the adjacent country. The jealousies and strifes which existed for such a length of time between the two great rival families of Sutherland and Caithness, and the warfare which these occasioned, sowed the seeds of a deep-rooted hostility, which extended its baneful influence among all their followers, dependants, and friends, and retarded the advancement of the social system. The most trivial offences were often magnified into the greatest crimes, and bodies of men, animated by the deadliest hatred, were instantly congregated to avenge imaginary wrongs. It would be almost an endless task to relate the many disputes and differences which occurred during the seventeenth century in these distracted districts; but as a short account, or an abridged narrative of the principal events is necessary in a work of this nature, we again proceed agreeably to our plan.

During the year sixteen hundred and twenty-one, a dispute arose between Sutherland of Duffus and John Gordon, younger of Embo, respecting the marches between Embo and the lands of Cuttle, which belonged to the former. Duffus, accompanied by his brother, James Sutherland, and seven other persons, visited the marches one evening, when he sent for young Embo to come and speak with him respecting them. Though late in the evening, Embo went unaccompanied by any person, and met Duffus and his party, and after exchanging some words, they attacked Gordon and wounded him before he had time to draw his sword. As soon as this attack became known, the Gordons and the Grays, with some of the earl of Sutherland's tenants, came to Embo, and proceeded from thence to the castle of Skelbo, where Duffus then resided, with the design of attacking him. They did not enter the house, but rode round about it, defying him and daring him to come out. Sir Alexander Gordon, sheriff of Sutherland, hearing of the meeting, immediately hastened to the spot to prevent mischief; and being assisted by John Gray, dean of Caithness, he took all the parties bound to keep the peace till the arrival of Sir Robert Gordon, who, it was expected, would adopt measures of pacification. Sir Robert afterwards prevailed upon the parties to hold a friendly meeting, at which they agreed to refer their disputes to arbitration.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 356, et seq.

The resignation which the earl of Caithness was compelled to make of part of the feu lands of the bishoprick of Caithness, into the hands of the bishop, as before related, was a measure which preyed upon his mind, naturally restless and vindictive, and, in consequence, he continually annoyed the bishop's servants and tenants. His hatred was more especially directed against Robert Monroe of Aldie, commissary of Caithness, who always acted as chamberlain to the bishop, and factor in the diocese, whom he took every opportunity to molest. The earl had a domestic servant, James Sinclair of Dyren, who had possessed part of the lands which he had been compelled to resign, and which were now tenanted by Thomas Lindsay, brother-uterine of Robert Monroe, the commissary. This James Sinclair, at the instigation of the earl, quarrelled with Thomas Lindsay, who was passing at the time near the earl's house in Thurso, and, after exchanging some hard words, Sinclair inflicted a deadly wound upon him, of which he shortly thereafter died. Sinclair immediately fled to Edinburgh, and from thence to London, to meet Sir Andrew Sinclair, who was then transacting some business for the king of Denmark there, that he might intercede with the king for a pardon; but his majesty refused to grant it, and Sinclair, for better security, went to Denmark along with Sir Andrew.

As Robert Monroe did not consider his person safe in Caithness under such circumstances, he retired into Sutherland for a time. He then pursued James Sinclair and his master, the earl of Caithness, for the slaughter of his brother, Thomas Lindsay; but, not appearing for trial on the day appointed, they were both outlawed, and denounced rebels. Hearing that Sinclair was in London, Monroe hastened thither, and in his own name and that of the bishop of Caithness, laid a complaint before his majesty against the earl and his servant. Amongst other grievances of which he complained, was the slaughter of his brother, which he satisfied the king, had been brought about by the earl; that he himself had narrowly escaped with his life, and, as the earl had been outlawed for the crime, he begged his majesty to issue such order against him, as he should judge expedient. His majesty, thereupon wrote to the Lords of the Privy Council of Scotland, desiring them to adopt the most speedy and rigorous measures to suppress the oppressions of the earl, that his subjects in the north, who were well affected, might live in safety and peace; and to enable them the more effectually to punish the earl, his majesty ordered them to keep back the remission which had been granted the earl for the affair of Sanset, which had not yet been delivered to him. His majesty also directed the Privy Council, with all secrecy and speed, to give a commission to Sir Robert Gordon to apprehend the earl, or force him to leave the kingdom, and to take possession of all his castles for his majesty's behoof; that he should also compel the landed proprietors of Caithness to find surety not only for keeping the king's peace in time coming, but also for their personal appearance at Edinburgh twice every year, as the West Islanders were bound to do, to answer to such complaints as might be made against them. The letter containing these instructions is dated from Windsor, twenty-fifth of May, sixteen hundred and twenty-one.

The privy council, on receipt of this letter, communicated the same to Sir Robert Gordon, who was then in Edinburgh; but he excused himself from accepting the commission offered him, lest his acceptance might be construed as proceeding from spleen and malice against the earl of Caithness. This answer, however, did not satisfy the privy council, who insisted that he should accept the commission, which he, therefore, did, but on condition that the council should furnish him with shipping, and the munitions of war and all other necessaries to force the earl to yield, in case he should fortify either castle Sinclair or Acrigell, and withstand a siege.

While the privy council were deliberating on this matter, Sir Robert Gordon took occasion to speak to Lord Berridale, who was still a prisoner for debt in the jail of Edinburgh, respecting the contemplated measures against the earl, his father, and as Sir Robert was still very unwilling to enter upon such an enterprize, he advised his Lordship to undertake the business, by engaging in which he might not only get himself relieved of the claims against him, save his country from the dangers which threatened it, but also keep possession of his castles, and that as his father had treated him in the most unnatural manner, by suffering him to remain so long in prison without taking any steps to obtain his liberation, he would be justified, in the eyes of the world, in accepting the offer now made. Being encouraged by the Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, to whom Sir Robert Gordon's proposal had been communicated, to embrace the offer, Lord Berridale notified to the lords of the council the danger which might arise to the peace of the north country, on account of the ancient and long-standing enmity which existed between the inhabitants of Sutherland and Caithness, if Sir Robert Gordon or any other person belonging to the house of Sutherland, were employed in the proposed service, as his father would stand out more against Sir Robert than against any other commissioner not connected with the house of Sutherland. He then offered to undertake the service without any charge to his majesty, and that he would, before being liberated, give security to his creditors, either to return to prison after he had executed the commission, or satisfy them for their claims against him. The privy council embraced at once Lord Berridale's proposal, but, although the earl of Enzie offered himself as surety for his lordship's return to prison after the service was over, the creditors refused to consent to his liberation, and thus the matter dropt. Sir

Robert Gordon was again urged by the council to accept the commission, and to make the matter more palatable to him, they granted the commission to him and the earl of Enzie jointly, both of whom accepted it. As the council, however, had no command from the king to supply the commissioners with shipping and warlike stores, they delayed proceedings till they should receive instructions from his majesty touching that point.

When the earl of Caithness was informed of the proceedings contemplated against him, and that Sir Robert Gordon had been employed by a commission from his majesty to act in the matter, he wrote to the Lords of the Privy Council, asserting that he was innocent of the death of Thomas Lindsay; that his reason for not appearing at Edinburgh to abide his trial for that crime, was not that he had been in any shape privy to the slaughter, but for fear of his creditors, who, he was afraid, would apprehend and imprison him; and promising, that if his majesty would grant him a protection and safe conduct, he would find security to abide trial for the slaughter of Thomas Lindsay. On receipt of this letter, the lords of the council promised him a protection, and in the month of August, his brother, James Sinclair of Murkle, and Sir John Sinclair of Greenland, became sureties for his appearance at Edinburgh, at the time prescribed for his appearance to stand trial. Thus the execution of the commission was in the meantime delayed.

Notwithstanding the refusal of Lord Berridale's creditors to consent to his liberation, Lord Gordon afterwards did all in his power to accomplish it, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining this consent, by giving his own personal security either to satisfy the creditors, or deliver up Lord Berridale into their hands. His lordship was accordingly released from prison, and returned to Caithness in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-one, after a confinement of five years. As his final enlargement from jail depended upon his obtaining the means of paying his creditors, and as his father, the earl, staid at home consuming the rents of his estates, in rioting and licentiousness, without paying any part either of the principal or interest of his debts, and without feeling the least uneasiness at his son's confinement, Lord Berridale, immediately on his return, assisted by his friends, attempted to apprehend his father, so as to get the family estates into his own possession; but without success.

In the meantime the earl's creditors, wearied out with the delay which had taken place in liquidating their debts, grew exceedingly clamorous, and some of them took a journey to Caithness in the month of April, sixteen hundred and twenty-two, to endeavour to effect a settlement with the earl personally. All, however, that they obtained were fair words, and a promise from the earl that he would speedily follow them to Edinburgh, and satisfy them of all demands; but he failed to perform his promise. About this time, a sort of reconciliation appears to have taken place between the earl and his son, Lord Berridale; but it was of short duration. On this new disagreement breaking out, the earl lost the favour and friendship not only of his brothers, James and Sir John, but also that of his best friends in Caithness. Lord Berridale, thereupon, left Caithness and took up his residence with the Lord Gordon, who wrote to his friends at Court to obtain a new commission against the earl. As the king was daily troubled with complaints against the earl by his creditors, he readily consented to such a request, and he accordingly wrote a letter to the Lords of the Privy Council of Scotland, in the month of December sixteen hundred and twenty-two, desiring them to issue a commission to the Lord Gordon to proceed against the earl. Lord Gordon, thinking the present a favourable opportunity to bring matters to an amicable accommodation between the father and the son, which would have superseded the execution of the commission, entered into a negotiation with them for that purpose, but to no effect, and he, therefore, resolved to proceed against the earl by force. The execution of the commission was, however, postponed in consequence of a message to the Lord Gordon to attend the Court and proceed to France on some affairs of state, where he accordingly went in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-three. On the departure of his lordship, the earl made an application to the Lords of the Council for a new protection, promising to appear at Edinburgh on the tenth day of August sixteen hundred and twenty-three, and to satisfy his creditors,—this was a mere pretence to obtain delay, for although the council granted the protection, as required, upon the most urgent solicitations, the earl failed to appear on the day appointed. This breach of his engagement incensed his majesty and the council the more against him, and made them more determined than ever to reduce him to obedience. He was again denounced and proclaimed rebel, and a new commission was granted to Sir Robert Gordon to proceed against him and his abettors with fire and sword. In this commission there were conjoined with Sir Robert, his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon, Sir Donald Mackay, his nephew, and James Sinclair of Murkle, but on this condition, that Sir Robert should act as chief commissioner, and that nothing should be done by the other commissioners in the service they were employed in without his advice and consent.

The earl of Caithness seeing now no longer any chance of evading the authority of the laws, prepared to meet the gathering storm by fortifying his castles and strongholds. Proclamations were issued interdicting all persons from having any communication with the earl, and letters of concurrence were given to Sir Robert in name of his majesty, charging and commanding the inhabitants of Ross, Sutherland, Strathnaver, Caithness, and Orkney, to assist him in the execution of his majesty's commission; a ship well furnished with the munitions of war, was sent to the coast of Caithness to prevent the earl's escape by sea, and to furnish Sir Robert with ordnance for battering the earl's castles in case he should withstand a siege.

Sir Robert Gordon having arrived in Sutherland in the month of August sixteen hundred and twenty-three, was immediately joined by Lord Berridale for the purpose of consulting on the plan of operations to be adopted; but, before fixing on any particular plan, it was concerted that Lord Berridale should first proceed to Caithness to learn what resolution his father had come to, and to ascertain how the inhabitants of that country stood affected towards the earl. He was also to notify to Sir Robert the arrival of the ship of war on the coast. A day was, at the same time, fixed for the inhabitants of the adjoining provinces, to meet Sir Robert Gordon in Strathully, upon the borders between Sutherland and Caithness. Lord Berridale was not long in Caithness when he sent notice to Sir Robert acquainting him that his father, the earl, had resolved to stand out to the last extremity, and that he had fortified the strong castle of Acrigell, which he had supplied with men, ammunition, and provisions, and upon holding out which he placed his last and only hope. He advised Sir Robert to bring with him into Caithness as many men as he could muster, as many of the inhabitants stood still well affected to the earl.

The earl of Caithness, in the meantime, justly apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue if unsuccessful in his opposition, despatched a messenger to Sir Robert Gordon, proposing that some gentlemen should be authorized to negotiate between them, for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable accommodation. He enforced his request by desiring Sir Robert to recollect that he was a nobleman, a peer of the realm, who had once been a commissioner himself in his majesty's service; that nothing of a criminal nature could be laid to his charge; that his creditors were alone concerned; that he was the first nobleman ever proclaimed a rebel, or challenged as a traitor for debt, without any criminal cause judicially proved against him; on all which grounds he entreated Sir Robert that such offers as he might make might be again sent to the Privy Council. Sir Robert, who perceived the drift of this message, which was solely to obtain delay, returned for answer that he was exceedingly sorry that the earl had refused the benefit of his last protection for clearing away the imputations laid to his charge; that although some of the charges against him were civil offences, yet, by his disobedience in failing to appear before the Lords of the Council to make his answer, he had changed their nature, and made them criminal; that, besides these civil actions, he had been charged with several criminal offences, which, by absenting himself from trial, he must be held to have acknowledged; that the Privy Council had already seen how futile all his promises were; that he, Sir Robert, clearly perceived, that the earl's object in proposing a negotiation, was solely to waste time and to weary out the commissioners and army by delays, which he, for his own part, would not submit to, because the harvest was nearly at hand, and the king's ship could not be detained upon the coast idle. Unless therefore, the earl would at once submit himself unconditionally to the king's mercy, that he would proceed against him and his supporters immediately. The earl had been hitherto so successful in his different schemes to avoid the ends of justice, that such an answer was by no means expected, and the firmness displayed in it served greatly to shake the earl's courage.

Upon receipt of the intelligence from Lord Berridale, Sir Robert Gordon made preparations for entering Caithness without delay ; and, as a precautionary measure, he took pledges from such of the tribes and families in Caithness as he suspected were favourable to the earl. Before all his forces had time to assemble, Sir Robert received notice that the war ship had arrived upon the Caithness coast, and that the earl was meditating an escape beyond seas. Unwilling to withdraw men from the adjoining provinces during the harvest season, and considering the Sutherland forces quite sufficient for his purpose, he sent couriers into Ross, Strathnaver, Assynt, and Orkney, desiring the people who had been engaged to accompany the expedition to remain at home till farther notice, and, having assembled all the inhabitants of Sutherland, he picked out the most active and resolute men among them, whom he caused to be well supplied with warlike weapons, and other necessaries, for the expedition. Having thus equipped his army, Sir Robert, accompanied by his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon, and the principal gentlemen of Sutherland, marched on the third day of September sixteen hundred and twenty-three from Dunrobin to Killiernan in Strathully, the place of rendezvous previously appointed. Here Sir Robert divided his forces into companies, over each of which he placed a commander. The following morning he passed the river of Helmsdale and arranged his army in the following order: Half a mile in advance of the main body, he placed a company of the Clan-Gun, whose duty it was to search the fields as they advanced for the purpose of discovering any ambuscades which might be laid in their way, and to clear away any obstruction to the regular advance of the main body. The right wing of the army was led by John Murray of Aberscors, Hugh Gordon of Ballellon, and Adam Gordon of Kilcalmkill. The left wing was commanded by John Gordon, younger of Embo, Robert Gray of Ospisdale, and Alexander Sutherland of Kilphidder. And Sir Robert Gordon himself, his brother Sir Alexander, the laird of Pulrossie, and William Mac-Mhic-Sheumais of Killiernan, led the centre. The two wings were always kept a short distance in advance from the centre, from which they were to receive support when required. In this manner the army advanced towards Berridale, and they observed the same order of marching during all the time they remained in Caithness.

As soon as Lord Berridale heard of Sir Robert Gordon's advance, he and James Sinclair of Murkle, one of the commissioners, and some other gentlemen, went forward in haste to meet him. The parties accordingly met among the mountains above Cayen about three miles from Berridale. Sir Robert continued his march till he arrived at Brea-

Na-Henglish in Berridale, where at night he encamped. Here they were informed that the ship of war, after casting anchor before Castle Sinclair, had gone from thence to Strabister road, and that the earl of Caithness had abandoned the country, and had sailed by night into one of the Orkney islands with the intention of going from thence into Norway or Denmark. From Brea-Na-Henglish the army advanced to Lathron, where they encamped. Here James Sinclair of Murkle, sheriff of Caithness, Sir William Sinclair of May, the laird of Ratter, the laird of Forse, and several other gentlemen of Caithness, waited upon Sir Robert Gordon and tendered their submission and obedience to his Majesty, offering, at the same time, every assistance they could afford in forwarding the objects of the expedition. Sir Robert received them kindly, and promised to acquaint his Majesty with their submission; but he distrusted some of them, and he gave orders that none of the Caithness people should be allowed to enter his camp after sunset. At Lathron, Sir Robert was joined by about three hundred of the Caithness men, consisting of the Cadels and others who had favoured Lord Berridale. These men were commanded by James Sinclair, fiar of Murkle, and were kept always a mile or two in advance of the army till they reached Castle Sinclair.

No sooner did Sir Robert arrive before Castle Sinclair, which was a very strong place, and the principal residence of the earl of Caithness, than it surrendered, the keys of which were delivered up to him in name of his Majesty. The army encamped before the castle two nights, during which time the officers took up their quarters within the castle, which was guarded by Sutherland men.

From Castle Sinclair Sir Robert marched to the castle of Acrigell, another strong place, which also surrendered on the first summons, and the keys of which were delivered in like manner to him. The army next marched in battle array to the castle of Kease, the last residence of the earl, which was also given up without resistance. The countess of Caithness had previously removed to another residence not far distant, where she was visited by Sir Robert Gordon, who was her cousin german. The countess entreated him, with great earnestness, to get her husband again restored to favour, seeing he had made no resistance to him. Sir Robert promised to do what he could if the earl would follow his advice; but he did not expect that matters could be accommodated so speedily as she expected from the peculiar situation in which the earl then stood.

From Kease Sir Robert Gordon returned with his army to Castle Sinclair, where, according to the directions he had received from the privy council, he delivered the keys of all these castles and forts to Lord Berridale to be kept by him for his Majesty's use, for which he should be answerable to the lords of the council until the farther pleasure of his Majesty should be known.

The army then returned to Wick in the same marching order which they had observed since their first entry into Caithness, at which place the commissioners consulted together, and framed a set of instructions to Lord Berridale for governing Caithness peaceably in time coming conformably to the laws of the kingdom, and for preventing the earl of Caithness from again disturbing the country should he venture to return after the departure of the army. At Wick Sir Robert Gordon was joined by Sir Donald Mackay, who had collected together the choicest men of Strathnaver; but, as the object of the expedition had been obtained, Sir Donald, after receiving Sir Robert's thanks, returned the same day to Strathnaver. Sir Robert having brought this expedition to a successful termination, led back his men into Sutherland, and, after a stay of three months went to England, carrying with him a letter from the privy council of Scotland to the king, giving an account of the expedition, and of its happy result.*

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* Sir Robert Gordon, p. 366. *et seq.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Insurrection of the Clan-Chattan against the Earl of Moray—Ineffectual attempts of the Earl to suppress them—Submission of the Clan—Proceedings of the Earl—Dispute between the Laird of Duffus and Gordon, younger of Embo—Conflict between Gordon and John Sutherland of Clyne—Commitment of Gordon—Attempts of Sir Donald Mackay to embroil the houses of Sutherland and Duffus—Capture of Angus Roy Gun—Encounter at the bridge of Broray—Feud among the Grants—Depredations of James Grant—Grant of Carron killed by Grant of Balindalloch—Apprehension and imprisonment of James Grant—Dispute between the Lairds of Frendraught and Rothiemay—Conflict—Rothiemay killed—Quarrel between Frendraught and the Laird of Pitcaple—Calamitous Fire at Frendraught house—Death of John, Viscount Aboyne, Rothiemay, and others—Inquiry as to the cause of the Fire—Escape of James Grant—Attacked by Patrick Macgregor, who is killed—Apprehension of Grant of Balindalloch, by James Grant—Apprehension and execution of Thomas Grant—James Grant murders two of his surname—Attacked in Strathbogie, and escapes—Depredations of the Clan-Lauchlan—Skirmish between them and the Farquharsons—Dispute between the Earl of Sutherland and Lord Lorn—Execution of John Meldrum—Depredations committed upon Frendraught—The Marquis of Huntly accused therewith—The Marquis and Letterfourie committed—Liberated—Death and character of the Marquis.

The troubles in Sutherland and Caithness had been scarcely allayed, when a formidable insurrection broke out on the part of the Clan-Chattan against the earl of Moray, which occasioned considerable uproar and confusion in the Highlands. The Clan-Chattan had for a very long period been the faithful friends and followers of the earls of Moray, who, in consequence, had allotted them many valuable lands and possessions in recompense for their services in Pettie and Strathern. The clan, in particular, had been very active in revenging the death of James, Earl of Moray, who was killed at Dunibristle, upon the marquis of Huntly; but his son and successor being reconciled to the family of Huntly, and needing no longer, as he thought, the aid of the Clan, he dispossessed them of the lands which his predecessors had bestowed upon them. This harsh proceeding occasioned great irritation, and, upon the death of Sir Lauchlan, their chief, who died a short time before Whitsunday sixteen hundred and twenty-four, they resolved either to recover the possessions of which they had been deprived, or to lay them waste. While Sir Lauchlan lived the Clan were awed by his authority and prevented from such an attempt, but no such impediment now standing in their way, and as their chief, who was a mere child, could run no risk by the enterprise, they considered the present a favourable opportunity for carrying their plan into execution.

Accordingly, a gathering of the Clan to the number of about two hundred gentlemen and three hundred servants took place about Whitsunday sixteen hundred and twenty-four. This party was commanded by three uncles of the late chief.* "They keeped the feilds (says Spalding), in their Highland weid upon foot with swords, bowes, arrowes, targets, hagbuttis, pistollis, and other Highland armour; and first began to rob and spoulzie the earle's tennents, who laboured their possessions, of their haill goods, geir, insight, plenishing, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, and cattell, and left them nothing that they could gett within their bounds; syne fell in sorning throw out Murray, Strathawick, Urquhart, Ross, Sutherland, Brae of Marr, and diverse other parts, takeing their meat and food per force wher they could not gett it willingly, frae freinds alseweill as frae their faes; yet still keeped themselves from shedeing of innocent blood. Thus they lived as outlawes, oppressing the countrie, (besydes the casting of the earle's lands waist), and openly avowed they had tane this course to gett thir own possessions again, or then hold the country walking."

When this rising took place, the earl of Moray obtained from Monteith and Balquhidder about three hundred armed men, and placing himself at their head he marched through Moray to Inverness. The earl took up his residence in the castle with the earl of Enzie, his brother-in-law, and after the party had passed one night at Inverness, he dispatched them in quest of the Clan-Chattan, but whether from fear of meeting them, or because they could not find them, certain it is that the Monteith and Balquhidder men returned without effecting any thing after putting the earl to great expenses. The earl, therefore, sent them back to their respective countries, and went himself to Elgin, where he raised another body of men to suppress the Clan-Chattan, but who were equally unsuccessful in finding them out, although they pretended that they had searched for them through the country.

These ineffectual attempts against the Clan, served to make them more bold and daring in their outrages; and as the earl now saw that no force which he could himself bring into the field was sufficient to overawe these marauders, he went to London and laid a statement of the case before King James, who, at his earnest solicitation, granted him a commission, appointing him his lieutenant in the Highlands, and giving him authority to proceed capitally against the offenders. On his return, the earl proclaimed the commission he had obtained from his Majesty, and issued letters of intercommuning against the Clan-Chattan, at the head burghs of several shires, prohibiting all persons from harbouring, supplying, or entertaining them, in any manner of way, under certain severe pains and penalties. Although the Marquis of Huntly was the earl's father-in-law, he felt somewhat indignant at the appointment, as he conceived that he or his son had the best title to be appointed to the lieutenancy of the north; but he concealed his displeasure.

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* Spalding says, that the party were commanded by Lauchlan Mackintosh *alias* Lauchlan Og, uncle of the young chief, and Lauchlan Mackintosh or Lauchlan Angus-son, eldest son of Angus Mackintosh, *alias* Angus William, son of Auld Tirlie. Hist. of the Troubles and memorable Transactions in England and Scotland. Edin. 1829.

After the earl of Moray had issued the notices, prohibiting all persons from communicating with, or assisting, the Clan-Chattan, their kindred and friends, who had privately promised them aid, before they broke out, began to grow cold, and declined to assist them, as they were apprehensive for their estates, many of them being wealthy. The earl perceiving this, opened a communication with some of the principal persons of the clan, to induce them to submit to his authority, who, seeing no hopes of making any longer an effectual resistance, readily acquiesced, and, by the intercession of friends, made their peace with the earl, on condition that they should inform him of the names of such persons as had given them protection, after the publication of his letters of interdiction. Having thus quelled this formidable insurrection, without bloodshed, the earl, by virtue of his commission, held justice courts at Elgin, where "some slight louns, followers of the Clan-Chattan," were tried and executed, but all the principals concerned were pardoned. The court was formed in the earl's own name, and in the names of the laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie, Samuel Falconer of Knockorth, and John Hay, commissary of Moray, his depute, and before whom were summoned all such persons as had held any communication with the clan, or harboured or supplied them, every one of whom, it would appear, attended, to avoid the penalty of contumacy, or being put to the horn, a proceeding by which the person refusing to attend was declared a rebel to the king, and his property forfeited for his Majesty's use.

As the account which Spalding gives of the appearance of the accused, and of the base conduct of the principal men of the Clan-Chattan, in informing against their friends and benefactors, is both curious and graphic, it is here inserted: "Then presently was brought in befor the barr; and in the honest men's faces, the Clan-Chattan who had gotten supply, verified what they had gotten, and the honest men confounded and dasht, knew not what to answer, was forced to come in the earle's will, whilk was not for their weill: others compeared and willingly confessed, trusting to gett more favour at the earle's hands, but they came little speid: and lastly, some stood out and denyed all, who was reserved to the tryall of an assyse. The principall malefactors stood up in judgment, and declared what they had gotten, whether meat, money, cloathing, gun, ball, powder, lead, sword, dirk, and the like commodities, and alse instructed the assyse in ilk particular, what they had gotten frae the persons pannalled; an uncouth form of probation, wher the principall malefactor proves against the receiptor for his own pardon, and honest men, perhaps neither of the Clan-Chattan's kyne nor blood, punished for their good will, ignorant of the laws, and rather receipting them more for their evil nor their good. Nevertheless thir innocent men, under collour of justice, part and part as they came in, were soundly fyned in great soumes as their estates might bear, and some above their estate was fyned, and every one warded within the tolbuith of Elgine, while the least myte was payed of such as was persued in anno 1624."*

Some idea of the iniquity of the administration of the laws at this time may be formed, when it is considered that the enormous fines imposed in the present instance, went into the pockets of the chief judge, the earl of Moray himself, as similar mulcts had previously gone into those of the earl of Argyle, in his crusade against the unfortunate Clan-Gregor! This legal robbery, however, does not appear to have enriched the houses of Argyle and Moray, for Sir Robert Gordon observes, that "these fynes did not much advantage either of these two earles." The earl of Moray, no doubt, thinking such a mode of raising money an easy and profitable speculation, afterwards obtained an enlargement of his commission from Charles the First, not only against the Clan-Chattan, but also against all other offenders within several adjacent shires; but the commission was afterwards annulled by his Majesty, not so much on account of the abuses and injustice which might have been perpetrated under it, but because, as Sir Robert Gordon observes, "it grieved divers of his Majesty's best affected subjects, and chieflie the Marquis of Huntlie, unto whose predicessors onlie the office of livetennendrie in the north of Scotland had bein granted by former kings, for these many ages."

There seems reason, however, for supposing that the recall of the commission was hastened by complaints to the king, on the part of the oppressed; for the earl had no sooner obtained its renewal, than he held a court against the burgh of Inverness, John Grant of Glenmoriston, and others who had refused to acknowledge their connexion with the Clan-Chattan, or to pay him the heavy fines which he had imposed upon them. The town of Inverness endeavoured to get quit of the earl's extortions, on the ground that the inhabitants were innocent of the crimes laid to their charge; but the earl frustrated their application to the privy council. The provost, Duncan Forbes, was then sent to the king, and Grant of Glenmoriston took a journey to London, at the same time, on his own account; but their endeavours with the king proved ineffectual, and they had no alternative but to submit to the earl's exactions.†

The quarrel between the laird of Duffus and John Gordon younger of Embo, which had lain dormant for some time, burst forth again, in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-five, and proved nearly fatal to both parties. Gordon had long watched an opportunity for revenging the wrong which he conceived had been done to him by the laird of Duffus and his brother, James, but he could never fall in with either of them, as they remained in Moray, and, when they appeared in Sutherland, they were always accompanied by some friends, so that Gordon was prevented from attacking them. Frequent disappointments in this way only whetted his appetite for revenge; and meeting, when on horseback, one day, between Sidderay and Skibo, with John Sutherland of Clyne, third brother of the laird of Duffus, who was also on horseback, he determined to make the laird of Clyne suffer for the delinquencies of his elder brother. Raising, therefore, a cudgel which he held in his hand, he inflicted several blows upon John Sutherland, who, as soon as he recovered himself from the surprise and confusion into which such an unexpected attack had thrown him, drew his sword. Gordon, in his turn, unsheathed his, and a warm combat ensued, between the parties and two friends who accompanied them. After they had fought a while, Gordon wounded Sutherland in the head and in one of his hands, and otherwise injured him, but he spared his life, although completely in his power.

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* Hist. pp. 3, and 4.

† *Vide* the petition of Provost Forbes to the king, "in the name of the inhabitants" of Inverness; printed among the Culloden Papers, No. 5, p. 4.

The laird of Duffus, and all his friends and retainers, looked upon this attack as highly contemptuous, not so much on account of the personal injury which John Sutherland had sustained, but of the cudgelling which he had received. Duffus immediately cited John Gordon to appear before the privy council, to answer for this breach of the peace, and, at the same time, summoned before the council some of the earl of Sutherland's friends and dependants, for an alleged conspiracy against himself and his friends. Duffus, with his two brothers and Gordon, came to Edinburgh on the day appointed, and, the parties being heard before the council, Gordon was declared guilty of a riot, and was thereupon committed to prison. This result gave great satisfaction to Duffus and his brothers, who now calculated on nothing less than the utter ruin of Gordon; as they had, by means of Sir Donald Mackay, obtained a Strathnaver man, named William Mack-Allen (one of the Siol Thomais), who had been a servant of Gordon's, to become a witness against him, and to prove every thing that Duffus was pleased to allege against Gordon.

In this situation of matters, Sir Robert Gordon returned from London to Edinburgh, where he found Duffus in high spirits, exulting at his success, and young Embo in prison. Sir Robert applied to Duffus, hoping to bring about a reconciliation by the intervention of friends, which he thought would be readily acceded to by Duffus, who was the original cause of the discord; and he trusted, at all events, that Duffus would stop his proceedings against the earl of Sutherland's friends and followers. But Duffus refused to hear of any arrangement; and the more reasonable the conditions were, which Sir Robert proposed, the more unreasonable and obstinate did he become; his object being to get payment of great sums of money awarded to him against Gordon by the lords, in satisfaction for the wrong done his brother.

Disappointed in his endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, Sir Robert applied himself, with all the diligence in his power, to get the fine imposed upon Gordon mitigated, and finally succeeded, by the assistance of the earl of Enzie, who was then at Edinburgh, in getting the prosecution against the earl of Sutherland's friends quashed, in obtaining the liberation of John Gordon, and in getting his fine mitigated to one hundred pounds Scots, payable to the king only; reserving, however, civil action to John Sutherland of Clyne against Gordon, before the lords of session.*

Sir Donald Mackay, always restless, and desirous of gratifying his enmity at the house of Sutherland, endeavoured to embroil it with the laird of Duffus in the following way. Having formed a resolution to leave the kingdom, Sir Donald applied for, and obtained, a license from the king to raise a regiment in the north, to assist Count Mansfield in his campaign in Germany. He, accordingly, collected, in a few months, about three thousand men from different parts of Scotland, the greater part of whom he embarked at Cromarty in the month of October sixteen hundred and twenty-six; but, on account of bad health, he was obliged to delay his own departure till the following year, when he joined the king of Sweden with his regiment, in consequence of a peace having been concluded between the king of Denmark and the emperor of Germany.† Among others whom Mackay had engaged to accompany him to Germany, was a person named Angus Roy Gun, against whom, a short time previously to his enlistment, Mackay and his brother, John Mackay of Dirlet, had obtained a commission from the lords of the privy council for the purpose of apprehending him and bringing him before the council for some supposed crimes. Mackay could have easily apprehended Angus Roy Gun on different occasions, but having become one of his regiment, he allowed the commission, as far as he was concerned, to remain a dead letter.

Sometime after his enlistment, Angus Roy Gun made a journey into Sutherland, a circumstance which afforded Mackay an opportunity of putting into execution the scheme he had formed, and which showed that he was no mean adept in the arts of cunning and dissimulation. His plan was this:—He wrote, in the first place, private letters to the laird of Duffus, and to his brother, John Sutherland of Clyne, to apprehend Angus Roy Gun under the commission he had obtained; and at the same time, sent the commission itself to the laird of Duffus as his authority for so doing. He next wrote a letter to Alexander Gordon, the earl of Sutherland's uncle, who, in the absence of his brother, Sir Robert, governed Sutherland, entreating him, as Angus Roy Gun was then in Sutherland, to send him to him to Cromarty, as he was his hired soldier Ignorant of Mackay's design, and desirous of serving him, Sir Alexander sent two of his men to bring Gun to Sir Alexander; but on their return they were met by John Sutherland of Clyne and a party of sixteen men who seized Gun; and to prevent a rescue, the laird of Duffus sent his brother, James Sutherland, Alexander Murray, heir-apparent of Aberscors, and William Neill-son, chief of the Sliochd-Iain-Abaraich, with three hundred men to protect his brother John. And as he anticipated an attack from Sir Alexander Gordon, he sent messengers to his supporters in Ross, Strathnaver, Caithness, and other places for assistance.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 397, et seq.

† A considerable number of gentlemen, chiefly from Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, joined Mackay, some of whom rose to high rank in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Among these were Robert Monroe of Foulis, and his brother, Hector; Thomas Mackenzie, brother of the earl of Seaforth; John Monroe of Obisdell, and his brother Robert; John Monroe of Assynt, and others of that surname; Hugh Ross of Priesthill; David Ross and Nicolas Ross, sons of Alexander Ross of Invercharron; Hugh Gordon, son of Adam Gordon of Culkour; John Gordon, son of John Gordon of Garty; Adam Gordon and John Gordon, sons of Adam Gordon George-son; Ive Mackay, William, son of Donald Mackay of Skowry; William Gun, son of John Gun Rob-son; John Sinclair, bastard son of the earl of Caithness; Francis Sinclair, son of James Sinclair of Murkle; John Innes, son of William Innes of Sanset: John Gun, son of William Gun in Golspie-Kirktown; and George Gun, son of Alexander Gun Rob-son.

When Sir Alexander Gordon heard of the assembling of such a body of the earl of Sutherland's vassals without his knowledge, he made inquiry to ascertain the cause of such a proceeding; and being informed of Gun's capture, he collected eighteen men who were near at hand, and hastened with them from Dunrobin towards Clyne. On arriving at the bridge of Broray, he found James Sutherland, and his brother, John, and their whole party drawn up in battle array at the east end of the bridge. He, thereupon, sent a person to the Sutherlands to know the cause of such an assemblage, and the reason why they had taken Gun from his servants. The bearer of the message was also instructed to say, that if they pretended to act under a commission, he, Sir Alexander, would, on their producing it, not only desist from all proceedings against them, but would assist them in fulfilling the commission; but, that if they held no such commission, he would not allow any man to be apprehended in Sutherland, and particularly by the earl of Sutherland's vassals, without his permission,—and that failing production of any commission, he would insist upon their immediately delivering up Gun into his hands. As the Sutherlands refused to exhibit their authority, Sir Alexander made demonstrations for passing the bridge, but he was met by a shower of shot and arrows which wounded two of his men. After exchanging shots for some time, Sir Alexander was joined by a considerable body of his countrymen, by whose aid, notwithstanding the resistance he met with, he was enabled to cross the bridge. The Sutherlands were forced to retreat, and as they saw no chance of opposing, with success, the power of the house of Sutherland, they, after some hours consultation, delivered up Angus Roy Gun to Sir Alexander Sutherland, who sent him immediately to Mackay then at Cromarty.

As such an example of insubordination among the earl of Sutherland's vassals might, if overlooked, lead others to follow a similar course, Sir Alexander caused the laird of Duffus and his brother of Clyne, with their accomplices, to be cited to appear at Edinburgh on the sixteenth day of November following, to answer before the privy council for their misdemeanours. The laird of Duffus, however, died in the month of October, but the laird of Clyne appeared at Edinburgh at the time appointed, and produced before the privy council the letter he had received from Mackay as his authority for acting as he had done. Sir Alexander Gordon also produced the letter sent to him by Sir Donald, who was thereby convicted of having been the intentional originator of the difference; but as the lords of the council thought that the laird of Clyne had exceeded the bounds of his commission, he was imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh, wherein he was ordered to remain until he should give satisfaction to the other party, and present some of his men who had failed to appear though summoned. By the mediation, however, of James Sutherland, tutor of Duffus, a reconciliation was effected between Sir Robert and Sir Alexander Gordon, and the laird of Clyne, who was, in consequence, soon thereafter liberated from prison.*

The year sixteen hundred and twenty-eight was distinguished by the breaking out of an old and deadly feud among the Grants, which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations, in consequence of the murder of John Grant of Balindalloch, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by John Roy Grant of Carron, the natural son of John Grant of Glenmoriston, at the instigation of the laird of Grant, the chief of the tribe, who had conceived a grudge against his kinsman. Some years before the period first mentioned, James Grant, one of the Carron family, happening to be at a fair in the town of Elgin, observed one of the Grants of the Balindalloch family eagerly pursuing his brother, Thomas Grant, whom he knocked down in the street and wounded openly before his eyes. The assailant was, in his turn, attacked by James Grant, who killed him upon the spot and thereupon decamped. Balindalloch then cited James Grant to stand trial for the slaughter of his kinsman, but, as he did not appear on the day appointed, he was outlawed. The laird of Grant made many attempts to reconcile the parties, but in vain, as Balindalloch was obstinate and would listen to no proposals. An offer was made that James Grant should go into banishment, and that compensation should be made in money and goods according to the usual practice, but nothing less than the blood of James Grant would satisfy Balindalloch.

This resolution on the part of Balindalloch almost drove James Grant to despair, and seeing his life every moment in jeopardy, and deprived of any hope of effecting a compromise, he put himself at the head of a party of brigands, whom he collected from all parts of the Highlands.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 401. et seq.

These freebooters made no distinction between friends and foes, but attacked all persons of whatever description, and wasted and despoiled their property. James Grant of Dalnebo, one of the family of Balindalloch, fell a victim to their fury, and many of the kinsmen of that family, suffered greatly from the depredations committed by Grant and his associates. The earl of Moray, under the renewed and extended commission which he had obtained from King Charles, made various attempts to put an end to these lawless proceedings, but to no purpose; the failure of these attempts served only to harden James Grant and his party, who continued their depredations. As John Grant of Carron, nephew of James Grant, was supposed to maintain and assist his uncle secretly, a suspicion for which there seems to have been no foundation, John Grant of Balindalloch sought for an opportunity of revenging himself upon Carron, who was a promising young man. Carron having one day left his house along with one Alexander Grant and seven or eight other persons to cut down some timber in the woods of Abernethie; Balindalloch, thinking the occasion favourable for putting his design into execution, collected sixteen of his friends, and having armed them, went to the forest where Carron was, and, under the pretence of searching for James Grant and some of his associates against whom he had a commission, attacked Carron, who fought manfully in defence of his life, but being overpowered, he was killed by Balindalloch. Before Carron fell, however, he and Alexander Grant had slain several of Balindalloch's friends, among whom were Thomas Grant of Davey and Lauchlan Mackintosh of Rockinoyr. Alexander Grant afterwards annoyed Balindalloch and killed several of his men, and assisted James Grant to lay waste Balindalloch's lands. "Give me leave heir (says Sir R. Gordon), to remark the providence and secrait judgement of the Almightie God, who now hath mett Carron with the same measure that his forefather, John Roy Grant of Carron, did serve the ancestour of Ballendallogh; for upon the same day of the moneth that John Roy Grant did kill the great grandfather of Ballendalloch (being the eleventh day of September), the verie same day of this month wes Carron slain by this John Grant of Ballendallogh many yeirs thereafter. And, besides, as that John Roy Grant of Carron was left-handed, so is this John Grant of Ballendallogh left-handed also; and moreover, it is to be observed that Ballendallogh, at the killing of this Carron, had upon him the same coat-of-armour, or maillie-coat, which John Roy Grant had upon him at the slaughter of the great-grandfather of this Ballendallogh, which maillie-coat Ballendallogh had, a little befor this tyme, taken from James Grant, in a skirmish that passed betwixt them. Thus wee doe sie that the judgements of God are inscrutable, and that, in his own tyme, he punisheth blood by blood." *

The earl of Moray when he heard of this occurrence, instead of

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* Hist. p. 416.

taking measures against Balindalloch for this outrage against the laws, which he was fully entitled to do by virtue of the commission he held, took part with Balindalloch against the friends of Carron. He not only represented Balindalloch's case favourably at court, but also obtained an indemnity for him for some years, that he might not be molested. The countenance thus given by his majesty's lieutenant to the murderer of their kinsmen, exasperated James and Alexander Grant in the highest degree against Balindalloch and his supporters, whom they continually annoyed with their incursions, laying waste their lands and possessions, and cutting off their people. To such an extent was this system of lawless warfare carried, that Balindalloch was forced to flee from the north of Scotland, and to live for the most part in Edinburgh to avoid the dangers with which he was surrounded. But James Grant's desperate career was checked by a party of the Clan-Chattan, who unexpectedly attacked him at Auchnachyle in Strathdoun, under cloud of night, in the latter end of the month of December, sixteen hundred and thirty, when he was taken prisoner after receiving eleven wounds, and after four of his party were killed. He was sent by his captors to Edinburgh for trial before the lords of the council, and was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, from which he escaped in the manner to be noticed in the sequel.

About the time that James Grant was desolating the district of the Highlands, to which his operations were confined, another part of the country was convulsed by a dispute which occurred between James Crichton of Frendret, or Frendraught, and William Gordon of Rothiemay, which ended in tragical consequences. These two gentlemen were near neighbours, and their lands lay adjacent to each other. Part of Gordon's lands which marched with those of Crichton, were purchased by the latter; but a dispute having occurred about the right to the salmon fishings belonging to these lands, an irreconcilable difference arose between them, which no interference of friends could reconcile, although the matter in dispute was of little moment. The parties having had recourse to the law to settle their respective claims, Crichton prevailed, and succeeded in getting Gordon denounced rebel. He had previously treated Rothiemay very harshly, who, stung by the severity of his opponent, and by the victory he had obtained over him, would listen to no proposals of peace, nor follow the advice of his best friends. Determined to set the law at defiance, he collected a number of loose and disorderly characters, and annoyed Frendraught, who, in consequence, applied for, and obtained a commission from the privy council for apprehending Rothiemay and his associates. In the execution of this task, he was assisted by Sir George Ogilvy of Banff, George Gordon, brother-german of Sir James Gordon of Lesmoir, and the uncle of Frendraught, James Leslie, second son of Leslie of Pitcaple, John Meldrum of Reidhill, and others. Accompanied by these gentlemen, Crichton left his house of Frendraught on the first day of January, sixteen hundred and thirty, for the house of Rothiemay, with a resolution either to apprehend Gordon, his antagonist, or to set him at defiance by affronting him. He was incited the more to follow this course, as young Rothiemay, at the head of a party, had come a short time before to the very doors of Frendraught, and had braved him to his face. When Rothiemay heard of the advance of Frendraught, he left his house, accompanied by his eldest son, John Gordon, and about eight men on horseback armed with guns and lances, and a party of men on foot with muskets, and crossing the river Deveron, he went forward to meet Frendraught and his party. A sharp conflict immediately took place, in which Rothiemay's horse was killed under him, who being unprovided with another, fought manfully, for some time, on foot, until the whole of his party, with the exception of his son, were forced to retire. The son, notwithstanding, continued to support his father against fearful odds, but was, at last, obliged to save himself by flight, leaving his father lying on the field covered with wounds, and supposed to be dead. He, however, was found still alive after the conflict was over, and being carried home to his house died within three days thereafter. George Gordon, brother of Gordon of Lesmoir, received a shot in the thigh, and died in consequence, ten days after the skirmish. These were the only deaths which occurred, although several of the combatants, on both sides, were wounded. John Meldrum, who fought on Fendraught's side, was the only person severely wounded.

The marquis of Huntly was highly displeased at Frendraught, for having, in such a trifling matter, proceeded to extremities against his kinsman, a chief baron of his surname, whose life had been thus sacrificed in a petty quarrel. The displeasure of the marquis was still farther heightened, when he was informed that Frendraught had joined the earl of Moray, and had craved his protection and assistance; but the marquis was obliged to repress his indignation. John Gordon of Rothiemay, eldest son of the deceased laird, resolved to avenge the death of his father, and having collected a party of men, he associated himself with James Grant and other free-booters, for the purpose of laying waste Frendraught's lands, and oppressing him in every possible way. Frendraught, who was in the south of Scotland when this combination against him was formed, no sooner heard of it than he posted to England, and, having laid a statement of the case before the king, his majesty remitted the matter to the privy council of Scotland, desiring them to use their best endeavours for settling the peace of the northern parts of the kingdom. A commission was thereupon granted by the lords of the council to Frendraught and others, for the purpose of apprehending John Gordon and his associates; but, as the commissioners were not able to execute the task imposed upon them, the lords of the council sent Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, who had just returned from England, and Sir William Seaton of Killesmuir to the north, with a new commission against the rebels, and, as it seemed to be entirely out of the power of the earl of Moray to quell the disturbances in the north, they gave the two commissioners particular instructions to attempt, with the aid of the marquis of Huntly, to get matters settled amicably, and the opposing parties reconciled. The lords of the council, at the same time, wrote a letter to the marquis of Huntly to the same effect. Sir Robert Gordon and Sir William Seaton accordingly left Edinburgh on their way north, in the beginning of May, sixteen hundred and thirty. The latter stopt at Aberdeen for the purpose of consulting with some gentlemen of that shire, as to the best mode of proceeding against the rebels; and the former went to Strathbogie to advise with the marquis of Huntly.

On Sir Robert's arrival at Strathbogie, he found that the marquis had gone to Aberdeen to attend the funeral of the laird of Drum. By a singular coincidence, James Grant and Alexander Grant descended the very day of Sir Robert's arrival at Strathbogie from the mountains, at the head of a party of two hundred Highlanders well armed, with a resolution to burn and lay waste Frendraught's lands. As soon as Sir Robert became aware of this circumstance, he went in great haste to Rothiemay-house, where he found John Gordon and his associates in arms ready to set out to join the Grants. By persuasion and entreaties, Sir Robert, assisted by his nephew, the earl of Sutherland, and his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon, who were then at Frendraught, on a visit to the lady of that place, who was a sister of the earl, prevailed not only upon John Gordon and his friends to desist, but also upon James Grant and his companions-in-arms, to disperse.

On the return of the marquis of Huntly to Strathbogie, Rothiemay and Frendraught were both induced to meet them in presence of the marquis, Sir Robert Gordon and Sir William Seaton, who, after much entreaty, prevailed upon them to reconcile their differences, and submit all matters in dispute to their arbitrament. A decree arbitral was, accordingly pronounced, by which the arbiters adjudged that the laird of Rothiemay, and the children of George Gordon, should mutually remit their father's slaughter, and, in satisfaction thereof, they decerned that the laird of Frendraught should pay a certain sum of money to the laird of Rothiemay, for relief of the debts which he had contracted during the disturbances between the two families,* and that he should pay some money to the children of George Gordon. Frendraught fulfilled these conditions most willingly, and the parties shook hands together in the orchard of Strathbogie, in token of a hearty and sincere reconciliation.†

The laird of Frendraught had scarcely reconciled himself with Rothiemay, when he got into another dispute with the laird of Pitcaple, the occasion of which was as follows:—John Meldrum of Reidhill had assisted Frendraught in his quarrel with old Rothiemay, and had received a wound in the skirmish, in which the latter lost his life, for which injury Frendraught had allowed him some compensation; but, conceiving that his services had not been fairly requited, he began to abuse Frendraught, and threatened to compel him to give him a greater recompense than he had yet received. As Frendraught refused to comply with his demands, Meldrum entered the park of Frendraught privately in the night-time, and carried away two horses belonging to his pretended debtor. Frendraught, thereupon, prosecuted Meldrum for theft, but he declined to appear in court, and was consequently declared rebel. Frendraught then obtained a commission, from the lords of the privy council, to apprehend Meldrum, who took refuge with John Leslie of Pitcaple, whose sister he had married. Under the commission which he had procured, Frendraught went in quest of Meldrum, on the twenty-seventh day of September, sixteen hundred and thirty. He proceeded to Pitcaple's lands, on which he knew Meldrum then lived, where he met James Leslie, second son of the laird of Pitcaple, who had been with him at the skirmish of Rothiemay. Leslie then began to expostulate with him in behalf of Meldrum, his brother-in-law, who, on account of the aid he had given him in his dispute with Rothiemay, took Leslie's remonstrances in good part; but Robert Crichton of Couland, a kinsman of Frendraught, grew so warm at Leslie's freedom, that from high words they proceeded to blows. Couland then drawing a pistol from his belt, shot at and wounded Leslie in the arm, who was, thereupon, carried home apparently in a dying state.

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* Spalding says that Frendraught was "ordained to pay to the lady, relict of Rothiemay, and the bairns, fiftie thousand merks, in composition of the slaughter."—P. 5.

† Sir R. Gordon, p. 416, et seq. Spalding, p. 5.

This affair was the signal for a confederacy among the Leslies, the greater part of whom took up arms against Frendraught, who, a few days after the occurrence, viz. on the fifth of October, first went to the marquis of Huntly, and afterwards to the earl of Moray, to express the regret he felt at what had taken place, and to beg their kindly interference to bring matters to an amicable accommodation. The earl of Moray, for some reason or other, declined to interfere; but the marquis undertook to mediate between the parties. Accordingly, he sent for the laird of Pitcaple to come to the Bog of Gight to confer with him; but, before setting out, he mounted and equipped about thirty horsemen, in consequence of information he had received that Frendraught was at the Bog. At the meeting with the marquis, Pitcaple complained heavily of the injury his son had sustained, and avowed, rather rashly, that he would revenge himself before he returned home, and that, at all events, he would listen to no proposals for a reconciliation till it should be ascertained whether his son would survive the wound he had received. The marquis insisted that Frendraught had done him no wrong, and endeavoured to dissuade him from putting his threat into execution; but Pitcaple was so displeased at the marquis for thus expressing himself, that he suddenly mounted his horse and set off, leaving Frendraught behind him. The marquis, afraid of the consequences, detained Frendraught two days with him in the Bog of Gight, and, hearing that the Leslies had assembled, and lay in wait for Frendraught watching his return home, the marquis sent his son John, viscount of Aboyne, and the laird of Rothiemay along with him, to protect and defend him if necessary. They arrived at Frendraught without interruption, and being solicited to remain all night they yielded, and, after partaking of a hearty supper, went to bed in the apartments provided for them.

The sleeping apartment of the viscount was in the old tower of Frendraught, leading off from the hall. Immediately below this apartment was a vault, in the bottom of which was a round hole of considerable depth. Robert Gordon, a servant of the viscount, and his page, English Will, as he was called, also slept in the same chamber. The laird of Rothiemay, with some servants, were put into an upper chamber immediately above that in which the viscount slept; and in another apartment, directly over the latter, were laid George Chalmer of Noth, Captain Rollock, one of Frendraught's party, and George Gordon, another of the viscount's servants. About midnight the whole of the tower almost instantaneously took fire, and so suddenly and furiously did the flames consume the edifice, that the viscount, the laird of Rothiemay, English Will, Colonel Ivat, one of Aboyne's friends, and two other persons, perished in the flames. Robert Gordon, called Sutherland Gordon, from having been born in that country, who lay in the viscount's chamber, escaped from the flames, as did George Chalmer and Captain Rollock, who were in the third floor; and it is said that Lord Aboyne might have saved himself also, had he not, instead of going out of doors, which he refused to do, ran suddenly up stairs to Rothiemay's chamber for the purpose of awakening him. While so engaged, the stair-case and ceiling of Rothiemay's apartment hastily took fire, and, being prevented from descending by the flames, which filled the stair-case, they ran from window to window of the apartment piteously and unavailingly exclaiming for help.

The news of this calamitous event spread speedily throughout the kingdom, and the fate of the unfortunate sufferers was deeply deplored. Many conjectures were formed as to the cause of the conflagration. Some persons laid the blame on Frendraught without the least reason; for, besides the improbability of the thing, Frendraught himself was a considerable loser, having lost not only a large quantity of silver plate and coin, but also the title deeds of his property and other necessary papers, which were all consumed. Others ascribed the fire to some accidental cause; but the greater number suspected the Leslies and their adherents, who were then so enraged at Frendraught that they threatened to burn the house of Frendraught, and had even entered into a negotiation to that effect with James Grant the rebel, who was Piteaple's cousin-german, for his assistance, as was proved before the lords of the privy council, against John Meldrum and Alexander Leslie, Pitcaple's brother, by two of James Grant's men, who were apprehended at Inverness and sent to the lords of the council, by Sir Robert Gordon, sheriff of Sutherland.*

The marquis of Huntly, who suspected Frendraught to be the author of the fire, afterwards went to Edinburgh and laid a statement of the case before the privy council, who, thereupon, issued a commission to the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, Lord Carnegie, and Crowner Bruce, to investigate the circumstances which led to the catastrophe. The commissioners accordingly went to Frendraught on the thirteenth day of April, sixteen hundred and thirty-one, where they were met by the Lords Gordon, Ogilvie, and Deskford, and several barons and gentlemen, along with whom they examined the burnt tower and vaults below, with the adjoining premises, to ascertain, if possible, how the fire had originated. After a minute inspection, they came to the deliberate opinion, which they communicated in writing to the council, that the fire could not have been accidental, and that it must either have been occasioned by some engine from without, which was highly improbable, or raised intentionally within the vaults or chambers of the tower.†

During James Grant's confinement within the castle of Edinburgh the north was comparatively quiet. On the night of the fifteenth of October, sixteen hundred and thirty-two, he, however, effected his escape from the castle by descending on the west side by means of ropes furnished to him by his wife or son, and fled to Ireland, Proclamations were immediately posted throughout the whole kingdom, offering large sums for his apprehension, either dead or alive, but to no purpose. His wife was taken into custody by order of the marquis of Huntly, while drinking in his gardener's house in the Bog, on suspicion of having aided her husband in effecting his escape; and by desire of the privy council, who were made acquainted by the marquis of her arrest, she was sent to Aberdeen to be there tried by the bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin, as the council had appointed. After undergoing an examination, in which she admitted nothing which could in the least degree criminate her, she was set at liberty.‡

James Grant did not remain long in Ireland, and returned again to the north, where he concealed himself for some time, only occasionally skulking here and there in such a private manner, that his enemies were not aware of his presence, By degrees he grew bolder, and at last appeared openly in Strathdoun and on Speyside. His wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy, had taken a small house in Carron, belonging to the heirs of her husband's nephew, in which she meant to reside till her accouchement, and in which she was occasionally visited by her husband. Balindalloch hearing of this, hired a person named Patrick Macgregor, an outlaw, to apprehend James Grant. This employment was considered by Macgregor and his party a piece of acceptable service, as they expected, in the event of Grant's apprehension, to obtain pardon for their offences from the lords of the council. Macgregor, therefore, at the head of a party of men, lay in wait for James Grant near Carron, and, on observing him enter his wife's house, along with his bastard son and another man, at night, they immediately surrounded the house and attempted to force an entry. Grant perceiving the danger he was in, acted with great coolness and determination. Having fastened the door as firmly as he could, he and his two companions went to two windows, from which they discharged a volley of arrows upon their assailants, who all shrunk back, and none would venture near the door, except Macgregor himself, who came boldly forward and endeavoured to force it; but he paid dearly for his rashness, for Grant, immediately laying hold of a musket, shot him through both his thighs, when he instantly fell to the ground and soon thereafter expired. In the confusion which this occurrence occasioned among Macgregor's party, Grant and his two associates escaped.

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* Sir R. Gordon, p. 241.—Spalding, p. 6, et. seq. † Ibid. p. 11.

‡ Ibid. p. 14.

Shortly after this event, James Grant apprehended his cousin, John Grant of Balindalloch, by the following stratagem:—On the night of Sunday, the seventeenth of December, sixteen hundred and thirty, while Balindalloch was at supper in his own house, Elspet Innes, wife of James Grant, entered the house, and whispered a few words in Balindalloch's ear. After supper was over he rose from table, and, putting his wife's plaid about him, he left the house with his sword and target in his hand, and forbade any person to follow him. His wife, however, went out after him, along with James Grant's wife, to the mill of Petchass, the place of assignation. On arriving there, James Grant, on a watchword being given by his wife, came out of the mill, shook hands with Balindalloch, and saluted his wife in a friendly manner; but this greeting was scarcely over, when a party of twelve men, whom James Grant had concealed, rushed out of the mill, and, seizing Balindalloch and his wife, carried them to Culquholy, three miles from Petchass. After remaining a short time there, they released Balindalloch's wife, who returned home with a sorrowful heart; and after muffling Ballindalloch's face and chaining him to one of the party, they crossed and recrossed different rivulets, that he might not have any idea of the place of their retreat, or whither they were conducting him. At last they arrived at Thomas Grant's house at Dandeis, about three miles from Elgin, on the high road between that town and the Spey, where they took up their lodging and unloosed the shackles from Balindalloch's arm. James Grant ordered him to be watched strictly, whether sleeping or waking, by two strong men on each side of him. Balindalloch complained of foul play, but James Grant excused himself for acting as he had done for two reasons; 1st, Because Balindalloch had failed to perform a promise he had made to obtain a remission for him before the preceding Lammas; and, 2dly, That he had entered into a treaty with the Clan-Gregor to deprive him of his life.

Balindalloch was kept in durance vile for twenty days in a kiln near Thomas Grant's house, suffering the greatest privations, without fire, light, or bed-clothes, in the dead of winter, and without knowing where he was. He was closely watched night and day by Leonard Leslie, son-in-law of Robert Grant, brother of James Grant, and a strong athletic man, named M'Grimmon, who would not allow him to leave the kiln for a moment even to perform the necessities of nature. On Christmas, James Grant, and his party, having gone on some excursion, leaving Leslie and M'Grimmon behind them, Balindalloch, worn out by fatigue, and almost perishing from cold and hunger, addressed Leslie in a low tone of voice, lamenting his miserable situation, and imploring him to aid him in effecting his escape, and promising, in the event of success, to reward him handsomely. Leslie, tempted by the offer, acceded to Balindalloch's request, and made him acquainted with the place of his confinement. It was then arranged that Balindalloch, under the pretence of stretching his arms, should disengage the arm which Leslie held, and that, having so disentangled that arm, he should, by another attempt, get his other arm out of M'Grimmon's grasp. The morning of Sunday, the twenty-eighth day of December, was fixed upon for putting the stratagem into execution. The plan succeeded, and as soon as Balindalloch found his arms at liberty, he suddenly sprung to his feet and made for the door of the kiln. Leslie immediately followed him, pretending to catch him, and as M'Grimmon was hard upon his heels, Leslie purposely stumbled in his way and brought M'Grimmon down to the ground. This stratagem enabled Balindalloch to gain a-head of his pursuers, and although M'Grimmon sounded the alarm and the pursuit was continued by Robert Grant and a party of James Grant's followers, Balindalloch succeeded in reaching the village of Urquhart in safety, accompanied by Leonard Leslie.

Sometime after his escape, Balindalloch applied for and obtained a warrant for the apprehension of Thomas Grant, and others, for harbouring James Grant. Thomas Grant, and some of his accomplices, were accordingly seized and sent to Edinburgh, where they were tried and convicted. Grant was hanged, and the others were banished from Scotland for life.

After Balindalloch's escape, James Grant kept remarkably quiet, as many persons lay in wait for him; but hearing that Thomas Grant, brother of Patrick Grant of Culquhoche, and a friend of Balindalloch, had received a sum of money from the earl of Moray, as an encouragement to seek out and slay James Grant, the latter resolved to murder Thomas Grant and thus relieve himself of one enemy at least. He therefore went to Thomas' house, but not finding him at home, he killed sixteen of his cattle; and afterwards learning that Thomas Grant was sleeping at the house of a friend hard by, he entered that house and found Thomas

Grant, and a bastard brother of his, both in bed. Having forced them out of bed, he took them outside of the house and put them immediately to death. A few days after the commission of this crime, Grant and four of his associates went to the lands of Strathbogie, and entered the house of the common executioner craving some food, without being aware of the profession of the host whose hospitality they solicited. The executioner, disliking the appearance of Grant and his companions, went to James Gordon, the bailie of Strathbogie, and informed him that there were some suspicious looking persons in his house. Judging that these could be none other but Grant and his comrades, Gordon immediately collected some well armed horsemen and foot, and surrounded the house in which Grant was ; but he successfully resisted all their attempts to enter the house, and killed a servant of the marquis of Huntly, named Adam Rhind, and another of the name of Anderson. After keeping them at bay for a considerable time, Grant and his brother, Robert, effected their escape from the house, but a bastard son of James Grant, John Forbes, an intimate associate, and another person, were taken prisoners, and carried to Edinburgh, where they were executed, along with a notorious thief, named Gille-Roy-Mac-Gregor. This occurrence took place in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-six. The laird of Grant had, during the previous year, been ordained by the council to apprehend James Grant, or to make him leave the kingdom ; and they had obliged him to find caution and surety, in terms of the general bond appointed by law to be taken from all the heads of clans, and from all governors of provinces in the kingdom, but chiefly in the west and north of Scotland ; but the laird could neither perform the one nor the other.*

Amongst the freebooters who about this period infested Lochaber, was a party of the Clan-Lauchlan, who carried on a system of depredation and plunder which extended even to the lowlands. In the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three, Alexander Gordon of Dunkyntie, nephew of the marquis of Huntly, and his eldest son, while hunting with a small party, at the head of Strathdoun, fell in with some of these outlaws driving away some cattle which they had stolen. They endeavoured to rescue the prey, but Dunkyntie and his son were both killed in the attempt. Some of the clan were, however, afterwards apprehended, and suffered the last penalty of the law for this aggression The clan continued their spoliations notwithstanding, and during the following year they descended into the lowlands as far as the lands of the laird of Eggell, at the head of the Mearns, whence, after killing some of his servants, they carried off some cattle, which they drove away to the Braes of Mar. On perceiving their approach, the Farquharsons of Braemar collected together and attacked them ; but after a short skirmish, in which some lives were lost on both sides, the Farquharsons, owing to the comparative inferiority of their numbers, were forced to desist, and to allow the Clan-Lauchlan to carry off their booty. As soon as the lords of the council received notice of these lawless proceedings, they summoned Alain Mac-Dhonuill-Dubh, chief of the Clan-Cameron in Lochaber, to appear at Edinburgh, to answer for not preventing them. Allan obeyed the summons, and both he and his eldest son were imprisoned until the Clan-Lauchlan should be brought to justice: but they were afterwards released on giving surety to preserve the peace in Lochaber.*

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*Continuation of the History of the Earls of Sutherland, collected together by Gilbert Gordon of Sallagh, annexed to Sir R. Gordon's work, p. 460. Spalding, p. 41, 42.

By the judicious management of the affairs of the house of Sutherland by Sir Robert Gordon, his nephew, the earl, on entering upon the management of his own affairs, found the hostility of the enemy of his family either neutralized, or rendered no longer dangerous; but, in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three, he found himself involved in a quarrel with Lord Lorn, eldest son of the earl of Argyle, who had managed the affairs of his family during his father's banishment from Scotland. This dispute arose out of the following circumstances:—

In consequence of a quarrel between Lord Berridale, who now acted as sole administrator of his father's estates, and William Mac-Iver, chieftain of the Siol-Mhic-Imheair, in Caithness, the former removed the latter from the lands and possessions he held of him in Caithness. Mac-Iver thereupon retired into Argyle, and assuming the surname of Campbell, as being originally an Argyle man, sought the favour and protection of Lord Lorn. His claim to be considered a Campbell weighed powerfully with his lordship, who wrote several letters to Lord Berridale in his favour, as well as to Lord Gordon, the earl of Sutherland, and Sir Robert Gorden, to intercede for Mac-Iver with Lord Berridale. They, accordingly, applied to Lord Berridale, but without success, as his lordship was as inflexible as Mac Iver was unreasonable in his demands. Seeing no hopes of an accommodation, Mac-Iver collected a party of rebels and outlaws, to the number of about twenty, and made an incursion into Caithness, where, during the space of four or five years, he did great injury in Caithness, carrying off considerable spoils, which he conveyed through the heights of Strathnaver and Sutherland.

To put an end to Mac-Iver's depredations, Lord Berridale at first brought a legal prosecution against him, and having got him denounced rebel, sent out different parties of his countrymen to ensnare him; but he escaped for a long time, and always retired in safety with his booty, either into the isles, or into Argyle. Lord Lorn publicly disowned Mac-Iver's proceedings; but the inhabitants of Sutherland encouraged him by giving him a free passage through their country, as they were rather pleased to see the Siol-Mhic-Imheair and their chief, who were the chief instruments of the earl of Caithness' outrages against themselves, at such deadly variance with Lord Berridale. In his incursions, Mac-Iver was powerfully assisted by an islander, of the name of Gille-Calum-Mac-Shomhairle, who had married his daughter, and who was well acquainted with all the passes leading into Caithness.

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* Gordon of Sallagh's Continuation, p. 461; Spalding, p. 22.

At last Mac-Iver and his son were both apprehended by Lord Berridale, and hanged, and the race of the Siol-Mhic-Imheair was almost extinguished; but Gille-Calum-Mac-Shomhairle having associated with himself several of the Isles and Argyle men, and some outlaws of the Clann-Mhic-Iain-Dhuinn, who were dependants of Lord Lorn, continued his incursions into Caithness. Having, on one occasion, when retreating from Caithness, taken some cattle out of Sutherland, the earl of Sutherland sent a party of men in pursuit of them, who apprehended some of them, and upon being brought to the earl, they were executed. Gille-Calum, however, returned next summer with a more powerful company, which he divided into two parties. One of these, at the head of which was Gille-Calum himself, went to the higher parts of Ross and Sutherland, there to remain till joined by their companions. The other party went through the lowlands of Ross, under the pretence of going to the Lammas fair, then held at Tain, and thence proceeded to Sutherland to meet the rest of their associates, under the pretence of visiting certain kinsmen they pretended to have in Strathully and Strathnaver. This last mentioned body consisted of sixteen or twenty persons, most of whom were of the Clann-Mhic-Iain-Dhuinn. They were under the command of one Ewen Aird; and as they passed the town of Tain, on their way to Sutherland, they stole some horses, which they sold in Sutherland, without being in the least suspected of the theft.

The owners of the stolen horses soon came into Sutherland in quest of them, and claimed them from the persons to whom they had been sold. The earl of Sutherland, on proof being given of the property, restored the horses to the true owners, and sent some men in quest of Ewen Aird, who was still in Strathully. Ewen was apprehended and brought to Dunrobin, and upon being questioned about the horses, he affirmed that they were his property, and had not been stolen. The earl of Sutherland, notwithstanding, ordained him to repay to his countrymen the monies which Ewen and his companions had received from them for the horses, the only punishment he said he would inflict on them, because they were strangers. Ewen assented to the earl's request, and he remained as an hostage at Dunrobin, until his companions should send money to relieve him; but as soon as his associates heard of his detention, they, instead of sending money for his release, fled to Gille-Calum-Mac-Shomhairle and his party, leaving their captain a prisoner at Dunrobin. In their retreat, they destroyed some houses in the high parts of Sutherland, and, on entering Ross, they laid waste some lands belonging to Hutcheon Ross of Auchincloigh. These outrages occasioned an immediate assemblage of the inhabitants of that part of the country, who pursued these marauders, and took them prisoners. The remainder escaped either into the isles, or into Lorn. The ten prisoners were brought to Auchincloigh, where Sir Robert Gordon was at the time deciding a dispute about the marches between Auchincloigh and Neamore. After some consultation about what was to be done with the prisoners, it was resolved that they should be sent to the earl of Sutherland, who then happened to be in pursuit of them. On the prisoners being sent to him, the earl assembled the principal gentlemen of Ross and Sutherland at Dornoch, where Ewen Aird and his accomplices were tried before a jury, convicted and executed at Dornoch, with the exception of two young boys, who were dismissed.

The privy council not only approved of what the earl of Sutherland had done, but they also sent a commission to him and the earl of Seaforth, and to Hutcheon Ross, and some other gentlemen in Ross and Sutherland, against the Clann-Mhic-Iain-Dhuinn, in case they should again make any fresh incursion into Ross and Sutherland.

Lord Lorn being at this time justiciary of the isles, had obtained an act of the privy council in his favour, by which it was decreed that any malefactor, being an islander, upon being apprehended in any part of the kingdom, should be sent to Lord Lorn, or to his deputies, to be judged; and that to this effect he should have deputies in every part of the kingdom. As soon as his lordship heard of the trial and execution of the men at Dornoch, who were of the Clann-Mhic-Iain-Dhuinn, and his dependents and followers, he took the matter highly amiss, and repaired to Edinburgh, where he made a complaint to the lords of the council against the earl of Sutherland, for having, as he maintained, apprehended the king's free subjects without a commission, and for causing them to be executed, although they had not been apprehended within his own jurisdiction. After hearing this complaint, Lord Lorn obtained letters to charge the earl of Sutherland and Hutcheon Ross to answer to the complaint at Edinburgh before the lords of the privy council, and he, moreover, obtained a suspension of the earl's commission against the Clann-Mhic-Iain-Dhuinn, on becoming bound, in the meantime, as surety for their obedience to the laws.

Sir Robert Gordon happening to arrive at Edinburgh from England, shortly after Lord Lorn's visit to Edinburgh, in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-four, learned the object of his mission, and the success which had attended it. He, therefore, being an eye-witness of every thing which had taken place at Dornoch respecting the trial, condemnation, and execution of Lord Lorn's dependents, informed the lords of the council of all the proceedings, which proceeding on his part had the effect of preventing Lord Lorn from going on with his prosecution against the earl of Sutherland. He, however, proceeded to summon Hutcheon Ross; but the earl not being disposed to abandon Ross, he, at the suggestion of Sir Robert Gordon, Lord Reay, and all the gentlemen who were present at the trial at Dornoch, signed and sent a letter to the lords of the council, giving a detail of the whole circumstances of the case, and along with this letter he sent a copy of the proceedings attested by the sheriff clerk of Sutherland, to be laid before the council on the day appointed for Ross's appearance. After the matter had been fully debated in council, the conduct of the earl of Sutherland and Hutcheon Ross was approved of, and the commission to the earl of Sutherland again renewed, and Lord Lorn was taken bound, that, in time coming, the counties of Sutherland and Ross should be kept harmless from the Clann-Mhic-Iain-Dhuinn. The council, moreover, decided, that, in respect the earl of Sutherland had the rights of regality and sheriffship within himself, and as he was appointed to administer justice within his own bounds; that he was not obliged to send criminals, though islanders, to Lord Lorn or to his deputies. This decision had the effect of relieving Sutherland and Ross from farther incursions on the part of Lord Lorn's followers.*

The disaster at Frendraught had made an impression upon the mind of the marquis of Huntly, which nothing could efface, and he could never be persuaded but that the fire had originated with the proprietor of the mansion himself. He made many unsuccessful attempts to discover the incendiaries, and on the arrival of King Charles at Edinburgh, in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three, the marquis made preparations for paying a personal visit to the king, for the purpose of imploring him to order an investigation into all the circumstances attending the fire, so as to lead to a discovery of the criminals; but falling sick on his journey, and unable to proceed to Edinburgh, he sent forward his marchioness, who was accompanied by Lady Aboyne and other females of rank, all clothed in deep mourning, to lay a statement of the case before his majesty, and to solicit the royal interference. The king received the marchioness and her attendants most graciously; comforted them as far as words could, and promised to see justice done.

After the king's departure from Scotland, the marchioness and Lady Aboyne, both of whom still remained in Edinburgh, determined to see his majesty's promise implemented, prevailed upon the privy council to bring John Meldrum of Reidhill, who had been long in confinement, on a charge of being concerned in the fire, before them; but although strictly examined three successive days, he utterly denied all knowledge of the matter. He was, notwithstanding, brought to trial, and it having been proved by the evidence of Sir George Ogilvy, laird of Banff, and George Baird, bailie of Banff, who were endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between him and Frendraught, that, on the evening before the fire took place, he had remarked that unless such a reconciliation took place immediately, it would never happen, as Frendraught would be burnt before the next morning, he was condemned to be hanged and quartered at the cross of Edinburgh. At the place of execution he persisted in his innocence, although he fully admitted the conversation between him, Sir George Ogilvie, and George Baird. A domestic servant of Frendraught named Tosh, who was suspected of being a party concerned in the fire, was afterwards put to the torture, for the purpose of extorting a confession of guilt from him; but confessed nothing. The marchioness, thereafter, insisted on bringing him to trial before a jury; but Tosh's counsel resisted this, as being contrary to the law, which did not admit of a person who had been tortured without confessing any guilt, of being brought to trial. The objection being sustained, Tosh was instantly liberated from prison.

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* Gordon of Sallagh's Cont. p. 464, et seq.

The condemnation and execution of Meldrum, in place of abating, appear to have increased the odium of Frendraught's enemies. The highlanders of his neighbourhood considering his property to be fair game, made frequent incursions upon his lands, and carried off cattle and goods, and the Gordons were equally annoying. In the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three, Adam Gordon in Strathdoun and his two sons headed a party from the Caberoch, and wasted Frendraught's lands, and carried off a considerable quantity of goods; but Frendraught having pursued them, he recovered the property, and having taken three of the party prisoners, hanged them at Frendraught. The marquis of Huntly, to show that he was not in any way implicated in this proceeding, apprehended Adam Gordon, and imprisoned him at Auchendun; but, being watched very negligently, he escaped. About the end of the following year, he again, at the head of a party of outlaws, made another incursion upon Frendraught's lands; but he was again frustrated in another attempt to carry off a number of cattle belonging to Frendraught's tenants, who, at the head of a party of his tenants and servants, overtook them in Glenfeddigh, rescued and brought back the cattle which they were driving away.

On another occasion, about six hundred highlanders, belonging to the Clan-Gregor, Clan-Cameron, and other tribes, appeared near Frendraught, and openly declared that they had come to join Adam Gordon of Park, John Gordon of Invermarkie, and the other friends of the late Gordon of Rothiemay, for the purpose of revenging his death. When Frendraught heard of the irruption of this body, he immediately collected about two hundred foot, and one hundred and forty horsemen, and went in quest of these intruders; but being scattered through the country, they could make no resistance, and every man provided for his own safety by flight.

To put an end to these annoyances, Frendraught got these marauders declared outlaws, and the lords of the privy council wrote to the marquis of Huntly, desiring him to repress the disorders of those of his surname, and failing his doing so, that they would consider him the author of them. The marquis returned an answer to this communication, stating, that as the aggressors were neither his tenants nor servants, he could in no shape be answerable for them,—that he had neither countenanced nor incited them, and that he had no warrant to pursue or prosecute them.

The refusal of the marquis to obey the orders of the privy council, emboldened the denounced party to renew their acts of spoliation and robbery. They no longer confined their depredations to Frendraught and his tenants, but extended them to the property of the ministers who lived upon Frendraught's lands. In this course of life, they were joined by some of the young men of the principal families of the Gordons in Strathbogie, to the number of forty horsemen, and sixty foot, and to encourage them in their designs against Frendraught, the lady of Rothiemay gave them the castle of Rothiemay, which they fortified, and from which they made daily sallies upon Frendraught's possessions; burned his corn, laid waste his lands, and killed some of his people. Frendraught opposed them for some time; but being satisfied that such proceedings taking place almost under the very eyes of the marquis of Huntly, must necessarily be done with his concurrence, he went to Edinburgh, and entered a complaint against the marquis to the privy council. During Frendraught's absence, his tenants were expelled by these Gordons from their possessions, without opposition.

When the king heard of these lawless proceedings, and of the refusal of the marquis to interfere, he wrote to the lords of the privy council to adopt measures for suppressing them; preparatory to which, they cited the marquis, in the beginning of the following year, to appear before them, to answer for these oppressions. He accordingly went to Edinburgh in the month of February, sixteen hundred and thirty-five, where he was commanded to remain till the matter should be investigated. The heads of the families, whose sons had joined the outlaws, also appeared, and, after examination, Letterfourie, Park, Tilliangus, Terrisoule, Invermarkie, Tulloch, Ardlogy, and several other persons of the surname of Gordon, were committed to prison, until their sons, who had engaged in the combination against Frendraught, should be presented before the council. The prisoners, who denied being accessary thereto, then petitioned to be set at liberty, a request which was complied with, on condition that they should either produce the rebels, as the pillagers were called, or make them leave the kingdom. The marquis, although nothing could be proved against him, was obliged to find caution for all persons of the surname of Gordon within his bounds, that they should keep the peace, and that he should be answerable, in all time coming, for any damage which should befal the laird of Frendraught, or his lands, by whatever violent means; and also that he should present the rebels at Edinburgh, that justice might be satisfied, or make them leave the kingdom.

The marquis of Huntly, thereupon, returned to the north, and the rebels hearing of the obligation he had come under, immediately dispersed themselves. The greater part of them fled into Flanders, and about twelve of them were apprehended by the marquis, and sent by him to Edinburgh. John Gordon, who lived at Woodhead of Rothiemay, and another, were executed. Of the remaining two, James Gordon, son of George Gordon in Achterles, and William Ross, son of John Ross of Ballivet, the former was acquitted by the jury, and the latter was imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh for future trial, having been a chief ringleader of the party. In apprehending these twelve persons, James Gordon, son of Adam Gordon of Strathdoun, was killed, and to show the privy council how diligent the marquis had been in fulfilling his obligation, his head was sent to Edinburgh along with the prisoners.

The activity with which the marquis pursued the oppressors of Frendraught, brought him afterwards into some trouble. Adam Gordon, one of the principal ringleaders of the confederacy, and second son of Sir Adam Gordon, of the Park, seeing no place of retreat left for him, nor any means of escape from the zeal of his pursuers, resolved to throw himself on the king's mercy. For this purpose, he made a private communication to the archbishop of St Andrews, then chancellor of Scotland, in which he offered to submit himself to the king's pleasure, and promising, that if his majesty would grant him a pardon, he would reveal the author of the rebellion. The archbishop, eager, it would appear, to fulfil the ends of justice, readily entered into Gordon's views, and sent an especial messenger to London to the king, who, at once, granted Adam a pardon, which he forthwith transmitted to Scotland. On receiving the pardon, Gordon accused the marquis of Huntly as the author of the conspiracy against Frendraught, and with having instigated him and his associates to commit all the depredations which had taken place. The king, thereupon, sent a commission to Scotland, appointing a select number of the lords of the privy council to examine into the affair.

As Adam Gordon had charged James Gordon of Letterfourie, with having employed him and his associates, in name of the marquis, against the laird of Frendraught, Letterfourie was cited to appear at Edinburgh for trial. On being confronted with Adam Gordon, he denied every thing laid to his charge, but, notwithstanding of this denial, he was committed a close prisoner to the jail of Edinburgh. The marquis himself, who had also appeared at Edinburgh on the appointed day, viz., fifteenth of January sixteen hundred and thirty-six, was likewise confronted with Adam Gordon before the committee of the privy council; but although he denied Adam's accusation, and "cleared himself with great dexteritie, beyond admiration," as Gordon of Sallagh observes, he was, "upon presumption," committed a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

When his majesty was made acquainted with these circumstances by the commissioners, and that there was no proof against the marquis to establish the charge against him, both the marquis and Gordon of Letterfourie were released by his command, on giving security for indemnifying the laird of Frendraught in time coming for any damage he might sustain from the Gordons and their accomplices. Having so far succeeded in annoying the marquis, Adam Gordon, after collecting a body of men, by leave of the privy council, went along with them to Germany, where he became a captain in the regiment of Colonel George Leslie. To terminate the unhappy differences between the marquis and Frendraught, the king enjoined Sir Robert Gordon, who was related to both, the marquis being his cousin-german, and chief of that family, and Frendraught the husband of his niece, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between them. Sir Robert, accordingly, on his return to Scotland, prevailed upon the parties to enter into a submission, by which they agreed to refer all questions and differences between them to the arbitrament of friends; but before the submission was brought to a final conclusion, the marquis expired at Dundee upon the thirteenth day of June, sixteen hundred and thirty-six, at the age of seventy-four, while returning to the north from Edinburgh. He was interred in the family vault at Elgin, on the thirtieth day of August following, "having," says Spalding, "above his chist a rich mortcloath of black velvet, wherein was wrought two whyte crosses. He had torchlights in great number carried be freinds and gentlemen; the marques' son, called Adam, was at his head, the earle of Murray on the right spaik, the earle of Seaforth on the left spaik, the earl of Sutherland on the third spaik, and Sir Robert Gordon on the fourth spaik. Besyds thir nobles, many barrons and gentlemen was there, haveing above three hundred lighted torches at the lifting. He is carried to the east port, doun the wynd to the south kirk stile of the colledge kirk, in at the south kirk door, and buried in his own isle with much murning and lamentation. The like forme of burriall, with torch light, was not sein heir thir many dayes befor."*

The marquis was a remarkable man for the age in which he lived, and there are no characters in that eventful period of Scottish history, so well entitled to veneration and esteem. A lover of justice, he never attempted to aggrandize his vast possessions at the expense of his less powerful neighbours; a kind and humane superior and landlord, he exercised a lenient sway over his numerous vassals and tenants, who repaid his kindness by sincere attachment to his person and family. Endowed with great strength of mind, invincible courage, and consummate prudence, he surmounted the numerous difficulties with which he was surrounded, and lived to see the many factions, which had conspired against him, discomfited and dissolved. While his constant and undeviating attachment to the religion of his forefathers, raised up many enemies against him among the professors of the reformed doctrines, by whose cabals he was at one time obliged to leave the kingdom, his great power and influence were assailed by another formidable class of opponents among the turbulent nobility, who were grieved to see a man who had not imitated their venality and rapacity, not only retain his predominance in the north, but also receive especial marks of his sovereign's regard. But skilful and intriguing as they were in all the dark and sinister ways of an age distinguished for its base and wicked practices, their machinations were frustrated by the discernment and honesty of George Gordon, the first marquis of Huntly.

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* Spalding, p. 43.

CHAPTER XV.

Attempt of Charles I. to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland—Opposition of the Covenanters—Preparations for war—Marquis of Huntly raises the royal standard in the north—The Earl of Sutherland joins the Earl of Seaforth and other Covenanters in the north—Raid of Turriff—The Earl of Montrose and General Leslie enter Aberdeen—Meeting between Montrose and the Marquis of Huntly—Arrest of the Marquis—Imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh—Meetings of Covenanters at Monymusk and Turriff—The Trott of Turray—Rising of the Gordons—Landing of Viscount Aboyne at Aberdeen—Raid of Stonehaven—Battle at the Bridge of Dee—Flight of Aboyne—Pacification of Berwick—New preparations for war—Imprisonment of Montrose—Liberated and goes to England—Meeting of Convention of Estates—Montrose takes Dumfries—Retires to Carlisle—Rising in the north under the Marquis of Huntly—Montrose enters Scotland—Arrives at Tulliebelton House—Landing of Irish forces in the West Highlands—Meeting of Montrose and Alexander Macdonald in Athole—Junction of the Athole men—Montrose advances into Stratherne—Joined by Lord Kilpont—Battle of Tippermuir.

HITHERTO the history of the Highlands has been confined chiefly to the feuds and conflicts of the clans, the details of which, though interesting to their descendants, cannot be supposed to afford the same gratification to readers at large, who require more inciting events to engage their attention than the disputes of rival families and petty chieftains. We now enter upon a more important era, when, for the first time, the Highlanders may be said to have appeared on the theatre of our national history, and to have given a foretaste of that military prowess, for which they, afterwards, became so highly distinguished.

In entering upon the details of the military achievements of the Highlanders, during the period of the civil wars, and the campaigns of Montrose, it seems to be quite unnecessary and foreign to our purpose, to trouble the reader with a history of the rash, unconstitutional, and ill-fated attempt of Charles I., to introduce English episcopacy into Scotland; nor, for the same reason, is it requisite to detail minutely the proceedings of the authors of the covenant. Suffice it to say, that in consequence of the inflexible determination of Charles to force the forms of the English church service upon the people of Scotland, the great majority of the nation declared their determination "by the great name of the Lord their

God," to defend their religion against what they considered to be errors and corruptions. Notwithstanding, however, of the most positive demonstrations on the part of the people to resist, Charles, acting by the advice of a privy council of Scotsmen established in England, exclusively devoted to the affairs of Scotland, resolved to suppress the covenant by open force, and in order to gain time for the necessary preparations, he sent the marquis of Hamilton, as his commissioner, to Scotland, who was instructed to promise "that the practice of the liturgy and the canons should never be pressed in any other than a fair and legal way, and that the high commission should be so rectified as never to impugn the laws, or to be a just grievance to loyal subjects," and that the king would pardon those who had lately taken an illegal covenant, on their immediately renouncing it, and giving up the bond to the commissioners.

When the covenanters heard of Hamilton's approach, they appointed a national fast to be held, to beg the blessing of God upon the kirk, and on the tenth of June, sixteen hundred and thirty-eight, the marquis was received at Leith, and conducted to the capital by about sixty thousand covenanters, and five hundred ministers. The spirit and temper of such a vast assemblage overawed the marquis, and he, therefore, concealed his instructions. After making two successive journeys to London to communicate the alarming state of affairs, and to receive fresh instructions, he, on his second return, issued a proclamation, discharging "the service book, the book of canons, and the high commission court, dispensing with the five articles of Perth, dispensing the entrants into the ministry from taking the oath of supremacy and of canonical obedience, commanding all persons to lay aside the new covenant, and take that which had been published by the king's father in fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, and summoning a free assembly of the kirk to meet, in the month of November, and a parliament in the month of May, the following year." * Matters had, however, proceeded too far for submission to the conditions of the proclamation, and the covenanting leaders answered it by a formal protest in which they gave sixteen reasons, showing, that to comply with the demands of the king would be to betray the cause of God, and to act against the dictates of conscience. †

In consequence of the opposition made to the proclamation, it was generally expected that the king would have recalled the order for the meeting of the assembly at Glasgow; but no prohibition having been issued, that assembly, which consisted, besides the clergy, of one lay-elder, and four lay-assessors, from every presbytery, met at the time appointed; viz., in the month of November, sixteen hundred and thirty-eight. After spending a week in violent debates, the commissioner, in terms of his instructions, declared the assembly dissolved; but encour-

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* Dr Lingard, vi. p. 354, 4to ed.—Baillie, 69, 70.—Balfour, ii. 264—288.—Rushworth, ii. 752, 751, 787.—Burnet's Hamiltons, 82, 88.—Natson, 1. 32, 37.

† Rushworth, 772—780.

aged by the accession of the earl of Argyle, who placed himself at the head of the covenanters, the members declined to disperse at the mere mandate of the sovereign, and passed a resolution, that, in spiritual matters, the kirk was independent of the civil power, and that the dissolution by the commissioner was illegal and void. After spending three weeks in revising the ecclesiastical regulations introduced into Scotland since the accession of James to the crown of England, the assembly condemned the liturgy, ordinal, book of canons, and court of high commission, and assuming all the powers of legislation, abolished episcopacy, and excommunicated the bishops themselves, and the ministers who supported them. Charles declared .their proceedings null by proclamation; but the people received them with great joy, and testified their approbation by a national thanksgiving.*

Both parties had for some time been preparing for war, and they now hastened on their plans. In consequence of an order from the supreme committee of the covenanters in Edinburgh, every man capable of bearing arms was called out and trained. Experienced Scottish officers who had spent the greater part of their lives in military service in Sweden and Germany, returned to Scotland to place themselves at the head of their countrymen, and the Scottish merchants in Holland supplied them with arms and ammunition. The king advanced as far as York with an army, the Scottish bishops making him believe that the news of his approach would induce the covenanters to submit themselves to his pleasure; but he was disappointed in this vain idea, for instead of submitting themselves, they were the first to commence hostilities. On Friday the ninth of March, sixteen hundred and thirty-nine, General Leslie, the covenanting general, at the head of one thousand men, surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and on the following day the earl of Traquair surrendered Dalkeith house, and on the Sunday during the observance of a solemn fast, the covenanters obtained possession of the castle of Dumbarton. The king, on arriving at Durham, dispatched the marquis of Hamilton with a fleet of forty ships, having on board six thousand troops, to the Frith of Forth; but as both sides of the Frith were well fortified at different points, and covered with troops, he was unable to effect a landing.

In the meantime the marquis of Huntly raised the royal standard in the north, and as the earl of Sutherland, accompanied by Lord Reay and John, Master of Berridale and others, had been very busy in Inverness and Elgin, persuading the inhabitants to subscribe the covenant, the marquis wrote him confidentially, blaming him for his past conduct, and advising him to declare for the king; but the earl informed him in reply, that it was against the bishops and their innovations, and not against the king, that he had so acted. The earl then, in his turn, advised the marquis to join the covenanters, by doing which he said he would not only confer honour on himself, but much good on his native country: that in any private question in which Huntly was personally interested he would assist, but that in the present affair he would not aid him. The earl thereupon joined the earl of Seaforth, the Master of Berridale, the Lord Lovat, the Lord Reay, the laird of Balnagown, the Rosses, the Monróes, the laird of Grant, Mackintosh, the laird of Innes, the sheriff of Moray, the baron of Kilravok, the laird of Altire, the tutor of Duffus and the other covenanters on the north of the river Spey.

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* Rushworth, ii. 872, 875—881.—Balfour, 303—315.—Hardwicke Papers, ii. 124.—Baillie, 135—139.

The marquis of Huntly assembled his forces first at Turriff, and afterwards at Kintore, whence he marched upon Aberdeen, which he took possession of in name of the king. The marquis being informed shortly after his arrival in Aberdeen, that a meeting of covenanters, who resided within his district, was to be held at Turriff on the fourteenth day of February, he resolved to disperse them. He therefore wrote letters to his chief dependents, requiring them to meet him at Turriff the same day, and bring with them their usual arms. One of these letters fell into the hands of the earl of Montrose, who determined at all hazards to protect the meeting of his friends, the covenanters. In pursuance of this resolution, he collected, with great alacrity, some of his best friends in Angus, and with his own and their dependents, to the number of about eight hundred men, he crossed the range of hills called the Grangebean, and took possession of Turriff on the morning of the fourteenth of February. When Huntly's party arrived during the course of the day, they were surprised at seeing the little churchyard of the village filled with armed men; and they were still more surprised to observe them levelling their hagbuts at them across the walls of the churchyard. Not knowing how to act in the absence of the marquis, they retired to a place called the Broad Ford of Towie, about two miles south from the village, when they were soon joined by Huntly and his suite. After some consultation, the marquis, after parading his men in order of battle along the north-west side of the village, in sight of Montrose, dispersed his party, which amounted to two thousand men, without offering to attack Montrose, on the pretence that his commission of lieutenancy only authorised him to act on the defensive. This act of pusillanimity weakened the confidence of his friends.*

Montrose had, about this time, received a commission from the Tables, as the boards of representatives, chosen respectively by the nobility, county gentry, clergy, and inhabitants of the burghs, were called, to raise a body of troops for the service of the covenanters, and he now proceeded to embody them with extraordinary promptitude. Within one month, he collected a force of about three thousand horse and foot, from the counties of Fife, Forfar, and Perth, and put them into a complete state of military discipline. Being joined by the forces under

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* Spalding, vol. i. p. 94.

General Leslie, he marched upon Aberdeen, which he entered, without opposition, on the thirtieth of March, the marquis of Huntly having abandoned the town on his approach. Some idea of the well-appointed state of this army may be formed from the curious description of Spalding, who says, that "upon the morne, being Saturday, they came in order of battell, weill armed, both on horse and foot, ilk horseman having five shot at the least, with ane carabine in his hand, two pistols by his sydes, and other two at his saddell toir; the pikemen in their ranks, with pike and sword; the musketiers in their ranks, with musket, musket-staffe, bandelier, sword, powder, ball, and match; ilk company, both on horse and foot, had their captains, lieutenants, ensignes, serjeants, and other officers and commanders, all for the most part in buff coats, and in goodly order. They had five colours or ensignes; whereof the earl of Montrose had one, haveing this motto, 'FOR RELIGION, THE COVENANT, AND THE COUNTRIE;' the earle of Marischall had one, the earle of Kinghorne had one, and the town of Dundie had two. They had trumpeters to ilk company of horsemen, and drummers to ilk company of footmen; they had their meat, drink, and other provision, bag and baggage, carryed with them, all done be advyse of his excellence Felt Marschall Leslie, whose councell Generall Montrose followed in this busieness. Now, in seemly order, and good array, this army came forward, and entered the burgh of Aberdein, about ten hours in the morning, at the Over Kirkgate Port, syne came doun throw the Broadgate, throw the Castlegate, out at the Justice Port to the Queen's Links directly. Here it is to be notted, that few or none of this haill army wanted ane blew ribbin hung about his craig, doun under his left arme, which they called the *Covenanters' Ribbin*. But the Lord Gordon, and some other of the marquess' bairnes and familie, had ane ribbin, when he was dwelling in the toun, of ane reid flesh cullor, which they wore in their hatts, and called it *The Royall Ribbin*, as a signe of their love and loyalltie to the king. In despyte and derision thereof this blew ribbin was worne, and called the *Covenanters' Ribbin*, be the haill souldiers of the army, and would not hear of the royall ribbin; such was their pryde and malice."*

At Aberdeen, Montrose was joined the same day by Lord Fraser, the master of Forbes, the laird of Dalgettie, the tutor of Pitsligo, the Earl Marshall's men in Buchan, with several other gentlemen and their tenants, dependants and servants, to the number of two thousand, an addition which augmented Montrose's army to nine thousand men. Leaving the earl of Kintore, with fifteen hundred men, to keep possession of Aberdeen, Montrose marched the same day towards Kintore, where he encamped that night. Halting all Sunday, he proceeded, on the Monday, to Inverury, where he again pitched his camp. The marquis of Huntly grew alarmed at this sudden and unexpected movement, and thought it now full time to treat with such a formidable foe, for his personal safety. He, therefore, despatched Robert Gordon of Straloch and Doctor Gordon, an Aberdeen physician, to Montrose's camp, to request an interview. The marquis proposed to meet him on a moor near Blackhall, about two miles from the camp, with eleven attendants each, with no arms but a single sword at their side. After consulting with Field Marshall Leslie, and the other officers, Montrose agreed to meet the marquis, on Thursday the fourth of April, at the place mentioned. The parties accordingly met. Among the eleven who attended the marquis were his son James, Lord Aboyne, and the Lord Oliphant. The Lords Elcho and Cowper were of the party who attended Montrose. After the usual salutation, they both alighted, and entered into conversation, but, coming to no understanding, they adjourned the conference till the following morning, when the marquis signed a writing substantially the same as the covenant, and obliged himself to make his friends, tenants, and servants to subscribe the covenant.* The marquis, after this arrangement, went to Strathbogie, and Montrose returned with his army to Aberdeen, the following day.

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* Troubles, vol. i. p. 107, 108.

The marquis had not been many days at Strathbogie, when he received a notice from Montrose to repair to Aberdeen with his two sons, the Lord Gordon and Viscount Aboyne. The reason for such a step does not sufficiently appear; but it seems highly probable that Montrose had been actuated by a distrust of the sincerity of the marquis' promises, and that as he was meditating a journey to the south, he might consider it a wise and prudent course to secure the person of the marquis, and thus prevent a rising in the north.

Some writers have attributed, and not without reason, the arrest of the marquis to the intrigues of the Frasers and the Forbeses, who bore a mortal antipathy to the house of Huntly, and who were desirous to see the "Cock of the North," as the powerful head of that house was popularly called, humbled. But, be these conjectures as they may, on the morning after the marquis' arrival at Aberdeen, viz. on the eleventh of April, a council of the principal officers of Montrose's army was held, at which it was determined to arrest the marquis and Lord Gordon, his eldest son, and carry them to Edinburgh. It was not, however, judged adviseable to act upon this resolution immediately, and to do away with any appearance of treachery, Montrose and his friends invited the marquis and his two sons to supper the following evening. During the entertainment, the most friendly civilities were passed on both sides, and, after the party had become somewhat merry, Montrose and his friends hinted to the marquis the expediency, in the present posture of affairs, of resigning his commission of lieutenancy, and returning the same to the king. They also proposed that he should write a letter to the king along with the resignation of his commission, in favour of the covenanters, as good and loyal subjects; and that he should despatch the laird of Cluny, the following morning, with the letter and resignation. The marquis, seeing that his commission was altogether unavailable, immediately wrote out, in presence of the meeting, a resignation of his commission, and a letter of recommendation as proposed, and, in their presence, delivered the same to the laird of Cluny, who was to set off the following morning with them to the king. It would appear that Montrose was not sincere in making this demand upon the marquis, and that his object was, by calculating on a refusal, to make that the ground for arresting him; for the marquis had scarcely returned to his lodgings to pass the night, when an armed guard was placed round the house, to prevent him from returning home, as he intended to do, the following morning.

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* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 46. Lond. 1702. Spalding, vol. i. p. 113.

When the marquis rose, next morning, he was surprised at receiving a message from the covenanting general, by two noblemen, desiring his attendance at the house of the Earl Marshall; and he was still farther surprised, when, on going out, along with his two sons, to the appointed place of meeting, he found his lodging beset with sentinels. The marquis was received by Montrose with the usual morning salutation, after which, he proceeded to demand from him a contribution for liquidating a loan of 200,000 merks, which the covenanters had borrowed from Sir William Dick, a rich merchant of Edinburgh. To this unexpected demand the marquis replied, that he was not obliged to pay any part thereof, not having been concerned in the borrowing, and of course, declined to comply. Montrose then requested him to take steps to apprehend James Grant, and John Dugar, and their accomplices, who had given considerable annoyance to the covenanters in the Highlands. Huntly objected, that, having now no commission, he could not act, and that, although he had, James Grant had already obtained a remission from the king, and as for John Dugar, he would concur, if required, with the other neighbouring proprietors in an attempt to apprehend him. The earl, finally, as the covenant, he said, admitted of no standing hatred or feud, required the marquis to reconcile himself to Crichton, the laird of Frendraught, and take him by the hand, but this the marquis positively refused to do. What Montrose's design was, in making these proposals, is not easy to conjecture. That he anticipated a refusal to all of them seems very problematical; and yet it can scarcely be supposed that the marquis' compliance with any one of these demands, would have saved him from the snare which had been laid for him. Finding the marquis quite resolute in his determination to resist these demands, the earl suddenly changed his tone, and thus addressed the marquis, apparently in the most friendly terms, "My lord, seeing we are all now friends, will you go south to Edinburgh with us?" Huntly answered that he would not—that he was not prepared for such a journey, and that he was just going to set off for Strathbogie. "Your lordship (rejoined Montrose) will do well to go with us." The marquis now perceiving Montrose's design, accosted him thus, "My lord, I came here to this town upon assurance that I should come and go at my own pleasure, without molestation or inquietude; and now I see why my lodging was guarded, and that ye mean to take me to Edinburgh, whether I will or not. This conduct, on your part, seems to me to be neither fair nor honourable." He added, "My lord, give me back the bond which I gave you at Inverury, and you shall have an answer." Montrose thereupon delivered the bond to the marquis. Huntly then inquired at the earl, "Whether he would take him to the south as a captive, or willingly of his own mind?" "Make your choice," said Montrose. "Then," observed the marquis, "I will not go as a captive, but as a volunteer." The marquis thereupon immediately returned to his lodging, and despatched a messenger after the laird of Cluny, to stop him on his journey.*

It was the intention of Montrose to take both the marquis and his sons to Edinburgh, but Viscount Aboyne, at the desire of some of his friends, was released, and allowed to return to Strathbogie. On arriving at Edinburgh, the marquis and his son, Lord Gordon, were committed close prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh, and the Tables "appointed five guardians to attend upon him and his son night and day, upon his own expenses, that none should come in nor out but by their sight."†

Some time after the departure of Montrose's army to the south, the covenanters of the north appointed a committee meeting to be held at Turriff, upon Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of April, consisting of the Earls Marshal and Seaforth, the Lord Fraser, the Master of Forbes, and some of their kindred and friends. All persons within the diocese, who had not subscribed the covenant, were required to attend this meeting for the purpose of signing it, and failing compliance, their property was to be given up to indiscriminate plunder. As neither Lord Aboyne, the laird of Banff, nor any of their friends and kinsmen, had subscribed the covenant, nor meant to do so, they resolved to protect themselves from the threatened attack. A preliminary meeting of the heads of the northern covenanters was held on the twenty-second day of April, at Monymusk, where they learned of the rising of Lord Aboyne and his friends. This intelligence induced them to postpone the meeting at Turriff till the twenty-sixth of April, by which day they expected to be joined by several gentlemen from Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, and other quarters. At another meeting, held by the same parties at Kintore, on the twenty-fourth of April, they postponed the proposed meeting at Turriff, *sine die*, and adjourned to Aberdeen; but as no notice had been sent of the postponement to the different covenanting districts in the north, about 1500 men assembled at the place of meeting on the twenty-sixth of April, and were quite astonished to find that the chiefs were absent. Upon an explanation taking place, the meeting was adjourned till the twentieth of May.

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* Spalding, vol. i. p. 121.

† Ibid. p. 127.

Lord Aboyne had not been idle during this interval, having collected about 2000 horse and foot from the Highlands and Lowlands, with which force he had narrowly watched the movements of the covenanters. Hearing, however, of the adjournment of the Turriff meeting, his lordship, at the entreaty of his friends, broke up his army, and went by sea to England to meet the king, to inform him of the precarious state of his affairs in the north. Many of his followers, such as the lairds of Gight, Haddo, Udney, Newton, Pitmedden, Foveran, Tippertie, Harthill, and others, who had subscribed the covenant, regretted his departure; but as they had gone too far to recede, they resolved to continue their forces in the field, and held a meeting on the seventh of May at Auchterless, to concert a plan of operations.

A body of the covenanters, to the number of about 2000, having assembled at Turriff as early as the thirteenth of May, the Gordons resolved instantly to attack them, before they should be joined by other forces, which were expected to arrive before the twentieth. Taking along with them four brass field-pieces from Strathbogie, the Gordons, to the number of about eight hundred horse and foot, commenced their march on the thirteenth of May, at ten o'clock at night, and reached Turriff next morning by day-break, by a road unknown to the sentinels of the covenanting army. As soon as they approached the town, the commanders of the Gordons ordered the trumpets to be sounded and the drums to be beat, the noise of which was the first indication the covenanters had of their arrival. Being thus surprised, the latter had no time to make any preparations for defending themselves. They made, indeed, a short resistance, but they were soon dispersed by the fire from the field-pieces, leaving behind them the lairds of Echt and Skene, and a few others, who were taken prisoners. The loss on either side, in killed and wounded, was very trifling. This skirmish is called by the writers of the period, "the Trott of Turray," * and is distinguished as the place where blood was first shed in the civil wars.†

The successful issue of this trifling affair had a powerful effect on the minds of the victors, who forthwith marched on Aberdeen, which they entered on the fifteenth of May. They expelled the covenanters from the town, and were there joined by a body of men from the Braes of Mar under the command of Donald Farquharson of Tulliegarmouth, and the laird of Abergeldie, and by another party headed by James Grant, so long an outlaw, to the number of about 500 men. These men quartered themselves very freely upon the inhabitants, particularly on those who had declared for the covenant, and they plundered many gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood. The house of Durris, belonging to John Forbes of Lesslie, a great covenanter, received a visit from them. "There was (says Spalding) little plenishing left unconvoyed away befor their comeing. They gott good bear and ale, broke up girnells, and buke

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* *Turray* is the old name of Turriff.

† Gordon of Sallagh.

bannocks at good fyres, and drank merrily upon the laird's best drink · syne carried away with them alse meikle victual as they could beir, which they could not gett eaten and destroyed; and syne removed from that to Echt, Skene, Monymusk, and other houses pertaining to the name of Forbes, all great covenanters."*

Two days after their arrival at Aberdeen, the Gordons sent John Leith of Harthill, and William Lumsden, advocate in Aberdeen, to Dunnotter, for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiments of the Earl Marshal, in relation to their proceedings, and whether they might reckon on his friendship. The earl, however, intimated that he could say nothing in relation to the affair, and that he would require eight days to advise with his friends. This answer was considered quite unsatisfactory, and the chiefs of the army were at a loss how to act. While deliberating on the subject, Robert Gordon of Straloch, and James Burnet of Craigmylle, a brother of the laird of Leys, who were both peaceably inclined, apprehensive of the dangers which might ensue, if the Gordons kept the field any longer, earnestly begged of them to dissolve the army. They proposed to enter into a negotiation with the Earl Marshal, but Sir George Ogilvy of Banff would not listen to such a proceeding, and, addressing Straloch, he said, "Go, if you will go; but pr'ythee, let it be as quarter-master, to inform the earl that we are coming." Straloch, however, went not in the character of a quarter-master, but as a mediator in behalf of his chief; and having, in conjunction with Burnet, had an interview with the Earl Marshal, he returned with this answer, that the earl had no intention to take up arms, without an order from the Tables; that, if the Gordons would disperse, he would give them early notice to re-assemble, if necessary, for their own defence, but that if they should attack him, he would certainly defend himself.

This answer of the Earl Marshal had the desired effect; but although the Gordons agreed to disband their army, the Highlanders, who had come down to the lowlands in quest of plunder, could not be induced to recross the mountains till they should collect a sufficient quantity of spoil. The army was accordingly disbanded on the twenty-first of May, and the barons went to Aberdeen, there to spend a few days. The depredations of the Highlanders upon the properties of the covenanters were thereafter carried on to such an extent, that they complained to the Earl Marshal, who immediately assembled a body of men out of Angus and the Mearns, with which he entered Aberdeen on the twenty-third of May. The barons thereupon made a precipitate retreat. Two days thereafter, the earl was joined by Montrose, at the head of 4000 men, an addition which, with other accessions, made the whole force assembled at Aberdeen, exceed 6000.

Meanwhile a large body of northern covenanters, under the command of the earl of Seaforth, was approaching from the countries beyond the Spey; but the Gordons having crossed the Spey, for the purpose of opposing their advance, an agreement was entered into, between both parties, that, on the Gordons retiring across the Spey, Seaforth and his men should also retire homewards.

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* Spalding, vol. i. p. 136.

After spending five days in Aberdeen, Montrose marched his army to Udney, from thence to Kellie, the seat of the laird of Haddo, and afterwards to Gight, the residence of Sir Robert Gordon, to which he laid siege. But intelligence of the arrival of Viscount Aboyne, in the bay of Aberdeen, deranged his plans. Being quite uncertain of Aboyne's strength, and fearing that his retreat might be cut off, Montrose quickly raised the siege, and returned to Aberdeen. Although Lord Aboyne still remained on board his vessel, and could easily have been prevented from landing, Montrose most unaccountably abandoned the town, and retired into the Mearns.

Viscount Aboyne had been most graciously received by the king, and had ingratiated himself so much with the monarch, as to obtain the commission of lieutenancy which his father held. The king appears to have entertained good hopes, from his endeavours to support the royal cause in the north of Scotland, and before taking leave, he gave the viscount a letter addressed to the marquis of Hamilton, requesting him to afford his lordship all the assistance in his power. From whatever cause, all the aid afforded by the marquis was limited to a few officers and four field-pieces: "The king," says Gordon of Sallagh, "coming to Berwick, and business growing to a height, the armies of England and Scotland lying near one another, his majesty sent the viscount of Aboyne, and Colonel Gun (who was then returned out of Germany) to the marquis of Hamilton, to receive some forces from him, and with these forces to go to Aberdeen, to possess and recover that town. The marquis of Hamilton, lying at anchor in Forth, gave them no supply of men, but sent them five ships to Aberdeen, and the marquis himself retired with his fleet and men to the Holy Island, hard by Berwick, to reinforce the king's army there against the Scots at Dunslaw."* On his voyage to Aberdeen, Aboyne's ships fell in with two vessels, one of which contained the lairds of Banff, Foveran, Newton, Crummie, and others, who had fled on the approach of Montrose to Gight; and the other had on board some citizens of Aberdeen, and several ministers, among whom were Thomas Thoirs, minister of Udney; John Paterson, minister of Foveran; David Leitch, minister of Ellon; John Gregory, minister of Drumoack; Francis Thomson, minister of Pitterculter; John Kemp, preacher; and others, who had refused to sign the covenant, all of whom the viscount persuaded to return home along with him.

On the sixth of June, Lord Aboyne, accompanied by the earls of Glencairn and Tullibardine, the lairds of Drum, Banff, Fedderet,

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* Continuation, p. 492.

Foveran, and Newton, and their followers, with Colonel Gun and several English officers, landed in Aberdeen, without opposition. Immediately on coming on shore, he issued a proclamation which was read at the cross of Aberdeen, prohibiting all his majesty's loyal subjects from paying any rents, duties, or other debts to the covenanters, and requiring them to pay one-half of such sums to the king, and to retain the other for themselves. Those persons who had been forced to subscribe the covenant against their will, were, on repentance, to be forgiven, and every person was required to take an oath of allegiance to his majesty.

This bold step inspired the royalists with confidence, and in a short space of time a considerable force rallied round the royal standard. Lewis Gordon, third son of the marquis of Huntly, a youth of extraordinary courage, on hearing of his brother's arrival, collected his father's friends and tenants, to the number of about one thousand horse and foot, and with these he entered Aberdeen, on the seventh of June. These were succeeded by a hundred horse sent in by the laird of Drum, and by considerable forces led by James Grant and Donald Farquharson. Many of the covenanters also joined the viscount, so that his force ultimately amounted to several thousand men.

On the tenth of June, the Viscount left Aberdeen, and advanced upon Kintore with an army of about two thousand horse and foot, to which he received daily accessions. The inhabitants of the latter place were compelled by him to subscribe the oath of allegiance, and notwithstanding their compliance, "the troops," says Spalding, "plundered meat and drink, and made good fires; and, where they wanted peats, broke down beds and boards in honest men's houses to be fires, and fed their horses with corn and straw that day and night."* Next morning the army moved upon Hall Forrest, a seat of the earl Marshall, which surrendered on their approach. Although the house was filled with property of different kinds, which had been placed there by the people of the neighbourhood for the sake of security, no part thereof was touched, and the troops contented themselves with carrying off all the arms and provisions they could find. From Hall Forrest, they proceeded to the house of Muchells, belonging to Lord Fraser; but Aboyne, hearing of a rising in the south, gave up a resolution he had formed of besieging it, and returned to Aberdeen.

As delay would be dangerous to his cause in the present conjuncture, he crossed the Dee, on the fourteenth of June, with the intention of occupying Stonehaven, and of issuing afresh the king's proclamation at the market cross of that burgh. He proceeded as far as Muchollis, the seat of Sir Thomas Barnet of Leyes, where he encamped that night. On hearing of his approach, the earl Marshal posted himself very commodiously with twelve hundred men, and some pieces of ordnance which he had drawn from Dunotter castle, on the direct road which Aboyne had to pass, and waited his approach.

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* Troubles, vol. i. p. 151.

Although Aboyne was quite aware of the position of the earl Marshal, instead of endeavouring to outflank him by making a detour to the right, he crossed the Meagre hill next morning, directly in the face of his opponent, who lay with his forces at the bottom of the hill. As Aboyne descended the hill, the earl Marshal opened a heavy fire upon him, which threw his men into complete disorder. The Highlanders, unaccustomed to the fire of cannon, were the first to retreat, and in a short time the whole army gave way. Aboyne, thereupon, returned to Aberdeen with some horsemen, leaving the rest of the army to follow him; but the Highlanders took a homeward course, carrying along with them a large quantity of booty which they gathered on their retreat. The disastrous issue of "the Raid of Stonehaven," as this affair has been called, has been attributed to treachery on the part of Colonel Gun, to whom, on account of his great experience, Aboyne had intrusted the command of the army; but although he certainly committed a fatal blunder in sending the cannon belonging to the army by sea, by which step Aboyne's army was deprived of the use of them, there does not appear sufficient evidence for supporting such a charge.

On his arrival at Aberdeen, Aboyne held a council of war, at which it was determined to send some persons into the Mearns to collect the scattered remains of his army, for, with the exception of nine-score horsemen and a few foot soldiers, the whole of the fine army which he had led from Aberdeen had disappeared; but although the army again mustered at Leggetsden to the number of four thousand, they were prevented from recrossing the Dee and joining his lordship by the Marshal and Montrose, who advanced towards the bridge of Dee with all their forces. Aboyne, hearing of their approach, resolved to dispute with them the passage of the Dee, and as a precautionary measure, he blocked up the entrance to the bridge of Dee from the south by a thick wall of turf, besides which he placed a hundred musketeers upon the bridge under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Johnstone, to annoy the assailants from the small turrets on its sides. The viscount was warmly seconded in his views by the citizens of Aberdeen, whose dread of another hostile visit from the covenanters induced them to afford him every assistance in their power, and it is recorded that the women and children even occupied themselves in carrying provisions to the army during the contest.

The army of Montrose consisted of about 2,000 foot, and 300 horse, and a large train of artillery. The forces which Lord Aboyne had suddenly collected on the spur of the occasion, were not numerous, but he was superior in cavalry. His ordnance consisted only of four pieces of brass cannon. Montrose arrived at the bridge of Dee on the eighteenth of June, and without a moment's delay, commenced a furious cannonade upon the works, which had been thrown up at the south end, and which he kept up during the whole day without producing any material effect. Lieutenant Colonel Johnstone defended the bridge with determined bravery, and his musketeers kept up a galling and well directed fire upon their assailants. Both parties reposed during the short twilight, and as soon as morning dawned, Montrose renewed his attack upon the bridge, with an ardour which seemed to have received a fresh impulse from the unavailing efforts of the preceding day; but all his attempts were vain. Seeing no hopes of carrying the bridge in the teeth of the force opposed to him, he had recourse to a stratagem, by which he succeeded in withdrawing a part of Aboyne's forces from the defence of the bridge. That force had indeed been considerably impaired before the renewal of the attack, in consequence of a party of fifty musketeers having gone to Aberdeen to escort thither the body of a citizen named John Forbes, who had been killed the preceding day; to which circumstance Spalding attributes the loss of the bridge; but whether the absence of this party had such an effect upon the fortune of the day is by no means clear. The covenanting general, after battering unsuccessfully the defences of the bridge, ordered a party of horsemen to proceed up the river to some distance, and to make a demonstration as if they intended to cross the river. Aboyne was completely deceived by this manœuvre, and sent the whole of his horsemen from the bridge to dispute the passage of the river with those of Montrose, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Johnstone and his fifty musketeers alone to protect the bridge. Montrose having thus drawn his opponent into the snare set for him, immediately sent back the greater part of his horse under the command of Captain Middleton, with instructions to renew the attack upon the bridge with redoubled energy. This officer lost no time in obeying these orders, and Lieutenant Colonel Johnstone having been wounded in the outset by a stone torn from the bridge by a shot, was forced to abandon its defence, and he and his party retired precipitately to Aberdeen.

When Aboyne saw the colours of the covenanters flying on the bridge of Dee, he fled with great haste towards Strathbogie after releasing the lairds of Purie Ogilvy, and Purie Fodderinghame, whom he had taken prisoners, and carried with him from Aberdeen. The loss on either side, during the conflict on the bridge, was trifling. The only person of note who fell on Aboyne's side, was Seaton of Pitmedden, a brave cavalier, who was killed by a cannon shot while riding along the river side with Lord Aboyne. On that of the covenanters was slain another valiant gentleman, a brother of Ramsay of Balmain. About fourteen persons of inferior note were killed on each side, including some burgesses of Aberdeen, and several were wounded.

Montrose reaching the north bank of the Dee, proceeded immediately to Aberdeen, which he entered without opposition. So exasperated were Montrose's followers at the repeated instances of devotedness shown by the inhabitants to the royal cause, that they proposed to raze the town and set it on fire; but they were hindered from carrying their design into execution by the firmness of Montrose. The covenanters, however, treated the inhabitants very harshly, and imprisoned many who were suspected of having been concerned in opposing their passage across the Dee; but an end was put to these proceedings in consequence of intelligence being brought on the following day; viz., on the twentieth of June, of the treaty of pacification which had been entered into between the king and his subjects at Berwick, upon the eighteenth of that month. On receipt of this news, Montrose sent a despatch to the earl of Seaforth, who was stationed with his army on the Spey, intimating the pacification, and desiring him to disband his army, with which order he instantly complied.

The articles of pacification were preceded by a declaration on the part of the king, in which he stated, that although he could not condescend to ratify and approve the acts of the "pretended general assembly at Glasgow for many grave and weighty considerations," yet, notwithstanding of the many disorders which had of late been committed, he not only confirmed and made good whatsoever his commissioner had granted and promised, but he also declared that all matters ecclesiastical should be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and matters civil by the parliament and other inferior judicatories, established by law. To settle, therefore, "the general distractions" of the kingdom, his majesty ordered that a free general assembly should be held at Edinburgh on the sixth of August next following, at which he declared his intention, "God willing, to be personally present," and he, moreover, ordered a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the twentieth of August, for ratifying the proceedings of the general assembly, and settling such other matters as might conduce to the peace and good of the kingdom of Scotland. By the articles of pacification, it was, *inter alia*, provided that the forces in Scotland should be disbanded and dissolved within forty-eight hours after the publication of the declaration, and that all the royal castles, forts, and warlike stores of every description, should be delivered up to his majesty after the said publication, as soon as he should send to receive them. Under the seventh and last article of the treaty, the marquis of Huntly and his son, Lord Gordon, and some others who had been detained prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh by the covenanters, were set at liberty.

It has been generally supposed that neither of the parties were sincere in their intentions to observe the conditions of the treaty. Certain it is, that the ink with which it was written was scarcely dry before its violation was contemplated. On the one hand, the king, before removing his army from the neighbourhood of Berwick, required the heads of the covenanters to attend him at Berwick, obviously with the object of gaining them over to his side; but, with the exception of three commoners and three lords, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, they refused to obey. It was at this conference that Charles, who was exceedingly insinuating and persuasive, made a convert of Montrose, who, from that time, determined to desert his associates in arms, and to place himself under the royal standard. The immediate strengthening of the forts of Berwick and Carlisle, and the provisioning the castle of Edinburgh, were probably the suggestions of Montrose, who would, of course, be intrusted with the secret of his majesty's designs. The covenanters on the other hand, although making a show of disbanding their army at Dunse, in reality kept a considerable force on foot, which they quartered in different parts of the country, to be in readiness for the field on a short notice. The suspicious conduct of the king certainly justified this precaution.

The general assembly met on the day fixed upon, but instead of attending in person as he proposed, Charles appointed the earl of Traquair to act as his commissioner. After abolishing the articles of Perth, the book of canons, the liturgy, the high commission and episcopacy, and ratifying and approving of the late covenant, the assembly was dissolved on the thirtieth of August, and another general assembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen on the twenty-eighth day of July of the following year, sixteen hundred and forty. The parliament met next day; viz., on the last day of August, but they were prevented, for a time, from proceeding to business, in consequence of a difficulty which arose, owing to the absence of the bishops, who formed the third estate, and who had been forced to leave Scotland in consequence of the turbulence of the times. The covenanters themselves did not, however, think the presence of the bishops by any means necessary; but they were afraid that the king might afterwards seize upon their absence as a good ground for questioning the legality of the acts of this parliament. To get rid of this dilemma, the clumsy device of electing fourteen persons to supply the places of the bishops, was proposed; but no sooner was this agreed to than another question arose,—Whether the king, by virtue of his royal prerogative, or the two estates, should nominate these pseudo-representatives. A vote being taken, it was decided by a plurality of votes, that the other two estates should elect the fourteen persons to represent the third estate.* Why they did not steer a middle course, by dividing the nomination with the king, appears strange; but the violence of faction knows no medium. His majesty's commissioner protested against the vote and against farther proceedings till the king's mind should be known, and the commissioner immediately sent off a letter apprising him of the occurrence. Without waiting for the king's answer, the two estates passed an act substituting the lesser barons for the third estate, and they were proceeding with a variety of bills for securing the liberty of the subject and restraining the royal prerogative, when they were unexpectedly and suddenly prorogued by an order from the king till the second day of June in the following year.

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* Spalding, p. 149.

If Charles had not already made up his mind for war with his Scottish subjects, the conduct of the parliament which he had just prorogated determined him again to have recourse to arms in vindication of his prerogative. He endeavoured, at first, to enlist the sympathies of the bulk of the English nation in his cause, but without effect; and his repeated appeals to his English people, setting forth the rectitude of his intentions and the justice of his cause, being answered by men who questioned the one and denied the other, rather injured than served him. The people of England were not then in a mood to embark in a crusade against the civil and religious liberties of the north; and they had too much experience of the arbitrary spirit of the king to imagine that their own liberties would be better secured by extinguishing the flame which burned in the breasts of the sturdy and enthusiastic covenanters.

But notwithstanding the many discouraging circumstances which surrounded him, Charles displayed a firmness of resolution to coerce the rebellious Scots by every means within his reach. The spring and part of the summer of sixteen hundred and forty were spent by both parties in military preparations. Field Marshal Leslie, an old and experienced officer who had been in foreign service, was appointed generalissimo of the Scots army by the war committee. When mustered by the general at Choicelee, it amounted to about twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. A council of war was held at Dunse at which it was determined to invade England. Montrose, to whose command a division of the army, consisting of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, was intrusted, was absent when this meeting was held; but, although his sentiments had, by this time, undergone a complete change, seeing on his return no chance of preventing the resolution of the council, he dissembled his feelings and openly approved of the plan. There seems to be no doubt that in following this course he intended, on the first favourable opportunity, to declare for the king, and carry off such part of the army as should be inclined to follow him, which he reckoned at a third of the whole.*

On the twentieth of August, General Leslie crossed the Tweed with his army, the van of which was led by Montrose on foot. This task, though performed with readiness and with every appearance of good will, was not voluntarily undertaken, but had been devolved upon Montrose by lot; none of the principal officers daring to take the lead of their own accord in such a dangerous enterprise. There can be no doubt that Montrose was insincere in his professions, and that those who suspected him were right in thinking "that in his heart he was turned Royalist,"† a supposition which his correspondence with the king and his subsequent conduct fully justify.

Although the proper time had not arrived for throwing off the mask, Montrose immediately on his return to Scotland, after the close of this campaign, began to concert measures for counteracting the designs of the covenanters; but his plans were embarrassed by some of his associates disclosing to the covenanters the existence of an association which Montrose had formed at Cumbernauld for supporting the royal authority. A great outcry was raised against Montrose in consequence, but his influence was so great that the heads of the covenanters were afraid to show any severity towards him. On subsequently discovering, however, that the king had written him letters which were intercepted and forcibly taken from the messenger, a servant of the earl of Traquair, they apprehended him, along with Lord Napier of Merchiston, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his relatives and intimate friends, and imprisoned them in the castle of Edinburgh. On the meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh in July, sixteen hundred and forty-one, which was attended by the king in person, Montrose demanded to be tried before them, but his application was rejected by the covenanters, who obtained an order from the parliament prohibiting him from going into the king's presence. After the king had returned to England, Montrose and his fellow-prisoners were liberated, and he, thereupon, went to his own castle where he remained for some time, ruminating on the course he should pursue for the relief of the king.*

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* Wishart's Memoirs, Edin. 1819, p. 24.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 70.

Although Charles complied with the demands of his Scottish subjects, and heaped many favours and distinctions upon the heads of the leading covenanters, they were by no means satisfied, and they entered fully into the hostile views of their brethren in the south, with whom they made common cause. Having resolved to send an army into England to join the parliamentary forces, who had come to an open rupture with the sovereign, they attempted to gain over Montrose to their side by offering him the post of lieutenant-general of their army, and promising to accede to any demands he might make; but he rejected all their offers; and, as an important crisis was at hand, he hastened to England in the early part of the year sixteen hundred and forty-three, in company with the Lord Ogilvy, to lay the state of affairs before the king, and to offer him his advice and service in such an emergency. Charles, however, either from a want of confidence in the judgment of Montrose, who, to the rashness and impetuosity of youth, added, as he was led to believe, a desire of gratifying his personal feelings and vanity, or overcome by the calculating but fatal policy of the marquis of Hamilton, who deprecated a fresh war between the king and his Scottish subjects; declined to follow the advice of Montrose, who had offered to raise an army immediately in Scotland to support him.

A convention of estates called by the covenanters, without any authority from the king, met at Edinburgh on the twenty-second of June, sixteen hundred and forty-three, and he soon perceived from the character and proceedings of this assembly, the great majority of which was covenanters, the mistake he had committed in rejecting the advice of Montrose, and he now resolved, thenceforth, to be guided in his plans for subduing Scotland to his authority by the opinion of that nobleman. Accordingly, at a meeting held at Oxford, between the king and Montrose, in the month of December sixteen hundred and forty-three, when the Scots army was about entering England, it was agreed that the earl of Antrim, an Irish nobleman of great power and influence, who then lived at Oxford, should be sent to Ireland to raise auxiliaries with whom he should make a descent in the west parts of Scotland in the month of April following;—that the marquis of Newcastle, who commanded the royal forces in the north of England, should furnish Montrose with a party of horse, with which he should enter the south of Scotland, —that an application should be made to the king of Denmark for some troops of German horse;—and that a quantity of arms should be transported into Scotland from abroad.*

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* Wishart's Memoirs, p. 30.

Instructions having been given to the earl of Antrim, to raise the Irish levy, and Sir James Cochran having been dispatched to the continent as ambassador for the king, to procure foreign aid, Montrose left Oxford on his way to Scotland, taking York and Durham in his route. Near the latter city, he had an interview with the marquis of Newcastle for the purpose of obtaining a sufficient party of horse to escort him into Scotland, but all he could procure, was about one hundred horse, badly appointed, with two small brass field pieces.† The marquis sent orders to the king's officers and to the captains of the militia in Cumberland and Westmoreland, to afford Montrose such assistance as they could, and he was, in consequence, joined on his way to Carlisle by eight hundred foot and three troops of horse, of Cumberland and Northumberland militia. With this small force, and about two hundred horse, consisting of noblemen and gentlemen who had served as officers in Germany, France, or England, Montrose entered Scotland on the thirteenth of April, sixteen hundred and forty-four. He had not, however, proceeded far, when a revolt broke out among the English soldiers, who immediately returned to England. In spite of this discouragement, Montrose proceeded on with his small party of horse towards Dumfries, which surrendered to him without opposition. After waiting there a few days in expectation of hearing some tidings respecting the earl of Antrim's movements, without receiving any, he retired to Carlisle, to avoid being surprised by the covenanters, large bodies of whom were hovering about in all directions.

To aid the views of Montrose, the king had appointed the marquis of Huntly, on whose fidelity he could rely, his lieutenant general in the north of Scotland, who, on hearing of the capture of Dumfries by Montrose, immediately collected a considerable body of horse and foot, consisting of Highlanders and lowlanders, at Kincardine-O'Neil, with the intention of crossing the Cairn-a-Mount; but being disappointed in not being joined by some forces from Perthshire, Angus, and the Mearns, which he expected, he altered his steps, and proceeded towards Aberdeen, which he took. From thence he dispatched parties of his troops through the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, who brought in quantities of horses and arms for the use of his army. Another party, consisting of one hundred and twenty horse and three hundred foot, commanded by the young laird of Drum and his brother, young Gicht, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon and Colonel Donald Farquharson and others, proceeded, contrary to the opinion of the marquis, to the town of Montrose, which they took, killed one of the bailies, made the provost prisoner, and threw some cannon into the sea as they could not carry them away. But, on hearing that the earl of Kinghorn was advancing upon them with the forces of Angus, they made a speedy retreat, leaving thirty of their foot behind them prisoners. To protect themselves against the army of the marquis of Huntly, the inhabitants of Moray on the north of the Spey, raised a regiment of foot and three companies of horse, which were quartered in the town of Elgin.

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* Wishart.

† The duchess of Newcastle says, in the memoirs of her husband, that the number was 200.

When the convention heard of the marquis of Huntly's movements, they appointed the marquis of Argyle to raise an army to quell this insurrection. He, accordingly, assembled at Perth, a force of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse out of Fife, Angus, Mearns, Argyle and the shire of Perth, with which he advanced on Aberdeen. Huntly, hearing of his approach, fled from Aberdeen and retired to the town of Banff, where, on the day of his arrival, he disbanded his army. The marquis himself thereafter retired to Strathnaver, and took up his residence with the master of Reay. Argyle, after taking possession of Aberdeen, proceeded northward and took the castles of Gicht and Kellie, made the lairds of Gicht and Haddo prisoners and sent them to Edinburgh, the latter of whom, along with one Captain Logan, was afterwards beheaded.*

We now return to Montrose, who, after an ineffectual attempt to obtain an accession of force from the army of Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, determined on again entering Scotland with his little band. But being desirous to learn the exact situation of affairs there, before putting this resolution into effect, he sent Lord Ogilvy and Sir William Rollock into Scotland, in disguise, for that purpose. They returned in about fourteen days, and brought a spiritless and melancholy account of the state of matters in the north, where they found the whole passes, towns, and forts, in possession of the covenanters, and where no man dared to speak in favour of the king. This intelligence was received with dismay by Montrose's followers, who now began to think of the best means of securing their own safety. In this unpleasant conjuncture of affairs, Montrose called them together to consult them on the line of conduct they should pursue. Some advised him to return to Oxford and inform his majesty of the hopeless state of his affairs in Scotland, while others gave an opinion that he should resign his commission, and go abroad till a more favourable opportunity should occur of serving the king; but the chivalrous and undaunted spirit of Montrose, disdained to follow either of these courses, and he resolved upon the desperate expedient of venturing into the very heart of Scotland, with only one or two companions, in the hope of being able to rally round his person a force sufficient to support the declining interests of his sovereign.

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*Gordon of Sallagh, p. 519.

Having communicated this intention privately to Lord Ogilvy, he put under his charge the few gentlemen who had remained faithful to him, that he might conduct them to the king; and having accompanied them to a distance, he withdrew from them clandestinely, leaving his servants, horses, and baggage behind him, and returned to Carlisle. Having prepared himself for his journey, he selected Sir William Rollock, a gentleman of tried honour, and one Sibbald, to accompany him. Disguised as a groom, and riding upon a lean, worn-out horse, and leading another in his hand, Montrose passed for Sibbald's servant, in which condition and capacity he proceeded to the borders. The party had not proceeded far when an occurrence took place, which considerably disconcerted them. Meeting with a Scottish soldier, who had served under the marquis of Newcastle in England, he, after passing Rollock and Sibbald, went up to the marquis, and accosted him by his name. Montrose told him that he was quite mistaken; but the soldier being positive, and judging that the marquis was concerned in some important affair, replied, with a countenance which betokened a kind heart, "Do not I know my lord marquis of Montrose well enough? But go your way, and God be with you."* When Montrose saw that he could not preserve an incognito from the penetrating eye of the soldier, he gave him some money and dismissed him.

This occurrence excited alarm in the mind of Montrose, and made him accelerate his journey. Within four days he arrived at the house of Tullibelton, among the hills near the Tay, which belonged to Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, his cousin, and a royalist. No situation was better fitted for concocting his plans, and for communicating with those clans and the gentry of the adjoining lowlands who stood well affected to the king. It formed, in fact, a centre, or *point d'appui* to the royalists of the Highlands and the adjoining lowlands, from which a pretty regular communication could be kept up, without any of those dangers which would have arisen in the lowlands.

For some days Montrose did not venture to appear among the people in the neighbourhood, nor did he consider himself safe even in Tullibelton house, but passed the night in an obscure cottage, and in the day time wandered alone among the neighbouring mountains, ruminating over the strange peculiarity of his situation, and waiting the return of his fellow-travellers, whom he had dispatched to collect intelligence on the state of the kingdom. These messengers came back to him after some days' absence, bringing with them the most cheerless accounts of the situation of the country, and of the persecutions which the royalists suffered at the hands of the covenanters. Among other distressing pieces of intelligence they communicated to Montrose the premature and unsuccessful attempt of the marquis of Huntly in favour of the royal cause, and of his retreat to Strathnaver to avoid the fury of his enemies. These accounts greatly affected Montrose, who was grieved to find that the Gordons, who were stern royalists, should be exposed, by the abandonment of their chief, to the revenge of their enemies; but he consoled himself with the reflection, that as soon as he should be enabled to unfurl the royal standard the tide of fortune would turn.

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* Wishart, p. 64.

While cogitating on the course he should pursue in this conjuncture, a report reached him from some shepherds on the hills, that a body of Irish troops had landed in the West, and was advancing through the Highlands. Montrose at once concluded that these were the auxiliaries whom the earl of Antrim had undertaken to send him four months before, and such they proved to be. This force, which amounted to fifteen hundred men, was under the command of Alexander Macdonald, son of a gentleman of Iona, named Coll Mac-Gillespic Macdonald, who had been greatly persecuted by the Earl of Argyle. Macdonald had arrived early in July, sixteen hundred and forty-four, among the Hebrides, and had landed and taken the castles of Meigray and Kinloch Alan. He had then disembarked his forces in Knoydart, where he expected to be joined by the marquis of Huntly and the earl of Seaforth. As he advanced into the interior he dispatched the fiery cross for the purpose of summoning the clans to his standard; but, although the cross was carried through a large extent of country, even to Aberdeen,* he was only joined at first by the Clan-Donald, under the captain of Clan-Ronald, and the laird of Glengary. The marquis of Argyle collected an army to oppose the progress of Macdonald; and to cut off his retreat to Ireland, he sent some ships of war to Loch Eishord, where Macdonald's fleet lay, which captured or destroyed them. This loss, while it frustrated an intention Macdonald entertained of returning to Ireland, in consequence of the disappointment he had met with in not being joined by the clans, stimulated him to farther exertions in continuing his march, in the hope of meeting Montrose.

As Macdonald was perfectly ignorant of Montrose's movements, and thought it likely that he might be still at Carlisle, waiting till he should hear of Macdonald's arrival, he sent letters to him by the hands of a confidential friend, who resided in the neighbourhood of Inchbrakie's house. This gentleman, who knew nothing of Montrose's return to Scotland, having luckily communicated to Mr Graham the secret of being entrusted with letters to his kinsman, Montrose, Graham offered to see them safely delivered to Montrose, though he should ride to Carlisle himself. The gentleman in question then delivered the letters to Graham, and Montrose having received them, wrote an answer as if from Carlisle, in which he requested Macdonald to keep up his spirits, that he would soon be joined by a seasonable reinforcement and a general at their head, and he ordered him with all expedition to march down into Athole. In fixing on Athole as the place of his rendezvous, Montrose is said to have been actuated by an implicit reliance on the fidelity and loyalty of the Athole-men, and by a high opinion of their courage. They lay, besides, under many obligations to himself, and he calculated that he had only to appear among them to command their services in the cause of their sovereign.

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* Spalding.

When Macdonald received these instructions, he marched towards Athole; but in passing through Badenoch he was threatened with an attack by the earls of Sutherland and Seaforth, at the head of some of their people, and by the Frazers, Grants, Rosses, and Munroes, and other inhabitants of Moray, who had assembled at the top of Strathspey; but Macdonald very cautiously avoided them, and hastened into Athole. On arriving in Athole Macdonald was coldly received by the people of that as well as the surrounding country, who doubted whether he had any authority from the king; and besides they hesitated to place themselves under the command of a person of neither noble nor ancient lineage, and whom they considered an upstart. This indecision might have proved fatal to Macdonald, who was closely pressed in his rear by the army of Argyle, had not these untoward deliberations been instantly put an end to by the arrival of Montrose at Blair, where Macdonald had fixed his head-quarters. Montrose had travelled seventy miles on foot, in a highland dress, accompanied by Patrick Graham, his cousin, as his guide.* His appearance was hailed by his countrymen with every demonstration of joy, and they immediately made him a spontaneous offer of their services.

Accordingly, on the following day, the Athole-men to the number of about eight hundred, consisting chiefly of the Stewarts and Robertsons, put themselves under arms and flocked to the standard of Montrose. Thus, in little more than twenty-four hours, Montrose saw himself at the head of a force upwards of two thousand men, animated by an enthusiastic attachment to his person and to the cause which he had espoused. The extraordinary contrast between his present commanding position, and the situation in which he was placed a few days before, as a forlorn wanderer among the mountains, produced a powerful effect upon the daring and chivalrous spirit of Montrose, who looked forward to the success of his enterprize, with the eagerness of a man who considered the destinies of his sovereign as altogether depending upon his individual exertions. Impressed with the necessity of acting with prompitude, he did not hesitate long as to the course he should pursue. He might have immediately gone in quest of Argyle, who had followed the army of Macdonald, with slow and cautious steps, and by one of those sudden movements which no man knew better how to execute with advantage, surprised and defeated his adversary; but such a plan did not accord with the designs of Montrose, who resolved to open the campaign at once in the lowlands, and thus give confidence to the friends and supporters of the king.

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* Wishart, p. 69.

In pursuance of this determination, he put his small army in motion the same day towards Stratherne, in passing through which, he expected to be joined by some of the inhabitants of that and the adjoining country. At the same time he sent forward a messenger with a friendly notice to the Menzieses, of his intention to pass through their country, but instead of taking this in good part, they maltreated the messenger and harassed the rear of his army. This unprovoked attack so exasperated Montrose, that he ordered his men, when passing by Weem castle, which belonged to the Clan-Menzies, to plunder and lay waste their lands and to burn their houses, an order which was literally obeyed. He expected that this example of summary vengeance would serve as an useful lesson to deter others who might be disposed to imitate the conduct of the Menzieses from following a similar course. Notwithstanding the time spent in making these reprisals, Montrose passed the Tay with a part of his forces the same evening, and the remainder followed very early next morning. He had at the especial request of the Athole-men themselves, placed them under the command of his kinsman, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, and he now sent him forward with a select party to reconnoitre. Inchbrakie soon returned with information that he had observed a party of armed men stationed upon the hill of Buchanty. On inquiry, Montrose ascertained that this body was commanded by Lord Kilpont, eldest son of the Earl of Menteith, and by Sir John Drummond, son of the Earl of Perth, both of whom were his relations. The force in question, which consisted of about five hundred men, was on its way to Perth to join the other covenanting troops who were stationed there. Montrose immediately marched up to this body, with the intention, if he could not prevail on them to join him, of attacking them, but before he had approached sufficiently near, Lord Kilpont, who had ascertained that Montrose commanded, sent some of his principal officers to him to ascertain what his object was in thus advancing. Montrose having explained his views and stated that he acted by the king's authority, and having entreated them to return to their allegiance, they and the whole of their party immediately joined him. This new accession augmented Montrose's army to about three thousand men.

Montrose now learned from his new allies, that the covenanters had assembled their forces in great numbers at Perth, and that they lay there waiting for his approach. The covenanting army, in fact, was more than double that of Montrose, amounting to about six thousand foot and seven hundred horse, to which were attached four pieces of artillery. Montrose, on the other hand, had not a single horseman, and but three horses, two of which were for his own use, and the other for that of Sir William Rollock, and besides he had no artillery. Yet with such a decided disparity, Montrose resolved to march directly to Perth and attack the enemy. He appears to have been influenced in this resolution by the consideration of the near proximity of Argyle with his army, and the danger in which he would be placed by being hemmed in by two hostile armies, and he could only expect to avoid such an embarrassment by risking an immediate engagement.

As the day was too far advanced to proceed to Perth, Montrose ordered his men to bivouack during the night about three miles from Buchanty, and began his march by dawn of day. As soon as Lord Elcho, the commander of the covenanting army, heard of Montrose's approach, he left Perth and drew up his army on Tippermuir, a pretty extensive plain between four and five miles west from the town. Reserving to himself the command of the right wing, he committed the charge of the left to Sir James Scot, an able and skilful officer, who had served with great honour in the Venetian army; and to the earl of Tulbardine, he entrusted the command of the centre. The horse were divided and placed on each wing with the view of surrounding the army of Montrose, should he venture to attack them in their position. As soon as Montrose perceived the enemy thus drawn up in battle array, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking them. To counteract as much as possible the danger arising to such a small body of men, unprotected by cavalry, from the extended line of the covenanters, Montrose endeavoured to make his line as extensive as possible with safety, by limiting his files to three men deep. As the Irish had neither swords nor pikes to oppose the cavalry, they were stationed in the centre of the line, and the Highlanders, who were provided with swords and Lochaber axes, were placed on the wings, as better fitted to resist the attacks of the cavalry. Some of the Highlanders were, however, quite destitute of arms of every description, and it is related on the authority of an eye witness, that Montrose seeing their helpless condition, thus quaintly addressed them :—"It is true you have no arms; your enemies, however, have plenty. My advice, therefore, is, that as there happens to be a great abundance of stones upon this moor, every man should provide himself, in the first place, with as stout a stone as he can well manage, rush up to the first covenanter he meets, beat out his brains, take his sword, and then, I believe, he will be at no loss how to proceed."* This advice, as will be seen, was really acted upon. As

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* Gentleman's Mag. xvi. p. 153.

Montrose was almost destitute of powder, he ordered the Irish forces to husband their fire till they should come close to the enemy, and after a simultaneous discharge from the three ranks, (the front rank kneeling,) to assail the enemy thereafter as they best could. To oppose the left wing of the covenanters, commanded by Sir James Scot, Montrose took upon himself the command of his own right, placing Lord Kilpont at the head of the left, and Macdonald, his major-general, over the centre.

During the progress of these arrangements, Montrose, anxious to spare the effusion of blood, dispatched an accomplished young nobleman, named Drummond, eldest son of Lord Madarty, " with a message to the chiefs of the covenanters' army, importing that he, as well as his royal master, by whose commission he acted, had the utmost abhorrence to shed the blood of his countrymen, and that it was their first and most earnest wish to obtain a victory without bloodshed; and this might be compassed by both armies at the same time, if, without trying the doubtful chance of a battle, they would lay down their arms and return to their duty and obedience to the sovereign. He assured them that, for his own part, he aimed at neither the places nor honours, estates nor lives, of any of his fellow subjects, for whom, on the contrary, he entertained the greatest affection; all that he desired of them, and he obtested it most earnestly in the name of God, was to consult their own safety, and hearken to his advice; nor any longer obstinately refuse to trust to the clemency, faith and protection, of so good a king, who, as he had hitherto fully complied with the demands of his Scots subjects as to matters both civil and religious, though to the very great detriment of his prerogative, so he was still ready like a most indulgent parent, though provoked by repeated injuries, to embrace them with open arms, when convinced of their error, and become submissive. But if they should still continue obstinate in their rebellion, he called God to witness, that he was forced by their own stubbornness into the present encounter, for the consequences of which they alone were to be answerable." * Instead, however, of returning any answer to this message, they seized the messenger, and sent him to Perth under an escort, with an intimation, that, on obtaining a victory over his master, they would execute him. Indeed, the probability of a defeat seems never, for a moment, to have entered into the imaginations of the covenanters, and they had been assured by Frederick Carmichael, a minister who had preached to them the same day, being Sunday the first of September, " that if ever God spoke truth out of his mouth, he promised them, in the name of God, a certain victory that day." †

All hopes, therefore, of an accommodation being put an end to, both armies, after advancing towards each other, remained motionless for a short time as if unwilling to begin the attack; but this state of matters

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* Wishart, p. 79.

† Ibid. p. 77.

was speedily put an end to by the advance of a select skirmishing party under the command of Lord Drummond, sent out from the main body of the covenanting army, for the double purpose of distracting the attention of Montrose, and inducing his troops to leave their ranks, and thus create confusion among them; but Montrose kept his men in check, and contented himself with sending out a few of his men to oppose them. Lord Drummond and his party were routed at the first onset, and fled back upon the main body in great disorder. This trivial affair decided the fate of the day for the covenanters, many of whom were undisciplined, seeing the unexpected defeat of Lord Drummond's party, became quite dispirited, and began to show symptoms which indicated a disposition for immediate flight. The confusion into which the main body had been thrown by the retreat of the advanced party, and the indecision which seemed now to prevail in the covenanters' army in consequence of that reverse, were observed by the watchful eye of Montrose, who saw that the favourable moment for striking a decisive blow had arrived. He, therefore, gave orders to his men to advance, who, immediately setting up a loud shout, rushed forward at a quick pace towards the enemy. They were met by a random discharge from some cannon which the covenanters had placed in front of their army, but which did little or no execution. When sufficiently near, Montrose's musketeers halted, and, as ordered, poured a volley into the main rank of the covenanters, which immediately gave way. The cavalry of the covenanters, thereupon, issued from their stations and attacked the royalists, who, in their turn, defended themselves with singular intrepidity. While the armed Highlanders made ample use of their Lochaber axes and swords, the Irish steadily opposed the attacks of the horse with the butt ends of their muskets; but the most effective annoyance which the cavalry met with, appears to have proceeded from the unarmed Highlanders, who having supplied themselves with a quantity of stones, as suggested by Montrose, discharged them with well directed aim at the horses and their riders. The result was, that after a short struggle, the cavalry were obliged to make a precipitate retreat. While this contest was going on, another part of Montrose's army was engaged with the right wing of the covenanting army, under Sir James Scott, but although this body made a longer and more determined resistance, and galled the party opposed to them by an incessant fire of musketry, they were at last overpowered by the Athole-men, who rushed upon them with their broad swords, and cut down and wounded a considerable number. The route of the covenanters now became general. The horsemen saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses; but during the pursuit, which was kept up to a distance of six or seven miles, many hundreds of foot were killed, and a considerable number made prisoners,* some of whom afterwards served in Montrose's army. The loss on the side of Montrose appears to have been very trifling, but we cannot suppose, with some writers, that none of his men were killed. By this victory, and the subsequent capture of Perth, which he entered the same day, Montrose was enabled to equip his army with all those warlike necessaries of which it had been so remarkably destitute in the morning, and of which the covenanters left him an abundant supply.

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* There is a great discrepancy between contemporary writers as to the number killed. Wishart states it at 2000; Spalding at 1300, and 800 prisoners; though he says that some reckoned the number at 1500 killed. Gordon of Sallagh mentions only 300.

CHAPTER XVI.

March of Montrose across the Tay to Collace—Assassination of Lord Kilpont—Marches through Angus and the Mearns—Joined by the Earl of Airly and others—Battle of Aberdeen—Supineness of the Gordons—March of Argyle to Strathbogie—Retreat of Montrose through Badenoch—Second March of Montrose to the North—Battle of Fyvie—Retreat of Montrose to Strathbogie—Desertions in his Ranks—Retires into Badenoch and Athole—Montrose enters Breadalbane and Argyle, which he wastes—Marches to Lochness—Argyle enters Lochaber—Battle of Inverlochy.

MONTROSE now entertained confident expectations that many of the Royalists of the surrounding country, who had hitherto kept aloof, would join him; but after remaining three days at Perth, to give them an opportunity of rallying about his standard, he had the mortification to find, that, with the exception of the Lords Dupplin and Spynie, and a few gentlemen from the Carse of Gowrie, who came to him, his anticipations were not to be realized. The spirits of the Royalists had been too much subdued by the severities of the covenanters for them all at once to risk their lives and fortunes on the issue of what they had long considered a hopeless cause; and although Montrose had succeeded in dispersing one army with a greatly inferior force, yet it was well known that that army was composed of a raw and undisciplined militia, and that the covenanters had still large bodies of well trained troops in the field.

Thus disappointed in his hopes, and understanding that the earl of Argyle was fast approaching with a large army, Montrose crossed the Tay on the fourth of September, directing his course towards Cupar Angus, and encamped at night in the open fields near Collace. His object in proceeding northward was to endeavour to raise some of the loyal clans, and thus to put himself in a sufficiently strong condition to meet Argyle. Montrose had given orders to the army to march early next morning, but by break of day, and before the drums had beat, he was alarmed by an uproar in the whole camp. Perceiving his men running to their arms in a state of fury and rage, Montrose, apprehensive that the Highlanders and Irish had quarrelled, immediately rushed in among the thickest of the crowd to pacify them, but to his great grief and dismay, he ascertained that the confusion had arisen from the assassination of his valued friend Lord Kilpont, who now lay before him weltering in his blood. He had fallen a victim to the blind fury of one of his own vassals, James Stuart of Ardvoirlich, with whom he had slept the same night, and who had long enjoyed his confidence and friendship. Lord Kilpont's father, the earl of Airth, had frequently warned him against continuing his intimacy with this man, whom he always suspected, but he disregarded his father's injunctions, and put himself entirely under the guidance of this perfidious person. It is asserted that it was by his advice that Lord Kilpont joined Montrose, and that wishing to ingratiate himself with the covenanters he formed a design to assassinate Montrose or his major-general, Macdonald; but as he thought that he could not carry his plan into execution without the assistance of his too confiding friend, Lord Kilpont, he endeavoured to entice him to concur in his wicked project. He, therefore, on the night in question slept with his lordship, and having prevailed upon him to rise and take a walk in the fields before daylight, on the pretence of refreshing themselves, he there disclosed his horrid purpose, and entreated his lordship to concur therein. Lord Kilpont rejected the base proposal with horror and a virtuous indignation, which so alarmed Stuart, that, afraid lest his lordship might discover the matter, he suddenly drew his dirk and wounded his lordship mortally in several places. Stuart, thereupon, fled, and killed in passing, a sentinel who stood in his way. A pursuit followed, but, owing to the darkness of the morning which prevented his pursuers from seeing beyond the length of their pikes, he made his escape,* and thereafter joined the Earl of Argyle, who gave him a commission in his army in reward for what in those times, and by one class of persons, was considered if not a meritorious, at least far from a condemnatory action.

Having taken farewell of the body of his amiable friend, which he embraced with transports of grief, and consigned it to the care of the deceased's friends for interment, Montrose marched down upon Dundee, which he summoned; but the inhabitants, confident in their own strength, refused to surrender. Not wishing, however, to waste his time upon the hazardous issue of a siege with a hostile army in his rear, Montrose proceeded through Angus and the Mearns, and in the course of his route was joined by the Earl of Airly, his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, and a considerable number of their friends and vassals, and some gentlemen from the Mearns and Aberdeenshire. This was a seasonable addition to Montrose's force, which had been greatly weakened by the absence of some of the Highlanders who had gone home to deposit the spoils they had collected after the battle of Tippermuir, agreeably to their usual custom, and by the departure of Lord Kilpont's retainers, who had gone to Monteith with his corpse.

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* Wishart, p. 84.—Guthry, p. 129.

After the battle of Tippermuir, Lord Elcho had retired, with his regiment and some fugitives, to Aberdeen, where Lord Burleigh and other commissioners from the convention of estates were. As soon as they heard of the approach of Montrose, Burleigh, who acted as chief commissioner, immediately assembled the Forbes's, the Frazers, and the other friends of the covenanting interest, and he did every thing in his power, to gain over to his side, as many persons as he could from those districts where Montrose expected assistance. In this way, Burleigh increased his force to two thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, but some of these, consisting of Gordons, and others who were obliged to take up arms, could not to be relied upon.

When Montrose heard of these preparations, he resolved, notwithstanding the disparity of force, his own army now amounting only to fifteen hundred foot and forty-four horse, to hasten his march and attack them before Argyle should come up. On arriving near the bridge of Dee, he found it strongly fortified and guarded by a considerable force. He did not attempt to force a passage, but, directing his course to the west, along the river, crossed it at a ford at the Mills of Drum, and encamped at Crathas that night. This took place on Wednesday the eleventh day of September. The covenanters, the same day, drew up their army at the Two Mile Cross, a short distance from Aberdeen, where they remained till Thursday night, when they retired into the town. On the same night, Montrose marched down Dee side and took possession of the ground which the covenanters had just left.*

On the following morning, viz. Friday the thirteenth of September, about eleven o'clock, the covenanters marched out of Aberdeen to meet Montrose who, on their approach, dispatched a drummer to beat a parley, and sent a commissioner along with him bearing a letter from Montrose to the provosts and bailies of Aberdeen, commanding and charging them to surrender " the town to him, lieutenant to his majesty, and in the king's name, whereby he might receive peaceable entrance to use his majesty's proclamations and such others as he thought fitting, promising assurance that no more harm nor prejudice should be done to the town, but to take their entertainment for that night; otherwise, if they would disobey, that then he desired them to remove old aged men, women and children out of the way, and to stand to their own peril."† Immediately on receipt of this letter, the provost called a meeting of the council which was attended by Lord Burleigh, and, after a short consultation, an answer was sent along with the commissioner declining to surrender the town. On their return the drummer was killed by the covenanters, at a place called Justice Mills, which violation of the law of nations so exasperated Montrose, that he gave orders to his men not to spare any of the enemy who might fall into their hands. His anger at this occurrence is strongly depicted by Spalding, who says, that " he grew mad, and became furious and impatient."

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 263.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 264.

As soon as Montrose received notice of the refusal of the magistrates to surrender the town, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking the enemy. From his paucity of cavalry, he was obliged to extend his line, as he had done at Tippermuir, to prevent the enemy from surrounding or outflanking him with their horse, and on each of his wings he posted his small body of horsemen along with select parties of musketeers and archers. To James Hay, and Sir Nathaniel Gordon, he gave the command of the right wing, and he committed the charge of the left to Sir William Rollock, all men of tried bravery and experience.

The covenanters began the battle by a cannonade from their field pieces, and, from their commanding position, gave considerable annoyance to the royal forces, who were very deficient in artillery. After the firing had been kept up for some time, Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of the Marquis of Huntly, a young man of a very ardent disposition, and of a violent and changeable temper, who commanded the left wing of the covenanters, having obtained possession of some level ground where his horse could act, made a demonstration to attack Montrose's right wing; which, being observed by Montrose, he immediately ordered Sir William Rollock, with his party of horse, from the left wing to the assistance of the right. These united wings, which consisted of only forty-four horse, not only repulsed the attack of a body of three hundred, but threw them into complete disorder and forced them to retreat upon the main body, leaving many dead and wounded on the field. Montrose restrained these brave cavaliers from pursuing the body they had routed, anticipating that their services might be soon required at the other wing, and he was not mistaken, for no sooner did the covenanting general perceive the retreat of Lord Lewis Gordon than he ordered an attack to be made upon the left wing of Montrose's army; but Montrose, with a celerity almost unexampled, moved his whole cavalry from the right to the left wing, who, falling upon the flank of their assailants sword in hand, forced them to fly, with great slaughter. In this affair, Montrose's horse took Forbes of Craigievar and Forbes of Boyndlie, prisoners.

The unsuccessful attacks on the wings of Montrose's army, had, in no shape, affected the future fortune of the day, as both armies kept their ground, and were equally animated with hopes of ultimate success. Vexed, but by no means intimidated by their second defeat, the gentlemen who composed Burleigh's horse, consulted together as to the best mode of renewing the attack, and, being of opinion that the success of Montrose's cavalry was owing chiefly to the expert musketeers, with whom they were interlined, they resolved to imitate the same plan, by mixing among them a select body of foot, and renewing the charge a third time, with redoubled energy. But this scheme, which might have proved fatal to Montrose, if tried, was frustrated by a resolution he came to, of making an instant and simultaneous attack upon the enemy. Perceiving their horse still in great confusion, and a considerable way apart from their main body, he determined upon attacking them with his foot before they should get time to rally; and, galloping up to his men, who had been greatly galled by the enemies' cannon, he told them that there was no good to be expected by the two armies keeping at such a distance—that in this way there was no means of distinguishing the strong from the weak, nor the coward from the brave man, but that if they would once make a home charge upon these timorous and effeminate striplings, as he called Burleigh's horse, they would never stand their attack. "Come on, then," said he, "my brave fellow-soldiers, fall down upon them with your swords and muskets, drive them before you, and make them suffer the punishment due to their perfidy and rebellion."* These words were no sooner uttered, than, on the word of command being given, Montrose's men rushed forward at a quick pace and fell upon the enemy, sword in hand. The covenanters were paralyzed by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack, and, turning their backs, they fled in the utmost trepidation and confusion, towards Aberdeen. The slaughter was tremendous, as the victors spared no man. The road leading from the field of battle to Aberdeen was strewed with the dead and the dying; the streets of Aberdeen were covered with the bodies, and stained with the blood of its inhabitants." "There was," says Spalding, "little slaughter in the fight, but horrible was the slaughter in the flight, fleeing back to the town, which was our townsmen's destruction; whereas, if they had fled, and not came near the town, they might have been in better security; but, being commanded by Patrick Leslie, the provost, to take the town, they were undone; yet, himself and the prime covenanters being on horseback, wan safely themselves away. The lieutenant follows the chace into Aberdeen, his men hewing and cutting down all manner of men they could overtake, within the town, upon the streets, or in their houses, and round about the town, as our men were fleeing, with broad swords, but (without) mercy or remeid. Their cruel Irish, seeing a man well clad, would first tyr (strip) him, and save his clothes unspoiled, syne kill the man." † In fine, according to this writer, who was an eye witness, the town of Aberdeen, which, but a few years before, had suffered for its loyalty, was now, by the same general who had then oppressed it, delivered up by him to be indiscriminately plundered by his Irish forces, for having espoused the same cause which he himself had supported. For four days did these men indulge in the most dreadful excesses, "and nothing," continues Spalding, was "heard but pitiful howling, crying, weeping, mourning, through all the streets." Yet Guthhe says that Montrose "shewed great mercy, both pardoning the people and protecting their goods."*

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* Wishart, p. 89. † Spalding, vol. ii. p. 264.

It is singular, that although the battle continued for four hours without any determinate result, Montrose lost very few men, a circumstance the more extraordinary as the cannon of the covenanters were placed upon advantageous ground, whilst those of Montrose were rendered quite ineffective by being situated in a position from which they could not be brought to bear upon the enemy. An anecdote, characteristic of the bravery of the Irish, and of their coolness in enduring the privations of war, has been preserved. During the cannonade on the side of the covenanters, an Irishman had his leg shot away by a cannon ball, but which kept still attached to the stump by means of a small bit of skin, or flesh. His comrades-in-arms being affected with his disaster, this brave man, without betraying any symptoms of pain, thus cheerfully addressed them :—"This, my companions, is the fate of war, and what none of us ought to grudge: go on, and behave as becomes you; and, as for me, I am certain my lord, the marquis, will make me a trooper, as I am now disabled for the foot service." Then, taking a knife from his pocket, he deliberately opened it, and cut asunder the skin which retained the leg, without betraying the least emotion, and delivered it to one of his companions for interment. As soon as this courageous man was able to mount a horse, his wish to become a trooper was complied with, in which capacity he afterwards distinguished himself. †

Hoping that the news of the victory he had obtained would create a strong feeling in his favour among the Gordons, some of whom had actually fought against him, under the command of Lord Lewis Gordon, Montrose sent a part of his army towards Kintore and Inverury, the following day, to encourage the people of the surrounding country to declare for him; but he was sadly disappointed in his expectations. The fact is, that ever since the appointment of Montrose as lieutenant-general of the kingdom,—an appointment which trenched upon the authority of the Marquis of Huntly as lieutenant of the north, the latter had become quite lukewarm in the cause of his sovereign; and, although he was aware of the intentions of his son, Lord Lewis, to join the covenanters, he quietly allowed him to do so without remonstrance. But, besides being thus, in some measure, superseded by Montrose, the marquis was actuated by personal hostility to him, on account of the treatment he had formerly received from him; and he resolved to gratify his spleen by remaining a passive observer of a struggle which involved the very existence of the monarchy itself. These were certainly the reasons which influenced the Marquis of Huntly to withhold his support from Montrose, although Gordon of Sallagh says he cannot determine what they were; because, as he oddly observes, "great men's reasons are best known to themselves."‡ But, whatever may have been Huntly's reasons, his apathy and indifference had a deadening influence upon his numerous retainers, who had no idea of taking the field but at the command of their chief.

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* Memoirs, p. 131.

† Wishart, p. 91.

‡ Continuation, p. 527.

As Montrose saw no possibility of opposing the powerful and well appointed army of Argyle, which was advancing upon him with slow and cautious steps, disappointed as he had been of the aid which he had calculated upon, he resolved to march into the Highlands, and there collect such of the clans as were favourably disposed to the royal cause. Leaving, therefore, Aberdeen on the sixteenth of September, with the remainder of his forces, he joined the camp at Kintore, whence he dispatched Sir William Rollock to Oxford to inform the king of the events of the campaign, and of his present situation, and to solicit him to send supplies.

We must now advert to the progress of Argyle's army, the slow movements of which form an unfavourable contrast when compared with the rapid marches of Montrose's army; but it seems scarcely fair at this period to ascribe the tardy progress which Argyle made towards the north to cowardice on his part. He might, no doubt, have dreaded a collision with his distinguished adversary, but we are forced, in candour, to attribute his apparent inactivity rather to the delays consequent upon the transportation of heavy artillery and a large quantity of baggage, than to any disposition of avoiding a hostile meeting.

On the fourth of September, four days after the battle of Tippermuir, Argyle, who had been pursuing the Irish forces under Macdonald, had arrived with his Highlanders at Stirling, where, on the following day, he was joined by the earl of Lothian and his regiment, which had shortly before been brought over from Ireland. After raising some men in Stirlingshire, he marched to Perth upon the tenth, where he was joined by some Fife men, and Lord Bargenny's and Sir Frederick Hamilton's regiments of horse, which had been recalled from Newcastle for that purpose. With this increased force, which now consisted of about 3000 foot and two regular cavalry regiments, besides ten troops of horse, Argyle left Perth on the fourteenth of September for the north, and, in his route, was joined by the earl marshall, the lords Gordon, Fraser, and Crichton, and other covenanters. He arrived at Aberdeen upon the nineteenth of September, where he issued a proclamation, declaring the marquis of Montrose and his followers traitors to religion and to their king and country, and offering a reward of 20,000 pounds Scots, to any person who should bring in Montrose dead or alive.* Spalding laments with great pathos and feeling the severe hardships to which the citizens of Aberdeen had been subjected by these frequent visitations of hostile armies, and alluding to the present occupancy of the town by Argyle, he observes, that "this multitude of people lived upon free quarters, a new grief to both towns, whereof there was quartered on poor old Aberdeen Argyle's own three regiments. The soldiers had their baggage carried, and craved nothing but house-room and fire. But ilk captain, with twelve gentlemen, had free quarters (so long as the town had meat and drink), for two ordinaries, but the third ordinary they furnished themselves out of their own baggage and provisions, having store of meal, nolt, and sheep, carried with them. But, the first night, they drank out all the stale ale in Aberdeen, and lived upon wort thereafter."*

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 270.

Argyle was now within half a days march of Montrose, but strange to tell, he made no preparations to follow him, and spent two or three days in Aberdeen doing absolutely nothing. This extraordinary inactivity did not escape the observation of Spalding, who sneeringly remarks upon it in the following strain. "It is said the marquis of Argyle had followed thir Irishes who fled out of his country about ten weeks time, but could never win (reach) within two and a half days' journey towards them. But now his foot army lying in Aberdeen, was within half a day's journey towards them lying about Inverury, and in the Garioch ; and so Argyle himself, with his troopers lying now at Drum, was within like distance to them : but little following was there now, ilk (each) party harrying and destroying the country wherever they came in their bestial nolt, sheep, kine, victuals and other goods, and finding their horses, troopers, and baggage horses, with corns, about both Aberdeens, felt the smart. Marvellous to see Argyle with his horse troopers and foot army so near his enemy, and to lye still without pursuing of them so long time ! †"

After spending three days in inglorious supineness, Argyle put his army in motion in the direction of Kintore. Montrose, on hearing of his approach, concealed his cannon in a bog, and leaving behind him some of his heavy baggage, made towards the Spey with the intention of crossing it. On arriving at the river, he encamped near the old castle of Rothiemurcus ; but finding that the boats used in passing the river had been removed to the north side of the river, and that a large armed force from the country on the north of the Spey had assembled on the opposite bank to oppose his passage, Montrose marched his army into the forest of Abernethy. Argyle only proceeded at first as far as Strathbogie, but instead of pursuing Montrose, he allowed his troops to waste their time in plundering the properties and laying waste the lands of the Gordons in Strathbogie, and the Enzie, under the very eyes of Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis Gordon, neither of whom appear to have endeavoured to avert such a calamity. Spalding says that it was "a wonderful unnaturalitie in the Lord Gordon to suffer his father's lands and friends in his own sight to be thus wreckt and destroyed in his father's absence;" but Lord Gordon likely had it not in his power to stay these proceedings, which, if not done at the instigation, may have received the approbation of his violent and headstrong younger brother, who had joined the covenanters' standard. On the twenty-seventh of September, Argyle mustered his forces at the Bog of Gicht, which were found to amount to about four thousand men, but although the army of Montrose did not amount to much more than a third of that number, and was within twenty miles distance, he did not venture to attack him. After remaining a few days in Abernethy forest, Montrose passed through the forest of Rothiemurcus, and following the course of the Spey, marched through Badenoch.

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 271.

† Ibid. p. 271.

When Argyle heard of the departure of Montrose from the forest of Abernethy, he made a feint of following him. He, accordingly, set his army in motion along Spey-side, and, crossing the river himself with some horse, he marched up some distance along the north bank, and re-crossed, when he ordered his troops to halt. He then proceeded to Forres to attend a committee meeting of covenanters to concert a plan of operations in the north, at which the earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, the sheriff of Moray, the lairds of Balnagown, Innes and Pluscarden, and many others were present. From Forres Argyle went to Inverness, and after giving some instructions to Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers, and the laird of Buchanan, the commanders of the regiments stationed there, he returned to his army, which he marched through Badenoch in pursuit of Montrose. It was the intention of the latter to have proceeded instantly into Athole, but he was prevented from moving for a few days by a severe illness. When the covenanters heard of this intelligence they could not restrain their joy, and as people will readily believe any occurrence they long for, reports of his death were speedily circulated and believed with avidity. Even the ministers could not restrain the satisfaction they felt on the occasion, and they asserted with confidence that the Lord of Hosts himself had slain Montrose.* The speedy recovery of Montrose, and his sudden appearance in Athole,† however, soon put an end to these rejoicings. From Athole he sent Macdonald with a party of five hundred men to the Western Highlands to invite the laird of Maclean, the captain of Clanranald, and others to join him. Marching down to Dunkeld, Montrose proceeded rapidly through Angus towards Brechin and Montrose.‡

The delay occasioned in Montrose's movements by the indisposition with which he was seized, was fully compensated for by the tardy motions of Argyle, who, on entering Badenoch, found that his vigilant antagonist was several days' march a-head of him. This intelligence, however, did not induce him in the least to accelerate his march. Hearing, when passing through Badenoch, that Montrose had been joined by some of the inhabitants of that country, Argyle, according to Spalding, "left nothing of that country undestroyed, no not one four footed beast;" and Athole shared a similar fate.

At the time Montrose entered Angus, a committee of the estates, consisting of the Earl Marshall and other barons, was sitting in Aberdeen, who, on hearing of his approach, issued, on the tenth of October, a printed order, to which the Earl Marshall's name was attached, ordaining all persons of whatever age, sex, or condition, having horses of the value of forty pounds Scots or upwards, to send them to the bridge of Dee, which was appointed as the place of rendezvous, on the fourteenth of October, by ten o'clock, A. M., with riders fully equipped and armed; with certification, in case of failure, that each landed proprietor should be fined in the sum of one thousand pounds; every gentleman not a landed proprietor, in five hundred pounds Scots, and each husbandman in one hundred merks, besides confiscation of their horses. Copies of this proclamation were sent to the moderators of the adjoining Presbyteries, who were directed to instruct the ministers of the parishes to notify the same to every man within their parishes, and to read it from their pulpits upon Sunday. With the exception of the Lord Gordon, who brought three troops of horse, and Captain Alexander Keith, brother of the Earl Marshall, who appeared with one troop at the appointed place, no attention was paid to the order of the committee by the people, who had not yet recovered from their fears, and their recent sufferings were still too fresh in their minds to induce them again to expose themselves to the vengeance of Montrose and his Irish troops. " Many men and women," says Spalding, " with their young children, carried on women's backs, fled the town of Aberdeen, (there having fallen, the same Sunday, a storm of snow,) howling, lamenting, and crying, not knowing where to go for safety of their lives, which was pitiful to behold; but their fear was more nor needed, for they all returned back to their houses shortly, for that Montrose came not to Aberdeen." * Disappointed and chagrined at the disobedience of the country people, Ramsay, who had been appointed by the committee major-general of these expected horse, destroyed the grain crops of the farmers.

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* Wishart, p. 94. † October 4, 1644. ‡ Guthry, p. 231.

After refreshing his army a few days in Angus, Montrose prepared to cross the Grampians, and to march to Strathbogie to make another attempt to raise the Gordons; but, before setting out on his march, he released Forbes of Craigievar and Forbes of Boyndlie, on their parole, upon condition that Craigievar should procure the liberation of the young laird of Drum and his brother, from the jail of Edinburgh, failing which, Craigievar and Boyndlie were both to deliver themselves up to him as prisoners, before the first of November. This act of generosity, on the part of Montrose, was greatly admired, more particularly as Craigievar was one of the heads of the covenanters, and had great influence among them. In pursuance of his design, Montrose marched through the Mearns, and upon Thursday the seventeenth of October, crossed the Dee at the Mills of Drum, with his whole army. In his progress north,

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* Troubles, vol. ii. p. 277.

contrary to his former forbearing policy, he laid waste the lands of some of the leading covenanters, burnt their houses, and plundered their effects. He arrived at Strathbogie on the nineteenth of October, where he remained till the twenty-seventh, without being able to induce any considerable number of the Gordons to join him. It was not from want of inclination that they refused to do so, but they were unwilling to incur the displeasure of their chief, who they knew was personally opposed to Montrose, and who felt indignant at seeing a man who had formerly espoused the cause of the covenanters preferred before him. In order to avoid the personal solicitations of Montrose, and the pain of refusing his request, many of the leading men of the clan concealed, or absented themselves. Had Montrose been accompanied by any of the marquis of Huntly's sons, they might have had influence enough to have induced some of the Gordons to declare for him, but the situation of the marquis' three sons was at this time very peculiar. The eldest son, Lord Gordon, a young man "of singular worth and accomplishments," was with Argyle, his uncle by the mother's side; the earl of Aboyne, the second son, was shut up in the castle of Carlisle, then in a state of siege; and Lord Lewis Gordon, the third son, had, as we have seen, joined the covenanters, and fought in their ranks.

In this situation of matters, Montrose left Strathbogie on the day last mentioned, and took up a position in the forest of Fyvie, where he despatched some of his troops who took possession of the castles of Fyvie and Tollie Barclay, in which he found a good supply of provisions, which was of great service to his army. During his stay at Strathbogie, Montrose kept a strict outlook for the enemy, and scarcely passed a night without scouring the neighbouring country to the distance of several miles, with parties of light foot, who attacked straggling parties of the covenanters, and brought in prisoners from time to time, without sustaining any loss. These petty enterprises, while they alarmed their enemies, gave an extraordinary degree of confidence to Montrose's men, who were ready to undertake any service, however difficult or dangerous, if he only commanded them to perform it.

When Montrose crossed the Dee, Argyle was several days' march behind him. The latter, however, reached Aberdeen on the twenty-fourth of October, and proceeded the following morning towards Kintore, which he reached the same night. On the following morning, he marched forward to Inverury, where he halted at night. Here he was joined by the earl of Lothian's regiment, which increased his force to about two thousand five hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse. In his progress through the shires of Angus, Kincardine, Aberdeen, and Banff, he received no accession of strength from the dread which the name and actions of Montrose had infused into the minds of the inhabitants of these counties.

The sudden movements of Argyle from Aberdeen to Kintore, and from Kintore to Inverury, form a remarkable contrast with the slowness of his former motions. He had followed Montrose through a long and circuitous route, the greater part of which still bore recent traces of his foot-steps, and instead of showing any disposition to overtake his flying foe, seemed rather inclined to keep that respectful distance from him, so congenial to the mind of one, who, "willing to wound," is "yet still afraid to strike." But although this questionable policy of Argyle was by no means calculated to raise his military fame, it had the effect of throwing Montrose in the present case off his guard, and had well nigh proved fatal to him. The rapid march of Argyle on Kintore and Inverury, in fact was effected without Montrose's knowledge, for the spies he had employed concealed the matter from him, and while he imagined that Argyle was still on the other side of the Grampians, he suddenly appeared within a very few miles of Montrose's camp upon the twenty-eighth day of October.

The unexpected arrival of Argyle's army did not disconcert Montrose. His foot, which amounted to fifteen hundred men, were little more than the half of those under Argyle, while he had only about fifty horse to oppose to twelve hundred. Yet, with this immense disparity, he resolved to await the attack of the enemy, judging it inexpedient from the want of cavalry, to become the assailant by descending into the plain where Argyle's army was encamped. He might have thrown a large body of his troops into the castle of Fyvie and stood a siege, but as such a mode of defence did not suit his views, and was considered by him inconsistent with his own military reputation, and the splendour of his victories, he disdained to adopt such a course. His plan was this: On a rugged eminence behind the castle of Fyvie, on the uneven sides of which several ditches had been cut and dikes built to serve as farm fences, Montrose drew up his little but intrepid host; but before he had marked out the positions to be occupied by his divisions, he had the misfortune to witness the desertion of a small body of the Gordons, who had joined him at Strathbogie. They, however, did not join Argyle, but contented themselves with withdrawing altogether from the scene of ensuing action. It is probable, that they came to the determination of retiring, not from cowardice but from disinclination to appear in the field against Lord Lewis Gordon, who held a high command in Argyle's army.

The secession of the Gordons, though in reality a circumstance of trifling importance in itself, (for had they remained, they would have fought unwillingly, and consequently might not have had sufficient resolution to maintain the position which would have been assigned them,) had a disheartening influence upon the spirits of Montrose's men, and accordingly they found themselves unable to resist the first shock of Argyle's numerous forces, who, charging them with great impetuosity, drove them up the eminence, of a considerable part of which Argyle's army got possession. In this critical conjuncture, when terror and despair seemed about to obtain the mastery over hearts to which fear had hitherto been a stranger, Montrose displayed a coolness and presence of mind equal to the dangers which surrounded him. Animating them by his presence, and by the example which he showed, in risking his person in the hottest of the fight, he roused their courage by putting them further in mind of the victories they had achieved, and how greatly superior they were in bravery to the enemy opposed to them. After this emphatic appeal to their feelings, Montrose turned to Colonel O'Kean, a young Irish gentleman, highly respected by Montrose for his bravery, and desired him, with an air of the most perfect *sang froid*, to go down with such men as were readiest, and to drive these fellows, (meaning Argyle's men,) out of the ditches, that they might be no more troubled with them. O'Kean quickly obeyed the mandate, and though the party in the ditches was greatly superior to the body he led, and was, moreover, supported by some horse, he drove them away, and captured several bags of powder which they left behind them in their hurry to escape. This was a valuable acquisition, as Montrose's men had spent already almost the whole of their ammunition. A curious observation made by one of O'Kean's men upon getting hold of the bags of powder has been related. Finding that the enemy had left no ball, he exclaimed, "What! have they left no ball? but we must take them afterwards from these niggardly rascals."

While O'Kean was executing this brilliant affair, Montrose observed five troops of horse, under the earl of Lothian, preparing to attack his fifty horse who were posted a little way up the eminence, with a small wood in their rear. He, therefore, without a moment's delay, ordered a party of musketeers to their aid, who, having interlined themselves with the fifty horse, kept up such a galling fire upon Lothian's troopers, that before they had advanced half way across a field which lay between them and Montrose's horse, they were obliged to wheel about and gallop off.

Montrose's men became so elated with their success that they could scarcely be restrained from leaving their ground and making a general attack upon the whole of Argyle's army; but although Montrose did not approve of this design, he disguised his opinion and seemed rather to concur in the views of his men, telling them, however, to be so far mindful of their duty as to wait till he should see the fit moment for ordering the attack. Argyle remained till the evening without attempting any thing farther, and then retired to a distance of about three miles across the Spey; his men passed the night under arms. The only person of note killed in these skirmishes, was Captain Keith, brother of the Earl Marshall.

Next day Argyle resolved to attack Montrose with the view of driving him from his position. He was induced to come to this determination from a report which had reached him that Montrose's army was almost destitute of ammunition, a report, by the by, too well founded; but, on arriving at the bottom of the hill, he changed his resolution, not judging it safe, from the experience of the preceding day, to hazard an attack. Montrose, on the other hand, agreeably to his original plan, kept his ground, as he did not deem it adviseable to expose his men to the enemy's cavalry by descending from the eminence. With the exception of some trifling skirmishes between the advanced posts, the main body of both armies remained quiescent during the whole day. To supply his want of shot, Montrose melted down all the pewter dishes he could collect, including a certain utensil, in reference to which, one of his men, after discharging his musket, jocularly said, "I have certainly broke one traitor's face with a ch—— p—."*

Argyle again retired in the evening to the ground he had occupied the preceding night, whence he returned the following day, part of which was spent in the same manner as the former; but long before the day had expired, he led off his army, "upon fair day light," says Spalding, "to a considerable distance, leaving Montrose to effect his escape unmolested." A more remarkable instance of utter imbecility, or rather pusillanimity, than that exhibited in the conduct of Argyle on the present occasion, it is scarcely possible to conceive; and it seems surprising that, after thus incurring "disgrace among his friends, and contempt from his enemies," he should have still been allowed to retain a command for which he was evidently altogether unfitted.

Montrose, thus left to follow any course he pleased, marched off after night-fall towards Strathbogie, plundering Turriff and Rothiemay house in his route. He selected Strathbogie as the place of his retreat, on account of the ruggedness of the country and of the numerous dikes with which it was intersected, which would prevent the operations of Argyle's cavalry, and where he intended to remain till joined by Macdonald, whom he daily expected from the Highlands with a reinforcement. When Argyle heard of Montrose's departure on the following morning, being the last day of October, he, forthwith, proceeded after him with his army, thinking to bring him to action in the open country, and encamped at Tullochbeg on the second of November, where he drew out his army in battle array. He endeavoured to bring Montrose to a general engagement, and in order to draw him from a favourable position he was preparing to occupy, Argyle sent out a skirmishing party of his Highlanders; but they were soon repulsed, and Montrose took possession of the ground he had selected.

Baffled in all his attempts to overcome Montrose by force of arms, Argyle, whose talents were more fitted for the intrigues of the cabinet than the tactics of the field, had now recourse to negotiation, with the view of effecting the ruin of his antagonist. For this purpose he proposed a cessation of arms, and that he and Montrose should hold a conference previous to which arrangements should be entered into for their mutual security. Montrose knew Argyle too well to place any reliance upon his word, and as he had no doubt that Argyle would take advantage, during the proposed cessation, to tamper with his men, and endeavour to withdraw them from their allegiance, he called a council of war, and proposed to retire without delay to the Highlands. The council at once approved of this suggestion, whereupon Montrose resolved to march next night as far as Badenoch; and that his army might be able to accomplish such a long journey within the time fixed, he immediately sent off all his heavy baggage under a guard, and ordered his men to keep themselves prepared as if to fight a battle the next day.* Scarcely, however, had the carriages and heavy baggage been despatched, when an event took place which greatly disconcerted Montrose. This was nothing less than the desertion of his friend Colonel Sibbald and some of his officers, who went over to the enemy. They were accompanied by Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, who, having been unable to fulfil the condition on which he was to obtain his ultimate liberation, had returned two or three days before to Montrose's camp. This distressing occurrence induced Montrose to postpone his march for a time, as he was quite certain that the deserters would communicate his plans to Argyle. Ordering, therefore, back the baggage he had sent off, he resumed his former position in which he remained four days, as if he there intended to take up his winter quarters.

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* Wishart, p. 100.

In the meantime Montrose had the mortification to witness the defection of almost the whole of his officers, who were very numerous, for, with the exception of the Irish and Highlanders, they outnumbered the privates from the Lowlands. The bad example which had been set by Sibbald, the intimate friend of Montrose, and the insidious promises of preferment held out to them by Argyle, induced some, whose loyalty was questionable, to adopt this course; but the idea of the privations to which they would be exposed in traversing, during winter, among frost and snow, the dreary and dangerous regions of the Highlands, shook the constancy of others, who, in different circumstances, would have willingly exposed their lives for their sovereign. Bad health, inability to undergo the fatigue of long and constant marches—these and other excuses were made to Montrose as the reasons for craving a discharge from a service which had now become more hazardous than ever. Montrose made no remonstrance, but with looks of high disdain which betrayed the inward workings of a proud and unsubdued mind, indignant at being thus abandoned at such a dangerous crisis, readily complied with the request of every man who asked permission to retire. The earl of Airly, now sixty years of age and in precarious health, and his two sons, Sir Thomas, and Sir David, out of all the Lowlanders, alone remained faithful to Montrose, and could, on no account, be prevailed upon to abandon him. Among others who left Montrose on this occasion, was Sir Nathaniel Gordon, who, it is said, went over to Argyle's camp in consequence of a concerted plan between him and Montrose, for the purpose of detaching

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* Wishart, p. 102.

Lord Lewis Gordon from the cause of the covenanters, a conjecture which seems to have originated in the subsequent conduct of Sir Nathaniel and Lord Lewis, who joined Montrose the following year.

Montrose, now abandoned by all his Lowland friends, prepared for his march, preparatory to which, he sent off his baggage as formerly; and after lighting some fires for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, took his departure on the evening of the sixth of November, and arrived about break of day at Balveny. After remaining a few days there to refresh his men, he proceeded through Badenoch, and descended by rapid marches into Athole, where he was joined by Macdonald and John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanranald, the latter of whom brought five hundred of his men along with them. He was also reinforced by some small parties from the neighbouring Highlands, whom Macdonald had induced to follow him.

In the meantime Argyle, after giving orders to his Highlanders to return home, went himself to Edinburgh where he "got but small thanks for his service against Montrose."* Although the Committee of Estates, out of deference, approved of his conduct, which some of his flatterers considered deserving of praise because he "had shed no blood;"† yet all impartial persons had formed a very different estimate of his character, during a campaign which had been as inglorious to himself as humiliating to the cause which he had endeavoured to support. Confident of success, the heads of the covenanters looked upon the first efforts of Montrose in the light of a desperate and forlorn attempt, rashly and inconsiderately undertaken, and which they expected would be speedily put down; but the results of the battles of Tippermuir, Aberdeen, and Fyvie, gave a new direction to their thoughts, and the royalists, hitherto contemned, began now to be dreaded and respected. In allusion to the present "posture of affairs," it is observed by Guthry, that "many who had formerly been violent, began to talk moderately of business, and what was most taken notice of, was the lukewarmness of many amongst the ministry, who now in their preaching had began to abate much of their former zeal."‡ The early success of Montrose had indeed caused some misgivings in the minds of the covenanters; but as they all hoped that Argyle would change the tide of war, they showed no disposition to relax in their severities towards those who were suspected of favouring the cause of the king. The signal failure, however, of Argyle's expedition, and his return to the capital, quite changed, as we have seen, the aspect of affairs, and many of those who had been most sanguine in their calculations regarding the result of the struggle, began now to waver and to doubt.

While Argyle was passing his time in Edinburgh, Montrose was meditating a terrible blow at Argyle himself to revenge the cruelties he had exercised upon the royalists, and to give confidence to the clans in Argyle's neighbourhood, who had been hitherto prevented from joining Montrose's standard from a dread of Argyle, who having always a body of five or six thousand Highlanders at command, had kept them in such complete subjection that they dared not, without the risk of absolute ruin, espouse the cause of their sovereign. It is said that Montrose intended at first to have transferred the seat of war at once to the Lowlands, where he expected to be better able to support his troops during winter, but that he was induced to give up this plan by Macdonald and the captain of Clanranald, who, having a strong dislike at Argyle, advised him to invade the territory of their common enemy. Nothing could be more gratifying to Montrose's followers than his resolution to carry the war into Argyle's country, as they would thus have an ample opportunity of retaliating upon him and his retainers the injuries which, for a course of years, they had inflicted upon the supporters of royalty in the adjoining countries, many of whom had been ruined by Argyle. The idea of curbing the power of a haughty and domineering chief whose very word was a law to the inhabitants of an extensive district, ready to obey his cruel mandates at all times, and the spirit of revenge, the predominating characteristic of the clans, smoothed the difficulties which presented themselves in invading a country made almost inaccessible by nature, and rendered still more unapproachable by the severities of winter. The determination of Montrose having thus met with a willing response in the breasts of his men, he lost no time in putting them in motion. Dividing his army into two parts, he himself marched with the main body, consisting of the Irish and the Athole-men, to Loch Tay, whence he proceeded through Breadalbane. The other body, composed of the Clan-Donald and other Highlanders, he despatched by a different route, with instructions to meet him at an assigned spot on the borders of Argyle. The country through which both divisions passed, being chiefly in possession of Argyle's kinsmen or dependants, was laid waste by them, and particularly the lands of Campbell of Glenorchy.

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* Spalding, vol. II. p. 287. † Guthry, p. 134. ‡ Memoirs, pp. 134-5.

When Argyle heard of the ravages committed by Montrose's army on the lands of his kinsmen, he hastened home from Edinburgh to his castle at Inverary, and gave orders for the assembling of his clan, either to repel any attack that might be made on his own country, or to protect his friends from future aggression. It is by no means certain that he anticipated an invasion from Montrose, particularly at such a season of the year, and he seemed to imagine himself so secure from attack, owing to the intricacy of the passes leading into Argyle, that although a mere handful of men could have effectually opposed an army much larger than that of Montrose, he took no precautions to guard them. So important indeed did he himself consider these passes to be, that he had frequently declared that he would rather forfeit a hundred thousand crowns, than that an enemy should know the passes by which an armed force could penetrate into Argyle.*

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* Wishart, p. 107.

While thus reposing in fancied security in his impregnable stronghold, and issuing his mandates for levying his forces, some shepherds arrived in great terror from the hills, and brought him the alarming intelligence, that the enemy whom he had imagined were about a hundred miles distant, were within two miles of his own dwelling. Terrified at the unexpected appearance of Montrose, whose vengeance he justly dreaded, he had barely self-possession left to concert measures for his own personal safety by taking refuge on board a fishing boat in Loch Fyne, in which he sought his way to the Lowlands, leaving his people and country exposed to the merciless will of an enemy thirsting for revenge. The inhabitants of Argyle being thus basely abandoned by their chief, made no attempt to oppose Montrose, who, the more effectually to carry his plan for pillaging and ravaging the country into execution, divided his army into three parties, each under the respective orders of the captain of Clanranald, Macdonald, and himself. For upwards of six weeks, viz. from the thirteenth of December, sixteen hundred and forty four, till nearly the end of January following, these different bodies traversed the whole country without molestation, burning, wasting, and destroying every thing which came within their reach: villages and cottages, furniture, grain, and effects of every description were made a prey to the devouring element of fire. The cattle which they did not succeed in driving off were either mutilated or slaughtered, and the whole of Argyle as well as the district of Lorn soon became a dreary waste. Nor were the people themselves spared, for although it is mentioned by one writer, that Montrose "shed no blood in regard that all the people (following their Lord's laudable example) delivered themselves by flight also,"[*] it is evident from several contemporary authors that the slaughter must have been immense.[†] One of these [‡] says, that Montrose spared none that were able to bear arms, and that he put to death all the men who were going to the rendezvous appointed by Argyle. Probably the eight hundred and ninety-five persons mentioned by the author of the Red Book of Clanranald, as having been killed by the party of Clanranald without opposition, may be those alluded to by Wishart. In fact, before the end of January, the face of a single male inhabitant was not to be seen throughout the whole extent of Argyle and Lorn, the whole population having been either driven out of these districts, or taken refuge in dens and caves known only to themselves.

Having thus retaliated upon Argyle and his people in a tenfold degree the miseries which he had occasioned in Lochaber and the adjoining countries, Montrose left Argyle and Lorn, passing through Glencoe and Lochaber on his way to Lochness. On his march eastwards he was joined by the laird of Abergeldie, the Farquharsons of the Braes of Mar, and by a party of the Gordons. The object of Montrose, by this movement, was to seize Inverness, which was then only protected by two regiments, in the expectation that its capture would operate as a stimulus to the northern clans, who had not yet declared themselves. This resolution was by no means altered on reaching the head of Lochness, where he learned that the earl of Seaforth was advancing to meet him with an army of five thousand horse and foot, collected from Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, including the veteran garrison of Inverness, and the clan of the Frasers. Although Montrose had only at this time about fifteen hundred men, in consequence of the temporary absence of the Highlanders, who, according to custom, were occupied in securing at home the booty which they had acquired in Argyle, he resolved to encounter Seaforth's army, which, with the exception of the two regular regiments, was composed of raw and undisciplined levies.

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[*] Guthry, p. 136.

[†] Spalding, vol. II. p. 294, Wishart, p. 108—Red Book of Clanranald, MS. [‡] Wishart.

While proceeding, however, through Abertarf, a person arrived in great haste at Kilcummin, the present Fort Augustus, who brought him the surprising intelligence that Argyle had entered Lochaber with an army of three thousand men; that he was burning and laying waste the country, and that his head quarters were at the old castle of Inverlochy. After Argyle had effected his escape from Inverary, he had gone to Dumbarton, where he remained till Montrose's departure from his territory. While there, a body of covenanting troops, who had served in England, arrived under the command of Major-General Baillie, for the purpose of assisting Argyle in expelling Montrose from his bounds; but on learning that Montrose had left Argyle, and was marching through Glencoe and Lochaber, General Baillie, instead of proceeding into Argyle for the purpose of following Montrose, determined to lead his army in an easterly direction through the Lowlands, with the intention of intercepting Montrose, should he attempt a descent. At the same time it was arranged between Baillie and Argyle, that the latter, who had now recovered from his panic, in consequence of Montrose's departure, should return to Argyle and collect his men from their hiding-places and retreats; but as it was not improbable that Montrose might renew his visit, the Committee of Estates allowed Baillie to place eleven hundred of his men at the disposal of Argyle, who, as soon as he was able to muster his men, was to follow Montrose's rear, yet so as to avoid an engagement, till Baillie, who, on hearing of Argyle's advance into Lochaber, was to march suddenly across the Grampians, should attack Montrose in front. To assist him in levying and organizing his clan, Argyle called over Campbell of Auchinbreck, his kinsman, from Ireland, who had considerable reputation as a military commander. In terms of his instructions, therefore, Argyle had entered Lochaber, and had advanced as far as Inverlochy, when, as we have seen, the news of his arrival was brought to Montrose.

Montrose was at first almost disinclined to believe, from the well-known character of Argyle, the truth of this intelligence, but being fully assured of its correctness from the apparent sincerity of his in-former, he lost not a moment in making up his mind as to the course he should pursue. He might have instantly marched back upon Argyle by the route he had just followed; but as Argyle would thus get due notice of his approach, and prepare himself for the danger which threatened him, Montrose resolved upon a different plan. The design he conceived could only have originated in the mind of such a daring and enterprising commander as Montrose, before whose towering genius difficulties, hitherto deemed insurmountable, at once disappeared. The idea of carrying an army over dangerous and precipitous mountains, whose wild and frowning aspect seemed to forbid the approach of human footsteps, and in the middle of winter too, when the formidable perils of the journey were greatly increased by the snow which had obliterated the faint tracks of the wild deer and adventurous hunter, and filled up many a dangerous chasm, however chimerical it might have seemed to other men, appeared quite practicable to Montrose, whose sanguine anticipations of the advantages to be derived from such an extraordinary exploit, more than counterbalanced in his mind the risks to be encountered.

The distance between the place where Montrose received the news of Argyle's arrival, and Inverlochy, is about thirty miles; but this distance was considerably increased by the devious track which Montrose followed. Marching along the small river Tarf in a southerly direction, he crossed the hills of Lairie Thierard, passed through Glenroy, and after traversing the range of mountains between the Glen and Ben Nevis, he arrived in Glennevis before Argyle had the least notice of his approach. Before setting out on his march, Montrose had taken the wise precaution of placing guards upon the common road leading to Inverlochy, to prevent intelligence of his movements being carried to Argyle, and he had killed such of Argyle's scouts as he had fallen in with in the course of his march. This fatiguing and unexampled journey had been performed in little more than a night and a day, and when, in the course of the evening Montrose's men arrived in Glennevis, they found themselves so weary and exhausted that they could not venture to attack the enemy. They therefore lay under arms all night, and refreshed themselves, as they best could, till next morning. As the night was uncommonly clear and enlightened by the moon, the advanced posts of both armies kept up a small fire of musketry during the night, which led to no result.

In the meantime Argyle, after committing his army to the charge of his cousin Campbell of Auchinbreck, had the dastardliness to abandon his men, by going, during the night, on board a boat in the loch, accompanied by Sir John Wauchope of Niddry, Sir James Rollock of Duncrub, Archibald Sydserf, one of the bailies of Edinburgh, and Mungo Law, a minister of the same city. Argyle excused himself for this pusillanimous act, by alleging his incapacity to enter the field of battle, in consequence of some contusions he had received by a fall, two or three weeks before; but, his enemies averred, that cowardice was the real motive which induced him to take refuge in his galley, from which he witnessed the defeat and destruction of his army.

It would appear, that it was not until the morning of the battle, that Argyle's men were aware that it was the army of Montrose that was present, as they considered it quite impossible, that he should have been able to bring his forces across the mountains, and they imagined, that the body before them consisted of some of the inhabitants of the country, who had collected to defend their properties, But they were undeceived, when, in the dawn of the morning, the warlike sound of Montrose's trumpets, resounding through the glen where they lay, and reverberating from the adjoining hills, broke upon their ears. This served as the signal to both armies to prepare for battle. Montrose drew out his army in an extended line. The right wing consisted of a regiment of Irish, under the command of Macdonald, his major-general; the centre was composed of the Athole-men, the Stuarts of Appin, and the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and other Highlanders, severally under the command of Clanranald, M'Lean, and Glengary; and the left wing consisted of some Irish, at the head of whom was the brave Colonel O'Kean. A body of Irish was placed behind the main body as a reserve, under the command of Colonel James M'Donald, alias O'Neill. The general of Argyle's army formed it in a similar manner. The Lowland forces were equally divided, and formed the wings, between which the Highlanders were placed. Upon a rising ground, behind this line, General Campbell drew up a reserve of Highlanders, and placed a field piece. Within the house of Inverlochy, which was only about a pistol shot from the place where the army was formed, he planted a body of forty or fifty men to protect the place, and to annoy Montrose's men with discharges of musquetry.* The account given by Gordon of Sallagh, that Argyle had transported the half of his army over the water at Inverlochy, under the command of Auchinbreck, and that Montrose defeated this division, while Argyle was prevented from relieving it with the other division, from the intervention of "an arm of the sea, that was interjected betwixt them and him,"† is certainly erroneous, for the circumstance is not mentioned by any other writer of the period, and it is well known, that Argyle abandoned his army, and witnessed its destruction from his galley,—circumstances, which Gordon altogether overlooks.

It was at sunrise, on Sunday, the second day of February, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-five, that Montrose, after having formed his army in battle array, gave orders to his men to advance upon the enemy. The left wing of Montrose's army, under the command of O'Kean, was the first to commence the attack, by charging the enemy's right. This was immediately followed by a furious assault upon the centre and left wing of Argyle's army, by Montrose's right wing and centre. Argyle's right wing not being able to resist the attack of Montrose's left, turned about and fled, which circumstance had such a discouraging effect on the remainder of Argyle's troops, that after discharging their muskets, the whole of them, including the reserve, took to their heels. The route now became general. An attempt was made by a body of about two hundred of the fugitives, to throw themselves into the castle of Inverlochy, but a party of Montrose's horse prevented them. Some of the flying enemy directed their course along the side of Loch-Eil, but all these were either killed or drowned in the pursuit. The greater part, however, fled towards the hills in the direction of Argyle, and were pursued by Montrose's men, to the distance of about eight miles. As no resistance was made by the defeated party in their flight, the carnage was very great, being reckoned at fifteen hundred men, or about the half of Argyle's army. Many more would have been cut off had it not been for the humanity of Montrose, who did every thing in his power to save the unresisting enemy from the fury of his men, who were not disposed to give quarter to the unfortunate Campbells. Having taken the castle, Montrose not only treated the officers, who were from the Lowlands, with kindness, but gave them their liberty on parole.

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* Spalding, vol. II. p. 295.

† Continuation, p. 522.

Among the principal persons who fell on Argyle's side, were the commander, Campbell of Auchinbreck, Campbell of Lochnell, the eldest son of Lochnell, and his brother, Colin; M'Dougall of Rara and his eldest son; Major Menzies, brother to the laird, (or Prior as he was called) of Achattens Parbreck; and the provost of the church of Kilmun. The chief prisoners were the lairds of Parbreck, Silvercraig, Innerea, Lamont, St. M'Donald in Kintyre, the young laird of Glensaddel, the goodman of Pynmoir, the son of the captain of Dunstaffnage, Lieutenant-Colonels Roche and Cockburn, Captains Stewart, Murray, Hume, and Stirling, Robert Cleland, alias Clydson, and MacDougall, a preacher. The loss on the side of Montrose was extremely trifling. The number of wounded is indeed not stated, but he had only three privates killed. He sustained, however, a severe loss in Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the earl of Airly, who died a few days after the battle, of a wound he received in the thigh. Montrose regretted the death of this stedfast friend and worthy man, with feelings of real sorrow, and caused his body to be interred in Athole with due solemnity.* Montrose immediately after the battle sent a messenger to the king with a letter, giving an account of it, at the conclusion of which he exultingly says to Charles, "give me leave, after I have reduced this country, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty, as David's general to his master, come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name." When the king received this letter, the royal and parliamentary commissioners were sitting at Uxbridge negotiating the terms of a peace; but Charles was induced by this imprudent letter to break off the negotiation, a circumstance which led to his ruin.

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 29-6.—Wishart, p. 111, et seq.—Guthry, p. 140.

CHAPTER XVII.

Alarm of the Estates—Montrose returns through Badenoch—Marches to Inverness and Elgin—Wastes the lands of the Covenanters in Moray—Enters Elgin—Joined by Lord Gordon—Crosses the Spey—Plunders Cullen—Death of Lord Graham—Montrose wastes the lands in the Boyne—Enters and plunders Banff—Arrives at Turriff—Deputation from Aberdeen—Death of Colonel Donald Farquharson—Montrose imposes a tax of £10,000 on Aberdeen—Enters Stonehaven, which he burns—Arrives at Fettercairn—Defeat of Hurry's horse—Enters Brechin—Marches to Dunkeld—Storms Dundee—Memorable retreat of Montrose from Dundee—Movements of General Baillie—Battle of Auldearn—Montrose enters Elgin—Battle of Alford.

When the disastrous news of the battle of Inverlochy reached Edinburgh, the estates were thrown into a state of great alarm. They had, no doubt, begun to fear, before that event, and, of course, to respect the prowess of Montrose, but they never could have been made to believe that, within the space of a few days, a well appointed army, composed in part of veteran troops, would have been utterly defeated by a force so vastly inferior in point of numbers, and beset with difficulties and dangers to which the army of Argyle was not exposed. Nor were the fears of the estates much allayed by the appearance of Argyle, who arrived at Edinburgh to give them an account of the affair, "having his left arm tied up in a scarf, as if he had been at bones-breaking."* It is true that Lord Balmerinoch made a speech before the assembly of the estates, in which he affirmed, that the great loss reported to be sustained at Inverlochy, "was but the invention of the malignants, who spake as they wished," and that "upon his honour, not more than thirty of Argyle's men had been killed;"† but, as the disaster was well known, this device only misled the weak and ignorant. Had Montrose at this juncture descended into the Lowlands, it is not improbable that his presence might have given a favourable turn to the state of matters in the south, where the king's affairs were in the most precarious situation; and it is also likely, that many persons who, from timidity or want of opportunity to join him, had hitherto not declared themselves, would have rallied round his standard; but such a design does not seem to have accorded with his views of prolonging the contest in the Highlands, which were more suitable than the Lowlands to his plan of operations, and to the nature of his forces.

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* Guthry, p. 141.

† Ibid.

Accordingly, after allowing his men to refresh themselves a few days at Inverlochy, Montrose returned across the mountains of Lochaber into Badenoch, "with displayed banner." Marching down the south side of the Spey, he crossed that river at Balchastel, and entered Moray without opposition. He proceeded by rapid strides, towards the town of Inverness, which he intended to take possession of; but, on arriving in the neighbourhood, he found it garrisoned by the laird of Lawers' and Buchanan's regiments. As he did not wish to consume his time in a siege, he immediately altered his course and marched in the direction of Elgin, issuing, as he went along, a proclamation, in the king's name, calling upon all males, from 16 to 60 years of age, to join him immediately, armed as they best could, on foot or on horse, and that under pain of fire and sword, as rebels to the king. In consequence of this threat, Montrose was joined by some of the Moray-men, including the laird of Grant, and two hundred of his followers; and, to show an example of severity, he plundered the houses and laid waste the estates of Grangehill, Brodie, Culbin, and Innes, belonging respectively to Ninian Dunbar, the laird of Brodie, ——— Kinnaird, and the laird of Innes. The houses of Pitchash, Foyness, and Ballindalloch, and the lands of Ballindalloch, all belonging to the laird of Ballindalloch, shared a similar fate. He also plundered the lands of Duffus, Burgie, and Lethin, and the village of Garmouth or Garmach; but he did not burn any of the houses and their contents, as he had done in the other cases. Besides plundering and destroying the properties, Montrose's army carried off a large quantity of cattle and effects, and destroyed the boats and nets which they fell in with on the Spey.*

Whilst Montrose was thus laying waste part of Moray, a committee of the estates, consisting of the earl of Seaforth, the laird of Innes, Sir Robert Gordon, the laird of Pluscarden, and others, was sitting at Elgin, who, on hearing of his proceedings, sent notice through the town by beat of drum, on the seventeenth of February, prohibiting the holding of the fair, which was kept there annually on Fasten's eve, and to which many merchants and others in the north resorted, lest the property brought there for sale might fall a prey to Montrose's army. They, at the same time, sent Sir Robert Gordon, Mackenzie of Pluscarden, and Innes of Luthers, to treat with Montrose, in name of the gentry of Moray, most of whom were then assembled in Elgin; but he refused to enter into any negotiation, and gave this answer, that he would accept of the services of such as would join him and obey him as the king's lieutenant.† Before this answer had been communicated to the gentry at Elgin, they had all fled from the town in consequence of hearing that Montrose was advancing upon them with rapidity. The laird of Innes, along with some of his friends, retired to the castle of Spynie, possessed by his eldest son, which was well fortified and provided with every necessary for undergoing a siege. The laird of Duffus went into Sutherland. As soon as the inhabitants of the town saw the committee preparing to leave it, most of them also resolved to depart, which they did, carrying along with them their principal effects. Some went to Inverness, and others into Ross, but the greater part went to the castle of Spynie, where they sought and obtained refuge.

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 298.

† Gordon's Continuation, p. 522.

Apprehensive that Montrose might follow up the dreadful example he had shown, by burning the town, a proposal was made to, and accepted, by him, to pay him four thousand merks to save the town from destruction ; but, on entering it, which he did on the nineteenth of February, his men, and particularly the laird of Grant's party, were so disappointed in their hopes of plunder, in consequence of the inhabitants having carried away the best of their effects, that they broke and destroyed every article of furniture which was left.

Montrose was joined, on his arrival at Elgin, by Lord Gordon, the eldest son of the marquis of Huntly, with some of his friends and vassals. This young nobleman had been long kept in a state of durance by Argyle, his uncle, contrary to his own wishes, and now, when an opportunity had, for the first time, occurred, he showed the bent of his inclination, by declaring for the king. It is curious that two contemporaneous, writers,* who seem to have had access to the best sources of information, were quite at a loss to account for Lord Gordon's motives in taking this step. The one says, " At this time, the Lord Gordon, with most part of his friends, came in to Montrose, upon what grounds I know not ; whether the state had disobliged him in some particulars betwixt him and his neighbours, the Crightons and the Forbesses, or had not performed to him such things as they had promised, or such much as he did expect and deserve ; or whether that most of his friends, by warrant of his father, had resolved to follow his younger brother, Lord Lewis, I cannot determine." † The other observes, " The Lord Gordon being in the Bog, leaped quickly on horse, having Nathaniel Gordon, with some few others, in his company, and that same night came to Elgin, saluted Montrose, who made him heartily welcome, and soups joyfully together. Many marvelled at the Lord Gordon's going in after such manner, being upon the country's service, and colonel to a foot regiment and to a horse regiment. Some alleged that the estates oversaw him in divers points touching his honour, which he could not digest. Others said that he was likely to lose his father, for following the country cause, if he should continue, and the country happen to be borne down. Others, again, said that it was a plot betwixt Montrose and Nathaniel Gordon, when he was with him, and when he came from him, with Craigievar, as ye have before ; and, albeit, for his coming away, he was esteemed traitorous and disloyal to Montrose, yet he proved the politician, and his faithful servant in this business. This was the opinion of some. Howsoever it was, in he went; but how, or upon what reason, I cannot tell." *

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* Gordon of Sallagh, and Spalding. † Gordon, p. 523.

On taking possession of Elgin, Montrose gave orders to bring all the ferry-boats on the Spey to the north side of the river, and he stationed sentinels at all the fords up and down, to watch any movements which might be made by the enemies' forces in the south.

Montrose, thereupon, held a council of war, at which it was determined to cross the Spey, and march into the shires of Banff and Aberdeen, and, by the aid of Lord Gordon, to raise the friends and retainers of the marquis of Huntly, and from thence to proceed into the Mearns, where another accession of forces was expected. Accordingly, Montrose left Elgin on the fourth of March, with the main body of his army, towards the Bog of Gicht, accompanied by the earl of Seaforth, Sir Robert Gordon, the lairds of Grant, Pluscarden, Findrassie, and several other gentlemen who "had come in to him" at Elgin. To punish the earl of Finlater, who had refused to join him, Montrose sent the Farquharsons of Braemar before him across the Spey, who plundered, without mercy, the town of Cullen, belonging to the earl.

After crossing the Spey, Montrose, either apprehensive that depredations would be committed upon the properties of his Moray friends, who accompanied him, by the two regiments which garrisoned Inverness and the covenanters of that district, or having received notice to that effect, he allowed the earl of Seaforth, the laird of Grant, and the other Moray gentlemen, to return home to defend their estates; but before allowing them to depart, he made them take a solemn oath of allegiance to the king, and promise that they should never, henceforth, take up arms against his majesty or his loyal subjects. At same time, he made them come under an engagement to join him with all their forces, as soon as they could do so. The earl of Seaforth obtained an infamous notoriety, by again joining the ranks of the covenanters. In a letter which he wrote to the committee of estates, at Aberdeen, he stated that he had yielded to Montrose through fear only, and he avowed that he would abide by "the good cause to his death." †

As anticipated by Montrose, detachments from the garrison of Inverness had been sent into the country to take vengeance upon those gentlemen who had joined him; and accordingly they plundered the house of Elchies, belonging to the laird of Grant, carrying off his lady's wearing apparel, trinkets, and jewels, of which, says Spalding, "she had store." They laid waste the lands of Cukstoun, the goodman of which had followed Lord Gordon when he joined Montrose; and they entered Elgin, where they took the laird of Pluscarden and his brother, Loslyn, prisoners, and carried them to Inverness; but they were released at the

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 298.

† Ibid. ii. 301.

intreaty of their brother, the earl of Seaforth, who, notwithstanding, was suspected of having connived at their arrest.

On Montrose's arrival at Strathbogie, or Gordon castle, Lord Graham, his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, and of the most promising expectations, became unwell, and died after a few days' illness. The loss of a son, who had followed him in his campaigns, and shared with him the dangers of the field, was a subject of deep regret to Montrose. While Montrose was occupied at the death-bed of his son, Lord Gordon was busily employed among the Gordons, out of whom he speedily raised a force about five hundred foot, and one hundred and sixty horse.

With this accession to his forces, Montrose left Strathbogie and marched towards Banff, on his route to the south. In passing by the house of Cullen, in Boyne, the seat of the earl of Finlater, who had fled to Edinburgh, and left the charge of the house to the countess, a party of Montrose's men entered the house, which they plundered of all its valuable contents. They then proceeded to set the house on fire, but the countess having entreated Montrose to order his men to desist, and promised that if her husband did not come to Montrose and give him satisfaction within fifteen days, she would pay him twenty thousand merks, of which sum she instantly paid down five thousand; Montrose complied with her request, and also spared the lands, although the earl was "a great covenanter." Montrose's men next laid waste the lands in the Boyne, burnt the houses, and plundered the minister of the place of all his goods and effects, including his books. The laird of Boyne shut himself up in his stronghold, the Crag, where he was out of danger; but he had the misfortune to see his lands laid waste and destroyed. Montrose then went to Banff, which he gave up to indiscriminate plunder. His troops did not leave a vestige of moveable property in the town, and they even stript, to the skin, every man they met with in the streets. They also burned two or three houses of little value, but not a drop of blood was spilt, a circumstance which speaks highly in favour of the humanity of Montrose,

From Banff, Montrose proceeded to Turriff, where a deputation from the town council of Aberdeen waited upon him, consisting of Thomas Gray, George Morison, George Cullen, and John Alexander, advocate, "four discreet, well-set burgesses," says Spalding. These commissioners humbly represented to Montrose, the many miseries which the town of Aberdeen had suffered from its frequent occupation by hostile armies since the first outbreaking of the unfortunate troubles which molested the kingdom,—miseries well known to himself, and which were such as no other burgh had been doomed to suffer: they further represented, that such was the terror of the inhabitants at the idea of another visit from his Irish troops that all the men and women, on hearing of his approach, had made preparations for abandoning the town, and that they would certainly leave it if they did not get an assurance from the marquis of safety and protection. The deputation therefore begged Montrose to give them this assurance, and that, upon receiving it, they would return to Aberdeen and prevail upon the inhabitants to remain in town. Montrose heard the commissioners patiently, expressed his regret at the calamities which had befallen their town, and bade them not be afraid, as he would take care that none of his foot, or Irish, soldiers, should come within eight miles of Aberdeen; and that if he himself should enter the town, he would support himself at his own expense. Returning many thanks for the favourable answer they had received, the commissioners returned to Aberdeen, where they arrived on the tenth of March, and related the successful issue of their journey, to the great joy of all the inhabitants.*

Whilst Montrose lay at Turriff, Sir Nathaniel Gordon, with some troopers, went to Aberdeen, which he entered on Sunday the ninth of March, on which day there had been "no sermon in either of the Aberdeens," as the ministers had fled the town. The keys of the churches, gates, and jail, were delivered to him by the magistrates. The following morning, Sir Nathaniel was joined by a hundred Irish dragoons. After releasing some prisoners, he went to Torry, and took, after a slight resistance, eighteen hundred muskets, pikes, and other arms, which had been left in charge of a troop of horse. Besides receiving orders to watch the town, Sir Nathaniel was instructed to send out scouts as far as Cowie to watch the enemy, who were daily expected from the south. When reconnoitering, a skirmish took place at the bridge of Dee, in which Captain Keith's troop was routed. Finding the country quite clear, and no appearance of the Covenanting forces, Gordon returned back to the army, which had advanced to Frendraught. No attempt was made upon the house of Frendraught, which was kept by the young viscount in absence of his father, who was then at Muchallis with his godson, Lord Fraser; but Montrose destroyed sixty ploughs of land belonging to Frendraught within the parishes of Forgue, Inverkeithnie, and Drumblade, and the house of the minister of Forgue, with all the other houses and buildings, and their contents. Nothing, in fact, was spared. The whole cattle, horses, sheep, and other domestic animals, were carried off, and the whole of Frendraught's lands were left a dreary and uninhabitable waste.

From Pennyburn, Montrose dispatched, on the tenth of March, a letter to the authorities of Aberdeen, commanding them to intimate, by tuck of drum, an order, that all men, of whatever description, between the age of sixteen and sixty, should meet him equipped in their best arms, and such of them as had horses, mounted on the best of them, on the fifteenth of March, at his camp at Inverury, under the pain of fire and sword. In consequence of this mandate, he was joined by a considerable number of horse and foot. On the twelfth of March, Montrose arrived at Kintore, and took up his own quarters in the house of John Cheyne, the minister of the place, whence he issued an order commanding each parish within the presbytery of Aberdeen, (with the exception of the town of Aberdeen,) to send to him two commissioners who were required to bring along with them a complete roll of the whole heritors, feuars and liferenters of each parish. His object, in requiring such a list, was to ascertain the number of men capable of serving, and also the names of those who should refuse to join him. Commissioners were accordingly sent from the parishes, and the consequence was, that Montrose was joined daily by many men, who would not otherwise have assisted him, but who were now alarmed for the safety of their properties. While at Kintore, an occurrence took place which vexed Montrose exceedingly.

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* Spalding, ii. 302.

To reconnoitre and watch the motions of the enemy, Montrose had, on the twelfth of March, sent Sir Nathaniel Gordon along with Donald Farquharson, Captain Mortimer, and other well mounted cavaliers, to the number of about eighty, to Aberdeen. This party perceiving no enemy in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, utterly neglected to place any sentinels at the gates of the town, and spent their time at their lodgings in entertainments and amusements. This careless conduct did not pass unobserved by some of the covenanters in the town, who, it is said, sent notice thereof to Major-General Hurry, the second in command under General Baillie, who was then lying at the North Water Bridge with Lord Balcarras' and other foot regiments, On receiving this intelligence, Hurry put himself at the head of one hundred and sixty horse and foot, taken from the regular regiments, and some troopers and musketeers, and rode off to Aberdeen in great haste, where he arrived on the fifteenth of March at eight o'clock in the evening. Having posted sentinels at the gates to prevent any of Montrose's party from escaping, he entered the town at an hour when they were all dispersed through the town, carelessly enjoying themselves in their lodgings, quite unapprehensive of such a visit. The noise in the streets, occasioned by the tramping of the horses, was the first indication they had of the presence of the enemy, but it was then too late for them to defend themselves. Donald Farquharson was killed in the street opposite the guard-house, "a brave gentleman," says Spalding, "and one of the noblest captains amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland, and the king's man for life and death." The enemy stript him of a rich dress he had put on the same day, and left his body lying naked in the street. A few other gentlemen were also killed, and some taken prisoners, but the greater part escaped. The prisoners were sent to Edinburgh, and put in irons within the tolbooth there. Hurry left the town next day, and, on his return to Baillie's camp, he entered the town of Montrose, and carried off Lord Graham, Montrose's second son, a boy of fourteen years of age, then at school, who, along with his teacher, was sent to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle.

The gentlemen who had escaped from Aberdeen, "returned," says Spalding, "back to Montrose, part on horse and part on foot, ashamed of this accident." Montrose was greatly offended at them for their carelessness, but the same writer adds, that "the gentlemen were sorry, and could not mend it." The magistrates of Aberdeen, alarmed lest Montrose should inflict summary vengeance upon the town, as being implicated in the attack upon the cavaliers, sent two commissioners to Kintore to assure him that they were in no way concerned in that affair. Although he heard them with great patience, he gave them no satisfaction as to his intentions, and they returned to Aberdeen without being able to obtain any promise from him to spare the town. The magistrates, however, acted wisely in sending the deputation to Montrose, for had they taken no notice of the affair, he might have inferred either that the inhabitants were privy to it, or were by no means displeased at the result. Montrose might have availed himself of this opportunity, to have inflicted a heavy chastisement upon the town, but he was contented to make the merchants furnish him with cloth, and gold and silver-lace, to the amount of £10,000 Scots for the use of his army, which he took the magistrates bound to pay, by a tax upon the inhabitants. "Thus," says Spalding, "cross upon cross upon Aberdeen."

When Sir Nathaniel Gordon and the remainder of his party returned to Kintore, Montrose dispatched, on the same day, viz., sixteenth March, a body of one thousand horse and foot, the latter consisting of Irish, to Aberdeen, under the command of Macdonald his major-general, where they arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon. Many of the inhabitants, alarmed at the approach of this party, and still having the fear of the Irish before their eyes, were preparing to leave the town; but Macdonald relieved their apprehensions by assuring them that the Irish, who amounted to seven hundred, should not enter the town, and he accordingly stationed them at the Bridge of Dee and the Two Mile Cross, he and his troopers alone entering the town. And to secure the town from annoyance, he stationed strong parties at the gates to prevent any straggling parties of the Irish from entering. With the exception of the houses of one or two "remarkable covenanters," which were plundered, Macdonald showed the utmost respect for private property, a circumstance which obtained for him the esteem of the inhabitants, who had seldom experienced such kind treatment before.

Having discharged the last duties to the brave Farquharson and his companions, on Sunday the seventeenth of March, Macdonald left Aberdeen the following day to join Montrose at Durris; but he had not proceeded far when complaints were brought to him that some of his Irish troops, who had lagged behind, had entered the town, and were plundering it. "They were," says Spalding, "abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses from them on the high streets." Macdonald, therefore, returned immediately to the town, and drove, says the same writer, "all these rascals with sore skins out of the town before him." *

Before leaving Kintore, the earl of Airly was attacked by a fever, in consequence of which, Montrose sent him to Lethintie, the residence of the earl's son-in-law, under a guard of three hundred men; but he was afterwards removed to Strathbogie for greater security. On arriving at Durris, in Kincardineshire, where he was joined by Macdonald, Montrose burnt the house to the ground, and all the offices and grain, and swept away the whole cattle, horses, and sheep. He also wasted such of the lands of Fintry as belonged to Forbes of Craigievar, to punish him for the breach of his parole, and he set fire to the house, and burnt the grain belonging to Abercrombie, the minister of Fintry, who was "a main covenanter." These proceedings took place on the seventeenth of March. On the nineteenth, Montrose entered Stonehaven, and took up his residence in the house of James Clerk, the provost of the town. Here learning that the covenanters in the north were troubling Lord Gordon's lands, he dispatched five hundred of Gordon's foot to defend Strathbogie and his other possessions; but he still retained Lord Gordon himself with his troopers.

On the day after his arrival at Stonehaven, Montrose wrote a letter to the Earl Marshall, who, along with sixteen ministers, and some other persons of distinction, had shut himself up in his castle of Dunottar. The bearer of the letter was not, however, suffered to enter within the gate, and was allowed to depart without an answer. It is said that the Marshall's lady and the ministers, particularly the celebrated Andrew Cant, were his advisers on this occasion. This disdainful silence, on the part of the Earl Marshall, highly incensed Montrose; but probably suspecting that he was tutored by the persons who surrounded him, he desired Lord Gordon to write a letter to George Keith, the earl's brother, who, in consequence, had an interview with Montrose at Stonehaven. Montrose then told him that all that he wanted from his brother was, that he should serve the king, his master, against his rebellious subjects, a service to which he was bound in duty and honour from the high situation he held; and that if he failed to comply, he would do so at his own peril. But the earl declined to comply with Montrose's request, as he said "he would not be against the country." †

In consequence of the refusal of the Earl Marshall to declare for the king, Montrose resolved to inflict summary vengeance upon him, by burning and laying waste his lands and those of his retainers in the neighbourhood. Acting upon this determination, he, on the twenty-first of March, set fire to the houses adjoining the castle of Dunottar, and burnt the grain which was stacked in the barn-yards. Even the house of the minister did not escape. He next set fire to the town of Stonehaven,

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* Vol. ii. p. 306.

† Ib. p. 307.

sparing only the house of the provost, in which he resided; plundered a ship which lay in the harbour, and then set her on fire, along with all the fishing boats. The lands and houses of Cowie shared the same hard fate. Whilst the work of destruction was going on, it is said that the inhabitants appeared before the castle of Dunottar, and, setting up cries of pity, implored the earl to save them from ruin, but they received no answer to their supplications, and the earl witnessed from his stronghold the total destruction of the properties of his tenants and dependents without making any effort to stop it. After he had effected the destruction of the barony of Dunottar, Montrose set fire to the lands of Fetteresso, one fourth part of which was burnt up, together with the whole corn in the yards. A beautiful deer park was also burnt and its alarmed inmates were all taken and killed, as well as all the cattle in the barony. Montrose next proceeded to Drumlaithie and Urie, belonging to John Forbes of Leslie, a leading covenanter, where he committed similar depredations.

Montrose advanced to Fettercairn, the following day, where he quartered his foot soldiers, but he sent out quarter-masters through the country and about the town of Montrose to provide quarters for some troopers; but, as these troopers were proceeding on their journey, they were alarmed by the sudden appearance of some of Major-General Hurry's troops, who had concealed themselves within the plantation of Halkerton. This party suddenly issuing from the wood, set up a loud shout, on hearing which the troopers immediately turned to the right about and went back to the camp. This party turned out to be a body of six hundred horse, under the command of Hurry himself, who had left the head quarters of General Baillie, at Brechin, for the purpose of reconnoitering Montrose's movements. In order to deceive Hurry, who kept advancing with his six hundred horse, Montrose placed his horse, which amounted only to two hundred, and which he took care to line with some expert musqueteers, in a prominent situation, and concealed his foot in an adjoining valley. This *ruse* had the desired effect, for Hurry imagining that there were no other forces at hand, immediately attacked the small body of horse opposed to him; but he was soon undeceived by the sudden appearance of the foot, and forced to retreat with precipitation. Though his men were greatly alarmed, Hurry, who was a brave officer, having placed himself in the rear, managed his retreat across the North Esk with very little loss.

After this affair, Montrose allowed his men to refresh themselves for a few days, and, on the twenty-fifth of March, he put his army in motion in the direction of Brechin. On hearing of his approach, the inhabitants of the town concealed their effects in the castle and in the steeples of the churches, and fled. Montrose's troops, although they found out the secreted goods, were so enraged at the conduct of the inhabitants that they plundered the town, and burnt about sixty houses.

From Brechin, Montrose proceeded through Angus, with the intention either of fighting Baillie, or of marching onwards to the south. His whole force, at this time, did not exceed three thousand men, and, on reaching Kirriemuir, his cavalry was greatly diminished by his having been obliged to send away about one hundred and sixty horsemen to Strathbogie, under Lord Gordon and his brother, Lewis, to defend their father's possessions against the covenanters. Montrose proceeded, with his army, along the foot of the Grampians, in the direction of Dunkeld, where he intended to cross the Tay in the sight of General Baillie, who commanded an army greatly superior in numbers; but, although Montrose frequently offered him battle, Baillie, contrary, it is said, to the advice of Hurry, as often declined it. On arriving at the water of Isla, the two armies, separated by that stream, remained motionless for several days, as if undetermined how to act. At length Montrose sent a trumpeter to Baillie offering him battle; and, as the water could not be safely passed by his army, if opposed, Montrose proposed to allow Baillie to pass it unmolested, on condition that he would give him his word of honour that he would fight without delay; but Bailie returned this answer, that he would attend to his own business himself, and that he would fight when he himself thought proper. The conduct of Baillie throughout, seems altogether extraordinary, but it is alleged that he could do nothing himself, being subject to the directions of a council of war, composed of the earls of Crawford and Cassillis, the Lords Balmerinoch, Kirkcudbright, and others.*

As Montrose could not attempt to cross the water of Isla without cavalry, in opposition to a force so greatly superior, he led his army off in the direction of the Grampians, and marched upon Dunkeld, which he took possession of. Baillie being fully aware of his intention to cross the Tay, immediately withdrew to Perth for the purpose of opposing Montrose's passage; but, if Montrose really entertained such an intention after he had sent away the Gordon troopers, he abandoned it after reaching Dunkeld, and resolved to retrace his steps northwards. Being anxious, however, to signalize himself by some important achievement before he returned to the north, and to give confidence to the royalists, he determined to surprise Dundee, a town which had rendered itself particularly obnoxious to him for the resistance made by the inhabitants after the battle of Tippermuir. Having sent off the weaker part of his troops, and those who were lightly armed, with his heavy baggage, along the bottom of the hills, with instructions to meet him at Brechin, Montrose himself, at the head of about one hundred and fifty horse, and six hundred expert musketeers,† left Dunkeld on third April, about midnight, and marched with such extraordinary expedition that he arrived at Dundee Law at 10 o'clock in the morning, where he encamped. Montrose then sent a trumpeter into the town with a summons, requiring a surrender, and promising that, in the event of compliance, he would protect the lives and properties of the inhabitants, but threatening, in case of refusal, to set fire to the town and to put the inhabitants to the sword. Instead of returning an answer to this demand, the town's people put the messenger into prison. This insult was keenly felt by Montrose, who immediately gave orders to his troops to storm the town in three different places at once, and to fulfil the threat which he had held out in case of resistance. The inhabitants, in the mean time, made such preparations for defence as the shortness of the time allowed, but, although they fought bravely, they could not resist the impetuosity of Montrose's troops, who, impelled by a spirit of revenge, and a thirst for plunder, which Dundee, then one of the largest and most opulent towns in Scotland, offered them considerable temptations of gratifying, forced the inhabitants from the stations they occupied, and turned the cannon, which they had planted in the streets, against themselves. The contest, however, continued in different quarters of the town for several hours, during which the town was set on fire in different places. The whole of that quarter of the town called the Bonnet Hill fell a prey to the flames, and the entire town would have certainly shared the same fate had not Montrose's men chiefly occupied themselves in plundering the houses and filling themselves with the contents of the wine cellars. The sack of the town continued till the evening, and the inhabitants were subjected to every excess which an infuriated and victorious soldiery, maddened by intoxication, could inflict.

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 309.

† This is Wishart's account, but Spalding says there were 200 horse and 600 foot.

This melancholy state of things was, however, fortunately put an end to by intelligence having been brought to Montrose, who had viewed the storming of the town from the neighbouring height of Dundee Law, that General Baillie was marching in great haste down the Carse of Gowrie, towards Dundee, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse. On receiving this news from his scouts, Montrose gave immediate orders to his troops to evacuate Dundee, but so intent were they upon their booty, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could be prevailed upon to leave the town, and, before the last of them could be induced to retire, some of the enemy's troops were within gun shot of them. The sudden appearance of Baillie's army was quite unlooked for, as Montrose had been made to believe, from the reports of his scouts, that it had crossed the Tay, and was proceeding to the Forth, when, in fact, only a very small part, which had been mistaken by the scouts for the entire army of Baillie, had passed.

In this critical conjuncture, Montrose held a council of war, to consult how to act under the perilous circumstances in which he was now placed. The council was divided between two opinions. Some of them advised Montrose to consult his own personal safety, by riding off to the north with his horse, leaving the foot to their fate, as they considered it utterly impossible for him to carry them off in their present state, fatigued, and worn out as they were by a march of twenty-four miles during the preceding night, and rendered almost incapable of resisting the enemy, from the debauch they had indulged in during the day. Besides, they would require to march twenty or even thirty miles, before they could reckon themselves secure from the attacks of their pursuers, a journey which was deemed impossible of performance, without being previously allowed some hours repose. The members of the council, who took this view of matters, urged upon Montrose the absolute necessity of following it, judging it much better to allow these men to shift for themselves, than to risk his own person and the safety of those who could secure an escape, in a hopeless attempt to carry off men who were almost disabled from walking. That in this way, and in no other, could he expect to retrieve matters, as he could, by his presence among his friends in the north, raise new forces; but that, if he himself was cut off, the king's affairs would be utterly ruined. The other part of the council gave quite an opposite opinion, by declaring that, as the cause for which they had fought so gloriously was now irretrievably lost, they should remain in their position, and await the issue of an attack, judging it more honourable to die fighting in defence of their king, than to seek safety in an ignominious flight, which would be rendered still more disgraceful by abandoning their unfortunate fellow-warriors to the mercy of a revengeful foe.

Montrose, however, stated his disapprobation of both these plans. He considered the first as unbecoming the generosity of men who had fought so often side by side; and the second he thought extremely rash and imprudent. He, therefore, resolved to steer a middle course, and, refusing to abandon his brave companions in arms in the hour of danger, gave orders for an immediate retreat, in the direction of Arbroath. This route was, however, a mere manœuvre to deceive the enemy, as Montrose intended, after nightfall, to march towards the Grampians. In order to make his retreat more secure, Montrose dispatched first four hundred of his foot, and gave them orders to march as quickly as possible, without breaking their ranks. These were followed by two hundred of his most expert musketeers, and Montrose himself closed the rear with his horse, in open rank, so as to admit the musketeers to interline them, in case of an attack. It was about six o'clock in the evening, when Montrose began his retreat, at which hour the last of Baillie's foot had reached Dundee.

Scarcely had Montrose begun to move, when intelligence was re-received by Baillie, from some prisoners he had taken, of Montrose's intentions, which was now confirmed by ocular proof. A proposal, it is said, was then made by Hurry, to follow Montrose with the whole army, and attack him, but Baillie rejected it, and the better, as he thought, to secure Montrose, and prevent his escape, he divided his army into two parts, one of which he sent off in the direction of the Grampians, to prevent Montrose from entering the Highlands, and to interpose between him and his intended place of retreat; and the other followed directly in the rear of Montrose. He thus expected to be able to cut off Montrose entirely, and to encourage his men to the pursuit, he offered a reward of twenty thousand crowns to any one who should bring him Montrose's head. Baillie's cavalry soon came up with Montrose's rear, but they were so well received by the musketeers, who brought down some of them, that they became very cautious in their approaches. The darkness of the night soon put an end to the pursuit, and Montrose continued his march unmolested during the night, to Arbroath, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived about midnight. His troops had now marched upwards of forty miles, seventeen of which they had performed in a few hours, in the face of a large army, and had passed two nights and a day without sleep; but as their safety might be endangered by allowing them to repose till daylight, Montrose entreated them to proceed on their march. Though almost exhausted with incessant fatigue, and overpowered with drowsiness, they readily obeyed the orders of their general, and, after a short halt, proceeded on their route in a northwesterly direction. They arrived at the South Esk early in the morning, which they crossed, at sunrise, near Carriston Castle.

Montrose now sent notice to the party which he had dispatched from Dunkeld to Brechin, with his baggage, to join him, but they had, on hearing of his retreat, already taken refuge among the neighbouring hills. Baillie, who had passed the night at Forfar, now considered that he had Montrose completely in his power; for little did he imagine that Montrose had passed close by him during the night, and eluded his grasp; but, to his utter amazement, not a trace of Montrose was to be seen next morning. Chagrined at this unexpected disappointment, Baillie, without waiting for his foot, galloped off at full speed to overtake Montrose, and, with such celerity did he travel, that he was close upon Montrose before the latter received notice of his approach. The whole of Montrose's men, with the exception of a few sentinels, were now stretched upon the ground, in a state of profound repose, and, so firmly did sleep hold their exhausted frames in its grasp, that it was with the utmost difficulty that they could be aroused from their slumbers, or made sensible of their danger. The sentinels, it is said, had even to prick some of them with their swords, before they could be awakened,* and, when they at length succeeded in rousing the sleepers, they effected a retreat, after some skirmishing, to the foot of the Grampians, about three miles distant from their camp, and retired, thereafter, through Glenesk into the interior without further molestation.

This memorable retreat is certainly one of the most extraordinary events which occurred during the whole of Montrose's campaigns. Had his men been quite fresh when they left Dundee Law, their escape, under such an expert commander as Montrose, would have been in no way singular; but to see a handful of men who had not enjoyed a moment's repose for two days, who had performed a tedious march of twenty miles during the night, and taken one of the most considerable towns in the kingdom, after a short struggle, and had, thereafter, given themselves up to intoxication, retire in good order before a large and well appointed army at their very heels, and perform another march of about sixty miles, without resting, is truly wonderful. It is not therefore surprising, that some of the most experienced officers in Britain, and in France and Germany, considered this retreat of Montrose as the most splendid of all his achievements.*

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* Montrose Redivivus, p. 65.

Being now secure from all danger in the fastnesses of the Grampians, Montrose allowed his men to refresh themselves for some days. Whilst enjoying this necessary relaxation from the fatigues of the field, intelligence was brought to Montrose that a division of the covenanting army, under Hurry, was in full march on Aberdeen, with an intention of proceeding into Moray. Judging that an attack upon the possessions of the Gordons would be one of Hurry's objects, Montrose dispatched Lord Gordon with his horse to the north, for the purpose of assisting his friends in case of attack.

It was not in the nature of Montrose to remain inactive for any length of time, and an occurrence, of which he had received notice, had lately taken place, which determined him to return a second time to Dunkeld. This was the escape of Viscount Aboyne, and some other noblemen and gentlemen, from Carlisle, and who, he was informed, were on their way north to join him. Apprehensive that they might be interrupted by Baillie's troops, he resolved to make a diversion in their favour, and, by drawing off the attention of Baillie, enable them the more effectually to elude observation. Leaving, therefore, Macdonald, with about two hundred men, to beat up the enemy in the neighbourhood of Cupar Angus, Montrose proceeded, with the remainder of his forces, consisting only of five hundred foot and fifty horse, to Dunkeld, whence he marched to Crieff, which is about seventeen miles west from Perth. It was not until he had arrived at the latter town, that Baillie, who, after his pursuit of Montrose, had returned to Perth with his army, heard of this movement. As Baillie was sufficiently aware of the weakness of Montrose's force, and as he was sure that, with such a great disparity, Montrose would not risk a general engagement, he endeavoured to surprise him, in the hope, either of cutting him off entirely, or crippling him so effectually, as to prevent him from again taking the field. He therefore left Perth during the night of the seventh of April, with his whole army, consisting of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, with the intention of falling upon Montrose by break of day, before he should be aware of his presence; but Montrose's experience had taught him the necessity of being always upon his guard, when so near an enemy's camp, and, accordingly, he had drawn up his army, in anticipation of Baillie's advance, in such order as would enable him either to give battle or retreat.

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* Wishart, p. 127.

As soon as he heard of Baillie's approach, Montrose advanced with his horse to reconnoitre the enemy, and having ascertained their strength and numbers, which were too formidable to be encountered with his little band, brave as they were, he gave immediate orders to his foot to retreat with speed up Stratherne, and to retire into the adjoining passes. To prevent them from being harassed in their retreat by the enemy's cavalry, Montrose covered their rear with his small body of horse, with which he sustained a very severe attack, which he warmly repulsed, and having killed several of the assailants, the rest were forced to retire in disorder. After a march of about eight miles, Montrose's troops arrived at the pass of Stratherne, of which they took immediate possession, and Baillie thinking it useless to follow them into their retreat, discontinued the pursuit, and retired back with his army towards Perth. Montrose passed the night on the banks of Loch Erne, and marched next morning through Balquidder, where he was joined, at the ford of Cardross, by the Viscount Aboyne, the Master of Napier, Hay of Dalgetty, and Stirling of Keir, who, along with the earl of Nithsdale, Lord Herries and others, had escaped from Carlisle, as before stated.

No sooner had Baillie returned from the pursuit of Montrose than intelligence was brought to him that Macdonald, with the two hundred men which Montrose had left with him, had burnt the town of Cupar-Angus,—that he had wasted the lands of Lord Balmerinoch,—killed Patrick Lindsay, the minister of Cupar,—and, finally, after routing some troopers of Lord Balcarras, killing some of them, and carrying off their horses and arms, had fled to the hills. This occurrence, while it withdrew the attention of Baillie from Montrose's future movements, enabled the latter to proceed to the north without opposition.

Montrose had advanced as far as Loch Katrine, when a messenger brought him intelligence that General Hurry was in the Enzie with a considerable force, that he had been joined by some of the Moray-men, and, after plundering and laying waste the country, was preparing to attack Lord Gordon, who had not a sufficient force to oppose him. On receiving this information, Montrose resolved to proceed immediately to the north to save the Gordons from the destruction which appeared to hang over them, hoping that with such accessions of force as he might obtain in his march, united with that under Lord Gordon, he would succeed in defeating Hurry before Baillie should be aware of his movements.

He, therefore, returned through Balquidder, and marched with rapid strides along the side of Loch Tay, and through Athole and Angus, and crossing the Grampian hills, proceeded down the Strath of Glenmuck. In his march, Montrose was joined by the Athole-men and the other Highlanders who had obtained, or rather taken, leave of absence after the battle of Inverlochy, and also by Macdonald and his party. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Auchindoun, he was met by Lord Gordon at the head of a thousand foot and two hundred horse. He crossed the Dee on the first of May at the mill of Cruthie, and sent Lord Aboyne, the same day, down Dee-side with eighty horse to Aberdeen in quest of powder, of which his army stood in great want. His lordship had the good fortune to find no less than twenty barrels of powder in the ships which lay in the harbour, which he immediately carried off with him to the army, which he joined the same night at Skene, where Montrose had pitched his camp. *

Thus reinforced and well provided with ammunition, Montrose continued his march towards the Spey, and before Hurry was even aware that he had crossed the Grampians, he found Montrose within six miles of his camp. The sudden appearance of Montrose with such a superior force—for Hurry had only at this time about a thousand foot and two hundred horse—greatly alarmed him, and raising his camp, he crossed the Spey in great haste, with the intention of marching to Inverness, where he would be joined by the troops of the garrison, and receive large reinforcements from the neighbouring countries. Montrose immediately pursued him, and followed close upon his heels successively through Elgin and Forres, and for fourteen miles beyond the latter, when, favoured by the darkness of the night, Hurry effected his escape, with little loss, and arrived at Inverness.

The panic into which Hurry had been thrown soon gave way to a very different feeling, as he found the earls of Seaforth and Sutherland with their retainers, and the Clan-Fraser, and others from Moray and Caithness, all assembled at Inverness, as he had directed. This accession of force increased his army to three thousand five hundred foot, and four hundred horse. He, therefore, resolved to act on the offensive by giving battle to Montrose immediately.

Montrose had taken up a position at the village of Auldearn, between three and four miles from Nairn, on the morning after the pursuit. In the course of the day, Hurry advanced with all his forces, including the garrison of Inverness, towards Nairn, and, on approaching Auldearn, formed his army in order of battle. Montrose's force, which had been greatly weakened by the return of the Athole-men and other Highlanders, to defend their country from the depredations of Baillie's army, now consisted of only fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse. It was not, therefore, without great reluctance, that he resolved to risk a battle with an enemy more than double in point of numbers, and composed in great part of veteran troops; but, pressed as he was by Hurry, and in danger of being attacked in his rear by Baillie, who was advan-

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* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 316.

cing by forced marches to the north, he had no alternative but to hazard a general engagement. He, therefore, instantly looked about him for an advantageous position.

The village of Auldearn stands upon a height, behind which, or on the east, is a valley, which is overlooked by a ridge of little eminences, running in a northerly direction, and which almost conceals the valley from view. In this hollow Montrose arranged his forces in order of battle. Having formed them into two divisions, he posted the right wing on the north of the village, at a place where there was a considerable number of dikes and ditches. This body, which consisted of four hundred men, chiefly Irish, was placed under the command of Macdonald. On taking their stations, Montrose gave them strict injunctions not to leave their position on any account, as they were effectually protected by the walls around them, not only from the attacks of cavalry but of foot, and could, without much danger to themselves, keep up a galling and destructive fire upon their assailants. In order to attract the best troops of the enemy to this difficult spot where they could not act, and to make them believe that Montrose commanded this wing, he gave the royal standard to Macdonald, intending, when they should get entangled among the bushes and dikes, with which the ground to the right was covered, to attack them himself with his left wing. And to enable him to do so the more effectually, he placed the whole of his horse and the remainder of the foot on the left wing to the south of the village. The former he committed to the charge of Lord Gordon, reserving the command of the latter to himself. After placing a few chosen foot with some cannon in front of the village, under cover of some dikes, Montrose firmly awaited the attack of the enemy.

The arrangements of Hurry were these. He divided his foot and his horse into two divisions each. On the right wing of the main body of the foot, which was commanded by Campbell of Lawers, Hurry placed the regular cavalry which he had brought from the south, and on the left the horse of Moray and the north under the charge of Captain Drummond. The other division of foot was placed behind as a reserve and commanded by Hurry himself.

When Hurry observed the singular position which Montrose had taken up, he was utterly at a loss to guess his designs, and though it appeared to him, skilful as he was in the art of war, a most extraordinary and novel sight, yet, from the well known character of Montrose, he was satisfied that Montrose's arrangements were the result of a deep laid scheme. But what especially excited the surprise of Hurry was the appearance of the large yellow banner or royal standard in the midst of a small body of foot stationed among hedges and dikes and stones, almost isolated from the horse and the main body of the foot. To attack this party at the head of which he naturally supposed Montrose was, was his first object. This was precisely what Montrose had wished by committing the royal standard to the charge of

Macdonald, and the snare proved successful. With the design of overwhelming at once the right wing, Hurry dispatched towards it the best of his horse and all his veteran troops, who made a furious attack upon Macdonald's party, who defended themselves bravely behind the dikes and bushes. The contest continued for sometime on the right with varied success, and Hurry, who had plenty of men to spare, relieved those who were engaged by fresh troops. Montrose, who kept a steady eye upon the motions of the enemy, and watched a favourable opportunity for making a grand attack upon them with the left wing, was just preparing to carry his design into execution, when a confidential person suddenly rode up to him and whispered in his ear that the right wing had been put to flight.

This intelligence was not, however, quite correct. It seems that Macdonald who, says Wishart, "was a brave enough man, but rather a better soldier than a general, extremely violent, and daring even to rashness," had been so provoked with the taunts and insults of the enemy, that in spite of the express orders he had received from Montrose on no account to leave his position, he had unwisely advanced beyond it to attack the enemy, and though he had been several times repulsed he returned to the charge. But he was at last borne down by the great numerical superiority of the enemy's horse and foot, consisting of veteran troops, and forced to retire in great disorder into an adjoining inclosure. Nothing, however, could exceed the admirable manner in which he managed this retreat and the courage he displayed while leading off his men. Defending his body with a large target, he resisted, single handed, the assaults of the enemy, and was the last man to leave the field. So closely indeed was he pressed by Hurry's spearmen, that some of them actually came so near him as to fix their spears in his target, which he cut off by threes or fours at a time with his broadsword.*

It was during this retreat that Montrose received the intelligence of the flight of the right wing; but he preserved his usual presence of mind, and to encourage his men who might get alarmed at hearing such news, he thus addressed Lord Gordon, loud enough to be heard by his troops, "what are we doing, my lord? Our friend Macdonald has routed the enemy on the right and is carrying all before him. Shall we look on, and let him carry off the whole honour of the day?" A crisis had arrived, and not a moment was to be lost. Scarcely, therefore, were the words out of Montrose's mouth, when he ordered his men to charge the enemy. When his men were advancing to the charge, Captain or Major Drummond, who commanded Hurry's horse, made an awkward movement by wheeling about his men, and his horse coming in contact with the foot, broke their ranks and occasioned considerable confusion. Lord Gordon seeing this, immediately, rushed in upon Drummond's horse with his party and put them to flight. Montrose followed hard with the foot, and attacked the main body of Hurry's army, which he routed after a powerful resistance. The veterans in Hurry's army who had served in Ireland, fought manfully, and chose rather to be cut down standing in their ranks than retreat; but the new levies from Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, fled in great consternation. They were pursued for several miles, and might have been all killed or captured if Lord Aboyne had not, by an unnecessary display of ensigns and standards, which he had taken from the enemy, attracted the notice of the pursuers, who halted for sometime under the impression that a fresh party of the enemy was coming up to attack them. In this way, Hurry and some of his troops who were the last to leave the field of battle, as well as the other fugitives, escaped from the impending danger, and arrived at Inverness the following morning. As the loss of this battle was mainly owing to Captain Drummond, he was tried by a court-martial at Inverness and condemned to be shot, a sentence which was carried into immediate execution. He was accused of having betrayed the army, and it is said that he admitted that after the battle had commenced he had spoken with the enemy.*

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* Wishart, p. 136

The number of killed on both sides has been variously stated. That on the side of the covenanters has been reckoned by one writer at one thousand,† by another‡ at two thousand, and by a third at three thousand men.|| Montrose on the other hand, is said by the first of these authors to have lost about two hundred men, while the second says, that he had only "some twenty-four gentlemen hurt, and some few Irish killed," and Wishart informs us that Montrose only missed one private man on the left, and that the right wing commanded by Macdonald, "lost only fourteen private men." This trifling loss, on the part of Montrose, will appear almost incredible, and makes us incline to think that it must have been greatly underrated, for it is impossible to conceive that the right wing could have maintained the arduous struggle it did without a large sacrifice of life. The clans who had joined Hurry suffered considerably, particularly the Frazers, who, besides unmarried men, are said to have left dead on the field no less than eighty-seven married men. Among the principal covenanting officers who were slain, were Colonel Campbell of Lawers, and Sirs John and Gideon Murray, and Colonel James Campbell, with several other officers of inferior note. The laird of Lawer's brother, Archibald Campbell, and a few other officers were taken prisoners. Captain Macdonald and William Macpherson of Invereschie, were the only persons of any note killed on Montrose's side. Montrose took several prisoners, whom, with the wounded, he treated with great kindness. Such of the former as expressed their sorrow for having joined the ranks of the covenanters he released—others who were disposed to join him he received into his army, but such as remained obstinate he imprisoned. Besides taking sixteen standards from the enemy, Montrose got possession of the whole of their baggage, provisions, and ammunition, and a considerable quantity of money and valuable effects. The battle of Auldearn was fought on the fourth of May according to some writers, and on the ninth according to others, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-five.

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* Gordon's Continuation, p. 525. † Gordon of Sallagh. ‡ Spalding. || Wishart.

The immense disproportion between the numbers of the slain, on the side of the covenanters, and that of the prisoners, taken by Montrose, evidently shows that very little quarter had been given, the cause of which is said to have been the murder of James Gordon, younger of Rhiny, who was killed by a party from the garrison of Spynie, and by some of the inhabitants of Elgin at Struders, near Forres, where he had been left in consequence of a severe wound he had received in a skirmish during Hurry's first retreat to Inverness.* But Montrose carried his revenge still farther, for, after burning the lands and houses of Campbell of Calder, and plundering all his effects, as well as those of the earl of Moray, who was then in England, he proceeded to Elgin, where, on the twelfth of May, he burnt the houses of Walter Smith, John Mill, John Douglas of Morristoun, and Alexander Douglas, some of whom, with some of their sons, were concerned in James Gordon's murder. The houses of Robert Gibson, George Donaldson, and George Sutherland, and other inhabitants of Elgin, from their proximity to those put on fire, were seized upon by the flames, and consumed. The houses of Hay, the provost, and Gawin Douglas were also selected for destruction, but their safety was secured by the payment of a sum of money. The property, called the Friars of Elgin, was plundered, but, "being church building," says Spalding, was preserved from fire. The house belonging to the laird of Pluscarden, in Elgin, was also plundered. From Elgin, Montrose sent out a party to the town of Garmouth, belonging to the laird of Innes, which they burnt, and another party burnt the Bishop's Mill and Milltoun, life-rented by the wife of Major Sutherland, who had been also concerned in James Gordon's death.†

While these proceedings were going on, Montrose sent his whole baggage, booty, and warlike stores, across the Spey, which he himself crossed upon the fourteenth of May, after which he proceeded to the Bog of Gicht, where he did not remain long, but went to Birkenbog, the seat of "a great covenanter," where he took up his head quarters. He quartered his men in the neighbourhood, and, during a short stay at Birkenbog, he sent out different parties of his troops to scour the country, who burnt the town of Cullen, and such of the lands belonging to Lord Frendraught as had formerly escaped their ravages. A party of men, under the command of Leith of Harthill, also burnt the town and lands of Thombeg, belonging to the laird of Monymusk, and occupied by William Forbes, his tenant, because Forbes had robbed Leith's servant of his baggage horse, and some money.‡

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* Gordon's Continuation, p. 525.

† Spalding, vol. ii. p. 320.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 321.

When General Baillie first heard of the defeat of his colleague, Hurry, at Auldearn, he was lying at Cromar with his army. He had, in the beginning of May, after Montrose's departure to the north, entered Athole, which he had wasted with fire and sword, and had made an attempt upon the strong castle of Blair, into which many of the prisoners taken at the battle of Inverlochy were confined; but, not succeeding in his enterprize, he had, after collecting an immense booty, marched through Athole, and, passing by Kirriemuir and Fettercairn, had encamped on the Birse on the tenth of May. His force at this time amounted to about two thousand foot and one hundred and twenty troopers. On the following day, he had marched to Cromar, where he encamped between the Kirks of Coull and Tarlan till he should be joined by Lord Balcarras' horse regiment. While lying at Cromar, he laid waste the estates of the royalists in the neighbourhood, and burnt the house of Terpersie, belonging to a gentleman of the name of Gordon.* In a short time, he was joined not only by Balcarras' regiment but by two foot regiments. The ministers endeavoured to induce the country people also to join Baillie, by "thundering out of pulpits;" but "they lay still," says Spalding, "and would not follow him."

As soon as Baillie heard of the defeat of Hurry, he raised his camp at Cromar, upon the ninteenth of May, and hurried north. He arrived at the wood of Cochlarachie, within two miles of Strathbogie, before Montrose was aware of his approach. Here he was joined by Hurry, who, with some horse from Inverness, had passed themselves off as belonging to Lord Gordon's party, and had thus been permitted to go through Montrose's lines without opposition.

It was on the nineteenth of May, when lying at Birkenbog, that Montrose received the intelligence of Baillie's arrival in the neighbourhood of Strathbogie. Although Montrose's men had not yet wholly recovered from the fatigues of their late extraordinary march and subsequent labours; and although their numbers had been reduced since the battle of Auldearn by the departure of some of the Highlanders with the booty they had acquired, they felt no disinclination to engage the enemy, but, on the contrary, were desirous of coming to immediate action. But Montrose himself thought differently; for although he had the utmost confidence in the often tried courage of his troops, he judged more expedient to avoid an engagement at present, and to retire, in the meantime, into his fastnesses to recruit his exhausted strength, than risk another battle with a fresh force, greatly superior to his own. In order to deceive the enemy as to his intentions, he advanced, the same day, upon Srathbogie, and, within view of their camp, began to make entrenchments, and raise fortifications, as if preparing to defend himself. But as soon as the darkness of the night prevented Baillie from discovering his motions, Montrose marched rapidly up the south side of the Spey with his foot, leaving his horse behind him, to whom he gave instructions to follow him as soon as daylight began to appear, which instructions were punctually obeyed.

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* Spalding, ii. p. 318.

Baillie had passed the night in the confident expectation of a battle next day; but he was surprised to learn the following morning that not a vestige of Montrose's army was to be seen. Montrose had taken the route to Balveny, which having been ascertained by Baillie, he immediately prepared to follow him. He, accordingly, crossed the Spey, and, after a rapid march, almost overtook the retiring foe in Glenlivet; but Montrose, having outdistanced his pursuers by several miles before night came on, he got the start of them so completely, that they were quite at a loss next morning to ascertain the route he had taken, and could only guess at it by observing the traces of his footsteps on the grass and the heather over which he had passed. Following, therefore, the course thus pointed out, Baillie came again in sight of Montrose; but he found that he had taken up a position, which, whilst it almost defied approach from its rocky and woody situation, commanded the entrance into Badenoch, from which country Montrose could, without molestation, draw supplies of both men and provisions. To attack Montrose in his stronghold was out of the question; but, in the hope of withdrawing him from it, Baillie encamped his army hard by. Montrose lay quite secure in his well-chosen position, from which he sent out parties who, skirmishing by day, and beating up the quarters of the enemy during the night, so harassed and frightened them, that they were obliged to retreat to Inverness, after a stay of a few days, a measure which was rendered still more necessary from the want of provisions and of provender for the horses. Leaving Inverness, Baillie crossed the Spey, and proceeded to Aberdeenshire, and arrived on the third of June at Newton, in the Garioch, "where he encamped, destroying the country, and cutting the green growing crops to the very clod."* So bold had the Gordons and other royalists lately become, in consequence of Montrose's success, that, in passing through Strathbogie on this occasion, Baillie was considerably annoyed by small parties who hung upon and harassed his rear; but he did not retaliate as he might have done.

Having got quit of the presence of Baillie's army, Montrose resolved to make a descent into Angus, and attack the earl of Crawford, who lay at the castle of Newtyle with an army of reserve to support Baillie, and to prevent Montrose from crossing the Forth, and carrying the war into the south. This nobleman, who stood next to Argyle, as head of the covenanters, had often complained to the estates against Argyle, whose rival he was, for his inactivity and pusillanimity; and having insinuated that he would have acted a very different part had the command of such an army, as Argyle had, been intrusted to him, he had the address to obtain the command of the army now under him, which had been newly raised; but the earl was without military experience, and quite unfit to cope for a moment with Montrose.

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* Spalding, ii. 314.

Proceeding through Badenoch, Montrose crossed the Grampians, and arrived by rapid marches on the banks of the river Airly, within seven miles of Crawford's camp, before the latter was aware of his approach. He would have assuredly annihilated Crawford's army, which he was preparing to attack, but an unexpected occurrence put an end to his design. This was the desertion of the Gordons and their friends, who almost all returned to their country. Intelligence, it would appear, had been received by them that Baillie was laying waste their lands, to protect which, they appear to have adopted the resolution of returning home to defend their possessions; but Lord Gordon was very indignant at their conduct, and it is said that he would have punished with death such of his own retainers as left the army, had not Montrose prevented him.*

The desertion of this part of his forces forced Montrose to abandon the idea of attacking Crawford; but the disappointment, instead of limiting his operations, only served to incite him to follow out more extended views. He now formed the resolution to attack Baillie himself, but before he could venture on such a bold step, he saw that there was an absolute necessity of making some additions to his force. With this view he sent Sir Nathaniel Gordon, an influential cavalier, into the north before him, to raise the Gordons and the other royalists; and, on his march north through Glenshee and the Braes of Mar, Montrose dispatched Macdonald into the remoter highlands with a party to bring him, as speedily as possible, all the forces he could. Judging that the influence and authority of Lord Gordon might greatly assist Sir Nathaniel, he sent him after him, and Montrose himself encamped in the country of Cromar, waiting for the expected reinforcements.

In the meantime, Baillie lay in camp on Dee-side in the lower Mar, where he was joined by Crawford, but he showed no disposition to attack Montrose, who, from the inferiority, in point of number, of his forces, retired to the old castle of Kargarf. Crawford did not, however, remain long with Baillie; but, exchanging a thousand of his raw recruits for a similar number of Baillie's veterans, he returned with these, and the remainder of his army, through the Mearns into Angus, as if he intended some mighty exploit; he, thereafter, entered Athole, and in imitation of Argyle, plundered and burnt the country.

Raising his camp, Baillie marched towards Strathbogie to lay siege to the marquis of Huntly's castle, the Bog of Gicht, now Gordon castle; but although Montrose had not yet received any reinforcements, he reresolved to follow Baillie and prevent him from proceeding in his intended attack upon the castle. But Montrose had marched scarcely three miles when he was observed by Baillie's scouts. Being desirous to know his strength and the position he occupied, Montrose sent out some men acquainted with the country to examine the enemy's force at a distance. These speedily returned with information that Baillie's foot were drawn up on a rising ground above Keith, about two miles off, and that their horse were in possession of a very narrow pass, about half way between the two armies. Montrose thereupon sent off a body of horse, along with some light musketeers to support them. Some slight skirmishing took place, after which, Baillie's horse retired through the pass, but as it was well guarded by musketeers, Montrose's horse did not venture to follow them. He, therefore, ordered forward his foot to drive them from their position, but, night coming on, they were prevented from proceeding. Next morning Montrose, not considering it advisable to attack Baillie in the strong position he occupied, sent a trumpeter to him offering to engage him on open ground, but Baillie answered the hostile message by saying, that he would not receive orders for fighting from his enemy.*

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* Wishart, p. 142.

In this situation of matters, Montrose had recourse to stratagy to draw Baillie from his stronghold. By retiring across the river Don near the castle of Druminnor, belonging to Lord Forbes, the covenanting general was led to believe that Montrose intended to march to the south, and he was, therefore, advised by a committee of the estates which always accompanied him, and in whose hands he appears to have been a mere passive instrument, to pursue Montrose. Leaving therefore the ground from which Montrose could not dislodge him by force, he followed Montrose, and was thus led into the very snare which had been laid for him by his expert adversary. As soon as Montrose's scouts brought intelligence that Baillie was advancing, he set off by break of day to the village of Alford on the river Don, where he intended to await the enemy. When Baillie was informed of this movement, he imagined that Montrose was in full retreat before him, a supposition which encouraged him so to hasten his march, that he came up with Montrose at noon at the distance of a few miles from Alford. Montrose, thereupon, drew up his army in order of battle on an advantageous rising ground and waited for the enemy; but instead of attacking him, Baillie made a detour to the left with the intention of getting into Montrose's rear and cutting off his retreat. Montrose then continued his march to Alford, where he passed the night.

On the following morning being the second day of July, sixteen hundred and forty-five, the two armies were only the distance of about four miles from each other. Montrose drew up his troops on a little hill behind the village of Alford. In his rear was a marsh full of ditches and pits, which would protect him from the inroads of Baillie's cavalry should they attempt to assail his rear, and in his front stood a steep hill, which prevented the enemy from observing his motions. He gave the command of the right wing to Lord Gordon and Sir Nathaniel; the left he committed to Viscount Aboyne and Sir William Rollock; and the main body was put under the charge of Angus Macvichalaster, chief of the Macdonell's of Glengarry, Drummond younger of Balloch, and Quarter-master George Graham, a skilful officer. To Napier his nephew, Montrose intrusted a body of reserve, which was concealed behind the hill.

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* Wishart, p. 145

After thus choosing his ground and making his dispositions, Montrose himself, at the head of a troop of horse, rode off to watch the movements of the enemy, and while examining the fords of the Don, intelligence was brought to him that the whole of the enemy's forces were in rapid motion up the river to possess themselves of a ford about a mile above Alford, at which they meant to cross with the view of cutting off his retreat, as they still supposed that he was flying before them. Leaving therefore some of the horse to notice the motions of the enemy, Montrose returned to his army to give the necessary orders for battle.

Scarcely, however, had Montrose completed his arrangements, when the troop of horse he had left near the ford returned in full gallop with intelligence that the enemy had crossed the Don, and was moving in the direction of Alford. This was a fatal step on the part of Baillie, who, it is said, was forced into battle by the rashness of Lord Balcarras, who unnecessarily placed himself and his regiment in a position of such danger that they could not be rescued without exposing the whole of the covenanting army.*

When Baillie arrived in the valley adjoining the hill on which Montrose had taken up his position, both armies remained motionless for some time, viewing each other, as if unwilling to begin the combat. Owing to the commanding position which Montrose occupied, the covenanters could not expect to gain any thing by attacking him even with superior forces ; but now, for the first time, the number of the respective armies was about equal, and Montrose had this advantage over his adversary, that while Baillie's army consisted in part of the raw and undisciplined levies which the earl of Crawford had exchanged for some of his veteran troops, the greater part of Montrose's men had been long accustomed to service. These circumstances determined Baillie not to attempt the ascent of the hill, but to remain in the valley, where, in the event of a descent by Montrose, his superiority in cavalry would give him the advantage.

This state of inaction was, however, soon put an end to by Lord Gordon, who observing a party of Baillie's troops driving away before them a large quantity of cattle which they had collected in Strathbogie and the Enzie, and being desirous of recovering the property of his countrymen, selected a body of horse, with which he attempted a rescue. The assailed party was protected by some dikes and inclosures, from behind which they fired a volley upon the Gordons, of whom the horse led by Lord Gordon was composed, which did considerable execution amongst them. Such a cool and determined reception, attended with a result so disastrous and unexpected, might have been attended by dangerous consequences, had not Montrose, on observing the party of Lord Gordon giving indications as if undetermined how to act, resolved immediately to commence a general attack upon the enemy with his whole army. But as Baillie's foot had entrenched themselves amongst the dikes and fences which covered the ground at the bottom of the hill, and could not be attacked in that position with success, Montrose immediately ordered the horse, who were engaged with the enemy, to retreat to their former position, in the expectation that Baillie's troops would leave their ground and follow them. And in this hope he was not disappointed, for the covenanters thinking that this movement of the horse was merely the prelude to a retreat, advanced from their secure position and followed the supposed fugitives with their whole horse and foot in regular order.

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* Wishart, p. 147.

Both armies now came to close quarters, and fought face to face and man to man with great obstinacy for some time, without either party receding from the ground they occupied. At length Sir Nathaniel Gordon, growing impatient at such a protracted resistance, resolved to cut his way through the enemy's left wing, consisting of Lord Balcarras' regiment of horse; and calling to the light musketeers who lined his horse, he ordered them to throw aside their muskets, which were now unnecessary, and to attack the enemy's horse with their drawn swords. This order was immediately obeyed, and in a short time they cut a passage through the ranks of the enemy, whom they hewed down with great slaughter. When the horse which composed Baillie's right wing, and which had been kept in check by Lord Aboyne, perceived that their left had given way, they also retreated.* An attempt was made by the covenanting general to rally his left wing by bringing up the right, after it had retired, to its support, but they were so alarmed at the spectacle or *melée* which they had just witnessed on the left, where their comrades had been cut down by the broad swords of Montrose's musketeers, that they could not be induced to take the place of their retiring friends.

Thus abandoned by the horse, Baillie's foot were attacked on all sides by Montrose's forces. They fought with uncommon bravery, and although they were cut down in great numbers, the survivors exhibited a perseverance and determination to resist to the last extremity. An accident now occurred, which, whilst it threw a melancholy gloom over the fortunes of the day, and the spirits of Montrose's men, served to hasten the work of carnage and death. This was the fall of Lord Gordon, who having incautiously rushed in amongst the thickest of the enemy, was unfortunately shot dead when in the act of pulling Baillie, the covenanting general, from his horse, having, it is said, in a moment of exultation, promised to his men, to drag Baillie out of the ranks and present him before them. The Gordons, on perceiving their young chief fall, set no bounds to their fury, and falling upon the enemy with renewed vigour, hewed them down without mercy; yet these brave men still showed no disposition to flee, and it was not until the appearance of the reserve under the Master of Napier, which had hitherto been kept out of the view of the enemy at the back of the hill, that their courage began to fail them. But when this body began to descend the hill, accompanied by what appeared to them a fresh reinforcement of cavalry, but which consisted merely of the camp or livery boys, who had mounted the sumpter-horses to make a display for the purpose of alarming the enemy, the entire remaining body of the covenanting foot fled with precipitation. A hot pursuit took place, and so great was the slaughter that very few of them escaped. The covenanting-general and his principal officers were saved by the fleetness of their horses, and the marquis of Argyle, who had accompanied Baillie as a member of the committee, and who was closely pursued by Glengarry and some of his Highlanders, made a narrow escape by repeatedly changing horses.

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* Wishart, p. 149.

Thus ended one of the best contested battles which Montrose had yet fought, yet strange as the fact may appear, his loss was, as usual, extremely trifling. Besides Lord Gordon, were killed, Mowat of Balwholly, Ogilvy of Milton, and one Dickson, an Irish captain, and a few privates. A considerable number, however, of Montrose's men were wounded, particularly the Gordons, who, for a long time, sustained the attacks of Balcarras' horse, amongst whom were Sir Nathaniel, and Gordon, younger of Gicht.* The loss on the side of the covenanters was immense; by far the greater part of their foot, and a considerable number of their cavalry having been slain. Some prisoners were taken from them, but their number was small, owing to their obstinacy in refusing quarter. These were sent to Strathbogie under an escort.

The victory, brilliant as it was, was, however, clouded by the death of Lord Gordon, "a very hopeful young gentleman, able of mind and body, about the age of twenty-eight years."† Wishart gives an affecting description of the feelings of Montrose's army when this amiable young nobleman was killed. "There was," he says, "a general lamentation for the loss of the Lord Gordon, whose death seemed to eclipse all the glory of the victory. As the report spread among the soldiers, every one appeared to be struck dumb with the melancholy news, and a universal silence prevailed for some time through the army. However, their grief soon burst through all restraint, venting itself in the voice of lamentation and sorrow. When the first transports were over, the soldiers exclaimed against heaven and earth for bereaving the king, the kingdom, and themselves, of such an excellent young nobleman; and, unmindful of the victory or of the plunder, they thronged about the body of their dead captain, some weeping over his wounds and kissing his lifeless limbs; while others praised his comely appearance even in death, and extolled his noble mind, which was enriched with every valuable qualification that could adorn his high birth or ample fortune: they even cursed the victory bought at so dear a rate. Nothing could have supported the army under this immense sorrow but the presence of Montrose, whose safety gave them joy, and not a little revived their drooping spirits. In the meantime he could not command his grief, but mourned bitterly over the melancholy fate of his only and dearest friend, grievously complaining, that one who was the honour of his nation, the ornament of the Scots nobility, and the boldest assertor of the royal authority in the north, had fallen in the flower of his youth." *

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* Gordon's Continuation, p. 526.

† Ibid.

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* Memoirs, p. 132.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Retreat of General Baillie and the Committee of Estates to Stirling—March of Montrose to Aberdeen—Interment of Lord Gordon—Buchan laid under assessment by Montrose—The Parliament meets at Perth, and orders a levy—Advance of Montrose to the south—Joined by the Athole Highlanders, the Macdonalds, Macleans, and other Clans—Crosses the Tay, and encamps at Amulree—Removes to the wood of Methven—Retreats to Little Dunkeld, where he is joined by the Earls of Aboyne and Airly—Advances to Logie Almond—Baillie retires to Kilgraston—March of Montrose towards Stirling—Castle Campbell burnt by the Macleans—Mansions of Menstrie and Airthrie burnt by Argyle—Progress of the hostile armies—Battle of Kilsyth—Entry of Montrose into Glasgow—Encamps on Bothwell Moor—Submission of the Nobility and the western shires—Communications with the King—Montrose appointed Lieutenant Governor of Scotland—Battle of Philiphaugh.

The successive victories of Montrose, in Scotland, were more than counterbalanced by those of the parliamentary forces in England. Under different circumstances, the success at Alford might have been attended with consequences the most important to the royal cause; but the defeat of the king, on the fourteenth of June, at Naseby, had raised the hopes of the covenanters, and prepared their minds to receive the tidings of Baillie's defeat with coolness and moderation.

Upon the day on which the battle of Alford was fought, the parliament had adjourned to Stirling from Edinburgh, on account of a destructive pestilence which had reached the capital from Newcastle, by way of Kelso. Thither General Baillie, Lord Balcarras, and the committee of estates, which had accompanied the covenanting army, repaired, to lay a statement of the late disaster before the parliament, and to receive instructions as to their future conduct. They arrived just as the parliament was about sitting, and, with the exception of Baillie, were well received. Balcarras, who had particularly distinguished himself in the battle at the head of his horse, received a vote of thanks, and a similar acknowledgment was, after some hesitation, awarded to Baillie, notwithstanding some attempts made to prejudice the parliament against him. But the fact was, they could not dispense in the present emergency with an officer of the military talents of Baillie, who, instead of shrinking from responsibility for the loss of the battle of Alford, offered to stand trial before a court martial, and to justify his conduct on that occasion. To have withheld therefore, the usual token of approbation from him, while bestowing it upon an inferior officer, would have been to affix a stigma upon him which he was not disposed to brook consistently with the retention of the command of the army; and as the parliament resolved to renew his commission, by appointing him to the command of the army then concentrating at Perth, they afterwards professed their unqualified satisfaction with him.

After the battle of Alford, the army of Montrose was considerably diminished, in consequence of the Highlanders, according to custom, taking leave of absence, and returning home with the spoil they had taken from the enemy. This singular, though ordinary practice, contributed more to paralyze the exertions of Montrose, and to prevent him from following up his successes, than any event which occurred in the whole course of his campaigns, and it may appear strange that Montrose did not attempt to put an end to it; but the tenure by which he held the services of these hardy mountaineers being that they should be allowed their wonted privileges, any attempt to deviate from their established customs would have been an immediate signal for desertion.

As it would have been imprudent in Montrose, with forces thus impaired, to have followed the fugitives, who would receive fresh succours from the south, he, after allowing his men some time to refresh themselves, marched to Aberdeen, where he celebrated the funeral obsequies of his valued friend, Lord Gordon, with becoming dignity.

The district of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, which, from its outlying situation, had hitherto escaped assessment for the supply of the hostile armies, was at this time subjected to the surveillance of Montrose, who dispatched a party from Aberdeen into that country to collect all the horses they could find for the use of his army, and also to obtain recruits. About the same time, the marquis of Huntly, who had been living in Strathnaver for some time, having heard of the death of his eldest son, Lord Gordon, meditated a return to his own country, intending to throw the influence of his name and authority into the royal scale. But as he might be exposed to danger in passing through countries which were hostile to the royal cause, it was arranged between Montrose and the Viscount Aboyne, who had just been created an earl, that the latter should proceed to Strathnaver, with a force of two thousand men to escort his father south. This expedition was, however, abandoned, in consequence of intelligence having been brought to Montrose that the covenanters were assembling in great strength at Perth.

The Parliament which, as we have seen, had left Edinburgh, and gone to Stirling on account of the pestilence, had been obliged, in consequence of its appearance in Stirling, to adjourn to Perth, where it was to meet on the twenty-fourth of July; but before leaving Stirling, they ordered a levy of 10,000 foot to be raised in the shires to the south of the Tay, each of which shires was to furnish a proportionate number of men; and to insure due obedience to this mandate, all noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors, were required to attend at Perth on or before that day well mounted, and to bring with them such forces as they could raise, under a heavy penalty. *

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* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 150.

On leaving Aberdeen, Montrose took up his quarters at Crabston, situated a few miles from Aberdeen, between the rivers Don and Dee, where he remained for some time in the expectation of being joined by reinforcements from the Highlands under Major-General Macdonald, who had been absent about two months from the army in quest of recruits; but as these expected succours did not arrive within the time expected, Montrose, impatient of delay, crossed the Dee, and marching over the Grampians, descended into the Mearns, and pitched his camp at Fordoun in Kincardineshire, celebrated for being the burial place of St Palladius, and the birth place of *Joannes a Fordun*, author of the *Scoti-Chronicon*. From thence he dispatched a message to the earl of Aboyne, who was at the time in Aberdeen, to join him with such forces as he had been able to raise. This order the earl immediately obeyed, but on his arrival at the camp with a very small party, Montrose immediately sent him back to the north with instructions to levy additional troops.

Proceeding on his march through Angus and Blair Gowrie to Dunkeld, Montrose had the good fortune to be successively joined by his cousin, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, at the head of the brave Athole Highlanders, and by Macdonald his major-general, who brought with him the chief of the Macleans, and about seven hundred of that clan, all animated by a strong feeling of animosity against Argyle and his partizans. He was also joined by John Muidartach, the celebrated captain of the Clanranald, at the head of five hundred of his men; by the Macgregors and Macnabs, headed by their respective chieftains; by the Clandonald, under the command of the uncles of Glengarry and other officers, Glengarry himself, " who," says Bishop Wishart, " deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose,"* having never left Montrose since he joined him at the time of his expedition into Argyle. Besides all these, the Stewarts of Appin, some of the Farquharsons of Braemar, and small parties of inferior clans from Badenoch, rallied round the standard of Montrose.

Having obtained these timeous reinforcements, Montrose now formed the design of marching upon Perth, and breaking up the parliament which had there assembled, and thereafter of proceeding to the south, and dissipating the levies which were raising beyond the Tay. But the want of cavalry, an arm in which he was constantly deficient, formed a bar to this plan, and Montrose was, therefore, obliged to defer his project till he should be joined by the earls of Aboyne and Airly, whom he expected soon with a considerable body of horse. In the meantime, Montrose crossed the Tay at Dunkeld, and encamped at Amulree. The covenanting army, with the exception of the garrison of Perth, was then lying on the south side of the Erne, and a body of four hundred horse was posted near the town, for the protection of the estates or parliament.

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* Memoirs, p. 155.

This movement, on the part of Montrose, created some alarm in the minds of the covenanters, which was greatly increased by a report from their horse, stationed in the neighbourhood of the town, who, seeing some of his scouts approach it, had fancied that he was going to storm it. While this panic was at its height, Montrose, who had no intention of attacking the town, raised his camp, and took up a position in the wood of Methven, about five miles from Perth. During this movement, the town was thrown into a state of the greatest consternation, from an apprehension that Montrose was about to attack it, and the nobility and the other members of the parliament were earnestly solicited to secure their safety by a speedy flight, but the estates remained firm, and could not be persuaded to abandon their posts. In order, if possible, still farther to increase the panic in the town, Montrose advanced almost to the very gates of Perth with his horse the following day, which, although not exceeding a hundred, were made to appear formidable by the addition of the baggage-horses, on which some musketeers were mounted. This act of bold defiance magnified the fears of those who were in the town, and made them imagine that Montrose was well provided in cavalry. The covenanting troops, therefore, were afraid to venture beyond the gates; and Montrose having thus easily accomplished his object, was encouraged, still farther, to cross the Erne at Dupplin, when he openly reconnoitred the enemy's army on the south of that river, and surveyed the Strath with great deliberation and coolness without interruption.

Both armies remained in their positions for several days without attempting any thing, each waiting for reinforcements. During all this time, the enemy had been deceived respecting the strength of Montrose's horse, but having learned his weakness in that respect, and the deception which he had practised so successfully upon them, and being joined by three regiments from Fife, they resolved to offer him battle. Montrose, however, from his great inferiority of numbers, particularly in horse, was not in a condition to accept the challenge, and wisely declined it. Accordingly, when he saw the enemy advancing towards him, he prepared to retreat among the neighbouring mountains; but to deceive the enemy, and to enable him to carry off his baggage, he drew out his army as if he intended to fight, placing his horse in front, and securing the passes into the mountains with guards. While making these dispositions, he sent off his baggage towards the hills under an escort; and when he thought the baggage out of danger, he gave orders to his army to march off in close rank; and to cover its retreat and protect it from the cavalry of the enemy, he placed his horse, lined as usual with his best musketeers, in the rear.

As soon as Baillie, the covenanting general, perceived that Montrose was in full retreat, he dispatched General Hurry with the cavalry in pursuit of him; but from a most unaccountable delay on Hurry's part in crossing the Powe—so slow, indeed, had his movements been, that Baillie's foot overtook him at the fords of the Almond—that Montrose had almost reached the passes of the mountains before he was overtaken.* Chagrined at his easy escape, and determined to perform some striking exploit before Montrose should retire into his fastnesses, a body of three hundred of the best mounted covenanting cavalry set off at full gallop after him, and attacked him with great fury, using at the same time the most insulting and abusive language. To put an end to this annoyance, Montrose selected twenty expert Highlanders, who from habit were good marksmen, and requested them to bring down some of the assailants. Accordingly, these marksmen advanced in a crouching attitude, concealing their guns, and having approached within musket-shot, they took deliberate aim, and soon brought down the more advanced of the party. This unexpected disaster made the assailants more cautious in their advances, and caused them to resolve upon an immediate retreat; but the marksmen were so elated with their success, that they actually pursued them down into the plain, "and resolutely attacked the whole party, who putting spurs to their horses, fled with the utmost precipitation, like so many deer before the hunters."† In this retreat Montrose did not lose a single man.

After giving over this fruitless pursuit, the enemy returned to Montrose's camp at Methven, where, according to Wishart, they committed a most barbarous act in revenge of their late affront, by butchering some of the wives of the Highlanders and Irish who had been left behind. Montrose took up his quarters at Little Dunkeld, both because he was there perfectly secure from the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, and because it was a convenient station to wait for the reinforcements of horse which he daily expected from the north under the earls of Airly and Aboyne. Although both armies lay close together for several days, nothing was attempted on either side. The covenanting general now became quite disgusted with the service in consequence of the jealousies and suspicions which it was too evident the committee entertained of him, and an event occurred which increased his displeasure. This was the sudden return of the Fife men to their country, who preferred their domestic comforts to the vicissitudes of war, but who unfortunately were, as we shall soon see, to be sacrificed at its shrine.

At length, the earl of Aboyne, accompanied by Sir Nathaniel Gordon, arrived at Little Dunkeld, but with a force much inferior in numbers to that expected. They only brought two hundred horse and a hundred and twenty musketeers, which last were mounted upon carriage horses. The smallness of their number was compensated, however, in a great measure by their steadiness and bravery. The earl of Airly, and his son, Sir David Ogilvy, joined Montrose at the same time, along with a troop of eighty horse, consisting chiefly of gentlemen of the name of

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* Baillie's Narrative, ii. 269.

† Wishart's Memoirs, p. 159.

Ogilvy, among whom was Alexander Ogilvy, son of Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, a young man who had already distinguished himself in the field.

Never at any former period of his eventful career, did the probabilities of ultimate success on the side of Montrose appear to greater advantage than now. His army, ardent and devoted to the royal cause, now amounted to nearly five thousand foot and about five hundred horse; the greater part of which consisted of brave and experienced warriors whom he had often led to victory. A considerable portion of his army was composed of some of the most valiant of the Highland clans led by their respective chiefs, among whom, the renowned captain of Clanranald, in himself a host, stood conspicuous. These last were animated by a feeling of the most unbounded attachment to what they considered the cause of their chiefs, and by a deadly spirit of revenge for the cruelties which the covenanters under Argyle had exercised in the highlands. The Macleans and the Athole highlanders in particular, longed for an opportunity of retaliating upon the covenanting partizans of Argyle, the injuries which they had repeatedly received at his hands, and thereby wiping out the stain, which, as they conceived, had been cast upon them. But fortunate as Montrose now was in having such an army at his disposal, the chances in his favour were greatly enhanced by this lucky circumstance, that whereas, in his former campaigns, he had to watch the movements of different armies and to fight them in detail, he was now enabled, from having annihilated or dispersed the whole armies formerly opposed to him, to concentrate his strength and to direct all his energies to one point. The only bar which now presented itself to the entire subjugation of Scotland to the authority of the king, was the army of Baillie, and the defeat or destruction of this body now became the immediate object of Montrose. His resolution to attack the enemy was hastened by the receipt of information, that the Fife regiments had left Ballie's camp and returned home, and that the general himself was so dissatisfied with the conduct of the covenanting committee, who thwarted all his plans and usurped his authority, that he was about to resign the command of the army.

Montrose, therefore, without loss of time, raised his camp and descending into the lowlands, arrived at Logie Almond, where he halted his foot. From thence he went out with his cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, and came in full view of them before sunset. They made no attempt to molest him, and testified their dread of this unexpected visit by retiring within their lines. Early next morning, Montrose again rode out to make his observations, but was surprised to learn that the enemy had abandoned their camp at Methven during the night and had retired across the Erne, and taken up a position at Kilgraston near the bridge of Erne. Montrose immediately put his army in motion towards the Erne, which he crossed by the bridge of Nether Gask, about eight miles above Kilgraston. He then proceeded forward as far as the Kirk of

Drone, by which movement he for the first time succeeded in throwing open to the operations of his army the whole of the country south of the Tay, from which the enemy had hitherto carefully excluded him. The enemy, alarmed at Montrose's approach, made every preparation for defending themselves by strengthening the position in which they had entrenched themselves, and which, from the narrowness of the passes and the nature of the ground, was well adapted for sustaining an attack.

Montrose was most anxious to bring the enemy to an engagement before they should be joined by a large levy then raising in Fife; but as they were too advantageously posted to be attacked with much certainty of success, and as he could not by any means induce them to leave their ground, he, after spending two or three days in fruitless attempts to entice them from their position, marched to Kinross for the double purpose of putting an end to the Fife levies and of withdrawing the enemy from their position, so as to afford him an opportunity of attacking them under more favourable circumstances. This movement had the effect of drawing Baillie from his strong-hold, who cautiously followed Montrose at a respectful distance. In the course of his march, Baillie was again joined by the three Fife regiments. On arriving at Kinross in the evening, Montrose learned from an advanced party he had sent out to collect information through the country, under the command of Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Sir William Rollock, that the people of Fife were in arms, a piece of intelligence which made him resolve immediately to retrace his steps, judging it imprudent to risk a battle in such a hostile district. Although the men of Fife were stern covenanters, and were ready to fight for the covenant on their own soil, yet living for the most part in towns, and following out the sober pursuits of a quiet and domestic life, they had no relish for war, and disliked the service of the camp. Hence the speedy return of the Fife regiments from the camp at Methven, to their own country, and hence another reason which induced Montrose to leave their unfriendly soil, viz. that they would probably again abandon Baillie, should he attempt to follow Montrose in his progress west.

Accordingly, after remaining a night at Kinross, Montrose, the following morning, marched towards Alloa, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived in the evening, and passed the night in the wood of Tullybody. The Irish plundered the town of Alloa, and the adjoining lordship, which belonged to the earl of Mar; but notwithstanding of this unprovoked outrage, the earl and Lord Erskine gave Montrose, the earl of Airly, and the principal officers of the army, an elegant entertainment in the castle of Alloa. Montrose, however, did not delay the march of his army while partaking of the hospitality of the earl of Mar, but dispatched Macdonald immediately west to Stirling with the foot, retaining only the horse to serve him as a body guard. In this route the Macleans laid waste the parishes of Muckhart and Dollar, of which the marquis of Argyle was the superior, and burnt Castle Campbell, the principal residence of the Argyle family in the lowlands, in requital of similar acts done by the marquis and his followers in the country of the Macleans.*

As the pestilence was still raging in the town of Stirling, Montrose avoided it altogether, lest his army might catch the infection. He halted within three miles of the town, where his army passed the night, and being apprised next morning, by one of Baillie's scouts who had been taken prisoner, that Baillie was close at hand with the whole of his army, Montrose marched quickly up to the fords of Frew, about eight miles above Stirling bridge, and there crossed the Forth. Pursuing his march the following morning in the direction of Glasgow, he made a short halt about six miles from Stirling, to ascertain the enemy's movements, and being informed that Baillie had not yet crossed the Forth, he marched to Kilsyth, where he encamped. During the day, Baillie passed the Forth by Stirling bridge, and marching forwards, came within view of Montrose's army, and encamped that evening within three miles of Kilsyth.†

The covenanting army had, in its progress westward, followed exactly the track of Montrose through the vale of the Devon. The marquis of Argyle availing himself of this circumstance, caused the house of Menstrie, the seat of the earl of Stirling, the king's secretary, and that of Airthrie, belonging to Sir John Graham of Braco, to be burnt. This was done by way of retaliation for the destruction of Castle Campbell and the properties of his vassals, by the Macleans. He, moreover, sent an insolent message to the earl of Mar, notifying to him, that, on the return of the army from the pursuit of Montrose, he, the earl, might calculate on having his castle also burnt, for the hospitality he had shown Montrose.‡

The conjecture of Montrose, that the Fife regiments would not cross the Forth, was not altogether without foundation. In fact, when they arrived near Stirling, they positively refused to advance further, and excused themselves, by alleging that they were raised on the express condition that they should not be called upon to serve out of their own shire, and that, having already advanced beyond its limits, they would on no account cross the Forth. But their obstinacy was overcome by the all-powerful influence of the ministers, who, in addition to the usual scriptural appeals, "told them jolly tales that Lanark, Glencairn, and Eglinton, were lifting an army to join them, and therefore entreated that they would, for only one day more, go out," until that army approached, when they should be discharged.§

While the Fife regiments were thus persuaded to expose themselves to the unforeseen destruction which unfortunately awaited them, an incident occurred on the opposite bank of the Forth, which betokened ill for the future prospects of the covenanting army. This will be best explained by stating the matter in General Baillie's own words. "A little above the park (the king's park at Stirling), I halted until the Fife regiments were brought up, hearing that the rebels were marching towards Kilsyth. After the upcoming of these regiments, the marquis of Argyle, earl of Crawford, and Lord Burleigh, and, if I mistake not, the earl of Tulliebardin, the Lords Elcho and Balcarras, with some others, came up. My lord marquis asked me what next was to be done. I answered, the direction should come from his lordship and those of the committee. My lord demanded what reason was for this? I answered, I found myself so slighted in every thing belonging to a commander-in-chief, that, for the short time I was to stay with them, I would absolutely submit to their direction and follow it. The marquis desired me to explain myself, which I did in these particulars, sufficiently known to my lord marquis and the other lords and gentlemen then present. I told his lordship, (1.) Prisoners of all sorts were exchanged without my knowledge; the traffickers therein received passes from others, and sometimes passing within two miles of me, did neither acquaint me with their business, nor, at their return, where, or in what posture, they had left the enemy: (2.) While I was present, others did sometimes undertake the command of the army: (3.) Without either my order or knowledge, fire was raised, and that destroyed, which might have been a recompense to some good deserver, for which I would not be answerable to the public. All which things considered, I should in any thing freely give my own opinion, but follow the judgment of the committee, and the rather because that was the last day of my undertaking." * It is here necessary to state, by way of explanation, that Baillie had, in consequence of the previous conduct of the committee, resigned his commission, and had only been induced at the earnest solicitation of the parliament, to continue his services for a definite period, which, it appears, was just on the point of expiring.

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* Guthry's Memoirs, p. 151.

† Wishart, p. 156.

‡ Guthry, p. 153.

§ Ibid.

The differences between Baillie and the committee being patched up, the covenanting army proceeded on the fourteenth of August in the direction of Denny, and having crossed the Carron at Hollandbush, encamped, as we have stated, about three miles from Kilsyth.

Before the arrival of Baillie, Montrose had received information, which made him resolve to hazard a battle immediately. The intelligence he had obtained was to this effect, that the earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, and Glencairn, and other heads of the covenanters, were actively engaged in levying forces in the west of Scotland, and that the earl of Lanark had already raised a body of a thousand foot and five hundred horse in Clydesdale, among the vassals and dependents of the Hamilton family, and that this force was within twelve miles of Kilsyth.

Having taken his resolution, Montrose made the necessary arrangements for receiving the enemy, by placing his men in the best position

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* General Baillie's Narrative, Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 270, 271.

which the nature of the ground afforded. In front of his position were several cottages and gardens of which he took possession. Baillie, seeing the advantageous position chosen by Montrose, would have willingly delayed battle till either the expected reinforcements from the west should arrive, or till Montrose should be induced to become the assailant; but his plans were over-ruled by Argyle and the other members of the committee, who insisted that he should immediately attack Montrose. Accordingly, early in the morning, he put his army in motion from Hollandbush, and advanced near Auchinclogh, about two miles to the east of Kilsyth, where he halted. As the ground between him and Montrose was full of quagmires, which effectually prevented Montrose from attacking him in front, he proposed to take up a defensive position without advancing farther, and await an attack. But here, again, the committee interposed, and when he was in the very act of arranging the stations of his army, they advised him to take a position on a hill on his right, which they considered more suitable. It was in vain that Baillie remonstrated against what he, and as the event showed, justly considered an imprudent advice—the committee were inexorable in their resolution, and Baillie had no alternative but to obey. In justice, however, to Lord Balcarras, it must be mentioned that he disapproved of the views of the committee.

When Montrose saw the covenanting army approach from Hollandbush, he was exceedingly delighted, as, from the excellent state of his army, the courageous bearing of his men, and the advantage of his position, he calculated upon obtaining a decisive victory, which might enable him to advance into England and retrieve the affairs of his sovereign in that kingdom. But while Montrose was thus joyfully anticipating a victory, which, he flattered himself, would be crowned with results the most favourable to the royal cause, an incident occurred which might have proved fatal to his hopes, had he not, with that wonderful self-possession and consummate prudence for which he was so distinguished, turned that very incident to his own advantage. Among the covenanting cavalry was a regiment of cuirassiers, the appearance of whose armour, glittering in the sun, struck such terror into Montrose's horse, that they hesitated about engaging with such formidable antagonists, and, while riding along the line, to encourage his men and give the necessary directions, Montrose heard his horse muttering among themselves and complaining that they were now for the first time to fight with men clad in iron, whose bodies would be quite impenetrable to their swords. The crisis was important, and not a moment was to be lost in removing the dangerous impression from their minds. To have led such a body of men into battle, labouring under the influence of fear, would have been to rush upon open destruction; and to have avoided battle, under such circumstances, supposing that a battle could have been avoided, would have been tantamount to a defeat. There have been but few commanders who would not have been disconcerted or embarrassed by an event so sudden and unexpected, and fewer still who could have, almost in an instant of time, by the mere dint of genius alone, revived the drooping spirits of their men; but Montrose is one of those very rare instances in which, by a singular combination of genius and presence of mind, under instant difficulties, those very difficulties themselves are made subservient to their own removal. When the terror of a foe has once taken hold of the mind, it can only be sufficiently eradicated by supplanting it with a feeling of contempt for the object of its dread, and no man was better fitted by nature than Montrose for inspiring such a feeling into the minds of his troops. Accordingly, scarcely had the murmurings of his horse broken upon his ears, when he rode up to the head of his cavalry, and (pointing to the cuirassiers) thus addressed his men:—"Gentlemen, these are the same men you beat at Alford, that ran away from you at Auldearn, Tippermuir, &c.; they are such cowardly rascals that their officers could not bring them to look you in the face till they had clad them in armour; to shew our contempt of them we'll fight them in our shirts."† No sooner had these words been uttered, when, to add to the impression they could not fail to produce, Montrose threw off his coat and waistcoat with great vigour, and, drawing his sword with the mien of a hero, stood before his men, at once an object of their wonder and a model for their imitation. The effect was instantaneous. The example thus set by Montrose was immediately followed by the whole army, every man stripping himself to his shirt, and the cavalry, partaking in the general enthusiasm, assured themselves of victory. As the day was uncommonly hot and oppressive, the troops found great relief by disburdening themselves of their clothes, and the infantry were, in consequence, enabled to display greater agility in combat. The extraordinary appearance of Montrose's men after they had parted with their clothes, excited the astonishment of the covenanters, and as they could only attribute such a singular preparation for battle to a fixed determination on the part of the royalists to conquer or to die, fearful doubts arose in their minds as to the probable result of the contest in which they were just about to engage.

In moving to take up the new position which had been assigned to Baillie's army by the committee, the utmost disorder prevailed among the covenanting army, which the general was unable to correct. Indeed, so unruly had the troops become, that some regiments, instead of taking the stations assigned to them by the commander, took up, at the suggestion of Argyle, quite different ground, while others, in utter disregard of Baillie's instructions, actually selected positions for themselves. Thus, at the moment the battle was about to begin, Baillie found all his plans completely over-ruled, and as he now saw how utterly impossible it then was for him to carry any of his contemplated arrangements into effect, he was necessitated to engage Montrose under the most unfavourable circumstances.

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† Carte, iv. 538.

The covenanting general, however, might have so accommodated himself in the unexpected dilemma in which he had been placed as to have prevented the disastrous result which followed, had not his horse regiments, from an impression that Montrose had begun a retreat, rashly commenced the action before all the infantry had come up, by attempting to carry the cottages and gardens in which the advanced guard of Montrose was placed. Although they made a violent charge, they were as warmly received by Montrose's musketeers, who, being protected by the dykes and inclosures, kept up such a galling fire upon their assailants as to oblige them to retreat with precipitation and some loss.

A body of about a thousand Highlanders, who were posted next to Montrose's advanced guard, became so suddenly elated with this success that, without waiting for orders from Montrose, they immediately ran up that part of the hill where the main body of the covenanting army was posted. Montrose was highly displeased with the Highlanders for this rash act, which seemed to threaten them with instant destruction; but there was no time for remonstrance, and as he saw an absolute necessity for supporting this intrepid body, he stifled his displeasure, and began to consider how he could most effectually afford that support. Owing to the tardy advance of the enemy's rear, it was some little time before the covenanting army attacked this resolute body. At length, three troops of horse and a body of about two thousand foot, were seen advancing against them, and in a short time both parties closed upon each other. The Highlanders, as usual, displayed great intrepidity, and firmly maintained their ground; but as it was evident to Montrose that they could not long withstand the overwhelming force opposed to them, and as their defeat might have the most injurious effect upon the rest of his army, Montrose resolved immediately to send a force to their relief; but, when giving orders for that purpose, he was exceedingly mortified to find that there existed a general unwillingness among his men to engage in a piece of service which they considered extremely hazardous. Many even positively refused, when ordered, to undertake such a duty; but notwithstanding of this embarrassment, Montrose did not lose his accustomed presence of mind. After several ineffectual attempts to induce different parties of his army to volunteer in defence of the brave men who were struggling for their existence within view of their companions in arms, Montrose, as a *dernier resort,* appealed to his tried friend, the earl of Airly, in behalf of the rash men who had thus exposed themselves to imminent danger. He represented to him the perilous situation in which they had, by their imprudence, placed themselves,—that, if not immediately supported, they would assuredly be destroyed by the enemy's horse, and that as the eyes of the whole army were in this conjuncture directed towards him, the earl, as the fittest officer, indeed the only one who, from tried experience, joined to great discretion, could extricate the Highlanders from the perils which beset them, he begged of him, in the name of God! to perform the duty expected of him. This appeal to the chivalrous feelings of the venerable earl met with a ready and willing response from him, and after stating his readiness to undertake the duty assigned him, he immediately put himself at the head of a troop of his own horse, commanded by Colonel John Ogilvy of Baldavie, who had distinguished himself in the Swedish service, and rode off with great speed towards the enemy. He instantly ordered his squadron to charge the enemy's horse, who stood the attack with firmness at first, but they could not long withstand the impetuous bravery of the Ogilvies, and were forced to retire. The earl of Airly did not allow them an opportunity of rallying, but kept pressing so closely upon them that they got entangled among the covenanting foot, which they put into disorder.

As soon as Baillie perceived that his horse were falling back, he endeavoured to bring up his reserve to support them; but this body, which consisted chiefly of the Fife militia, became so alarmed at the retreat of the horse, that they immediately abandoned their ranks and fled. On the other hand, the rest of Montrose's men, encouraged by the success of the Ogilvie's, could no longer restrain themselves, and rushing forward upon the enemy with a loud shout, completed the disorder. The wild appearance of the royalists, who were almost in a state of complete nudity—for, with the exception of the cavalry, who had thrown off merely their upper garments, the whole of Montrose's troops had cast away every article of their apparel but their shirts—added to the dreadful yells which they set up, created such a panic among the astonished covenanters, that, in an instant, and as if by a simultaneous impulse, every man threw away his arms, and endeavoured to secure his personal safety by flight. In the general rout which ensued, the covenanting horse, in their anxiety to escape, galloped through the flying foot, and trampled many of their companions in arms almost to death.

In the pursuit which followed, Montrose's men cut down the defenceless covenanters without mercy, and so great was the carnage, that, out of a body of upwards of six thousand foot, probably not more than a hundred escaped with their lives. The royalists were so intent upon hewing down the unfortunate foot, that a considerable part of the cavalry effected their escape. Some of them, however, in the hurry of their flight, having ran unawares into a large morass, called Dolater bog, now forming a part of the bed of the Forth and Clyde canal, there perished, and, many years afterwards, the bodies of men and horses were dug up from the bog, without any marks of decomposition; and there is a tradition still current, that one man was found upon horseback, fully attired in his military costume, in the very posture in which he had sunk.* Very few prisoners were taken, and with the exception of Sir William

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* Nimmo's General History of Stirlingshire, p. 396.

Murray of Blebo, James Arnot, brother to Lord Burleigh, and Colonels Dyce and Wallace, and a few other gentlemen, who received quarter, and, after being well treated by Montrose, were afterwards released upon parole, all the officers of the covenanting army escaped. Some of them fled to Stirling, and took temporary refuge in the castle; others galloped down to the south shore of the Frith of Forth. Among the latter, Argyle was the most conspicuous, who, according to Bishop Guthry, "never looked over his shoulder until, after twenty miles riding, he reached the South Queensferry, where he possessed himself of a boat again.*" Wishart sarcastically observes, that this was the third time that Argyle had "saved himself by means of a boat; and, even then, he did not reckon himself secure till they had weighed anchor and carried the vessel out to sea."†

The whole of the baggage, arms, and stores, belonging to the covenanting army were captured by the royalists. The loss on the side of Montrose was, as usual, extremely trifling, amounting only to six or eight men, three of whom were of the Ogilvies, who fell in the charge which decided the fortune of the day.

The news of this disastrous and melancholy victory, speedily spread throughout the kingdom and filled it with mourning. The plague, which had devastated some of the most populous of the covenanting districts, was still carrying on its depopulating career, and the spirits of the people, already broken and subdued under that afflicting scourge of providence, were reduced to a state almost bordering on despair when they received the afflicting intelligence of the utter annihilation of an army on which their only hopes were placed. No alternative, therefore, now remained for them but unconditional submission to the conqueror, by throwing themselves entirely upon the clemency of Montrose, and accordingly, deputies were sent to him from different parts of the kingdom, to assure him of the return of the people to their allegiance to the king, to proffer their obedience to Montrose as his lieutenant, and to offer him assistance in support of the royal cause. The nobility and other persons of note who had hitherto kept aloof, or whose loyalty had been questionable, also crowded to the royal standard to congratulate Montrose upon the favourable aspect of affairs and to offer their services.

While at Kilsyth, two commissioners, Sir Robert Douglas and Mr Archibald Fleming, commissary, arrived at Montrose's camp on the part of the inhabitants of Glasgow, to obtain favour and forgiveness, by congratulating him upon his success, and inviting him to visit their city. Montrose received these commissioners and the other numerous deputations and individuals who afterwards waited on him, not merely with courtesy but with kindness, and promised to bury all past occurrences in perfect oblivion, but on the condition that they should return to their allegiance and conduct themselves in future as loyal subjects.

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* Memoirs, p. 154.

† Memoirs, p. 171.

"The whole country now," says Wishart, "resounded Montrose's praise. His unparalleled magnanimity and bravery, his happiness in devising his plan of operations, and his quickness in executing them, his unshaken resolution and intrepidity, even in the greatest dangers, and his patience in bearing the severest hardships and fatigues; his faithfulness and strict observance of his promises to such as submitted, and his clemency towards his prisoners; in short, that heroic virtue which displayed itself in all his actions, was extolled to the skies, and filled the mouths of all ranks of men, and several poems and panegyrics were wrote upon this occasion."* It is believed, however, that there was little sincerity in these professions.

This submission of the people was accelerated by the dispersion of the covenanting nobility, an event which put a temporary end to the government which they had established. Argyle, Crawford, Lanark, and others, sought protection in Berwick, and Glencairn, and Cassillis took refuge in Ireland.

Montrose might have now marched directly upon, and seized the capital, where many of his friends were confined as prisoners; but he considered it of more importance to march to the west and disperse some levies which were there raising. Accordingly, after refreshing his troops two days at Kilsyth, he dispatched a strong body under the command of Macdonald, his major-general, into Ayrshire to suppress a rising under the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn; and with the remainder of his army he proceeded towards Glasgow, which he entered amidst the general acclamations of the citizens. Here Montrose immediately commenced an inquiry into the conduct of the leading covenanters of the city, some of whom he put to death as a terror to others, a circumstance which detracts from the usual clemency of Montrose, but perhaps he considered it necessary to show an example of rigour among a population on whose fidelity he probably placed little reliance. Montrose remained only a day in Glasgow, and encamped the following day on Bothwell moor, about twelve miles from the city. His object in doing so, was to put an end to some excesses on the part of his Irish and Highland troops, in which they were beginning to indulge, and which from the precarious tenure of their services, and his inability to pay them, he could not venture to control by the severities of martial law.† And as he was apprehensive that some of his men might lurk behind, or visit the city for the purpose of plunder, he allowed the inhabitants to form a guard among themselves to protect it. The citizens, in gratitude for the favour and clemency thus shown them, presented Montrose with the sum of ten thousand merks.

In the meantime, major-general Macdonald arrived in Ayrshire, where he was received with open arms. The levies which had been raised in the west quietly dispersed; and the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn fled to Ireland. The Countess of Loudon, whose husband had acted a conspicuous part against the King, received Macdonald with great kindness at Loudon castle, and not only embraced him in her arms, but entertained him with great splendour and hospitality; and she even sent a servant to Montrose to offer her respects to him.*

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* Memoirs, p. 174.

† Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 276.

During Montrose's stay at Bothwell, where he remained till the fourth of September, he was waited upon by many of the nobility in person, to congratulate him upon his recent victory, and to tender their services. Others sent similar communications by their friends. The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Linlithgow and Annandale, the Lords Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegie and Johnston, were among the first who came forward. Deputations also arrived from the shires of Linlithgow, Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr, and also from the towns of Greenock, Ayr, and Irvine, to implore forgiveness for past offences, and to give pledges for their future loyalty. Montrose received them all very graciously,and relying upon their assurances, granted them an amnesty.

Montrose expected that the city of Edinburgh, which had been the focus of rebellion, would have followed the example of Glasgow and the other towns; but whether from obstinacy or from the dread of a refusal of pardon, the authorities did not send commissioners to Montrose, and it was not until a body of the royalist horse appeared within four miles of the city, that they resolved to proffer their submission, and to throw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror. The following interesting and circumstantial account of Montrose's intentions, with regard to the city, and of the conduct of the inhabitants on this trying occasion, is given by Dr Wishart, who was at the time in question, a prisoner in the jail of Edinburgh.

"Montrose's first and principal concern, after the victory at Kilsyth, was about his friends in prison. His generous soul was touched with their miserable condition; they had continued long under the hardships of a nasty and squalid imprisonment in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and had been condemned to death for no other alleged crime, but their loyalty to their sovereign, and were daily expecting the execution of this sentence. He, therefore, dispatched his nephew, Archibald Master of Napier, and Nathaniel Gordon, with a select body of horse, to Edinburgh, in order to summon the city to surrender, to secure its obedience and fidelity, and to set the prisoners at liberty; but if they refused to submit, then their orders were to attack them with fire and sword. When they came within four miles of the town, they stopped, not intending to approach nearer, unless they were obliged by the obstinacy of the citizens: this they did, both to preserve the city and its inhabitants from the fury and rapacious insolence of their soldiers, who, considering it as the chief spring and fomenter of this accursed rebellion, might, in the transports of their rage and fury, be hurried to commit the greatest cruelties, and perhaps set the city on flames, and consume it to ashes ; a thing Montrose had principally cautioned them to guard against : as also to preserve their own men from the infection of the plague, which then raged in that place and neighbourhood, and daily cut off great numbers.

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* Guthry's Memoirs, p. 155.

"When the news of their approach reached the town, an universal consternation seized all ranks ; they despaired of obtaining terms, and appeared as frantic as if the city had been already in a blaze, and an enraged enemy murdering and destroying within its gates. Many, conscious of their guilt, accused themselves as sacrilegious, perjured and ungrateful traitors, and unworthy of that clemency and forgiveness for which they so ardently prayed.

"They privately made application to the prisoners, and, in the most humble manner, entreated them, out of compassion to the place, which was already ruined by the pestilence, and to the miserable remains of the inhabitants, that they would intercede for them with Montrose, and by their good offices avert that rage, which they now acknowledged they had justly provoked. All their hopes, they said, were centered in their undertaking this generous office, as the only mean to preserve a sinking city from utter destruction. They acknowledged themselves guilty of all the crimes laid to their charge, but solemnly protested, that should they at this time experience his clemency and goodness, they should atone for their former rebellion by the most exemplary loyalty, and implicit duty and obedience. The prisoners, whom, not long before, even the meanest of the mob had treated in the most contemptible and despiteful manner, and had devoted to the gibbet, unmindful of the cruel treatment they had received, farther than that the sensible remembrance of it prompted them to return thanks to God for thus bringing about their preservation and deliverance at a time when they so little expected it, encouraged their enemies, and told them, that neither the king himself, nor Montrose, his lieutenant, had any pleasure in the ruin and destruction of his subjects, but earnestly wished and laboured for their safety and prosperity, could they be only brought to see it themselves. They advised them forthwith to send commissioners to Montrose, to implore his pardon, as nothing could more effectually contribute to mollify the heart of a conqueror than a speedy submission ; promising to intercede with Montrose in their behalf; and they did not doubt but his great and generous soul would allow itself to be overcome with the humble entreaties and supplications of a distressed city.

"The citizens of Edinburgh, thus encouraged with hopes of success, immediately convened the town council, in order to make choice of proper commissioners to send to Montrose. Among the prisoners there were two especially eminent for their high birth, and thoroughly acquainted with Montrose. The first of these was Ludovick earl of Crawfurd, chief of the ancient and noble family of the Lindesays, a person famous for his military achievements abroad, in the Swedish, Austrian and Spanish services. The earl of Lindesay, his cousin, from an ambition to attain to the title and honours of Crawfurd, thirsted for his blood, and had such address and influence with the covenanters as to get him condemned. The only crime they laid to his charge, was, that he had served the king his master with the greatest fidelity and bravery, in his capacity as a soldier, and they feared would still do so, were he left alive. The other was James Lord Ogilvy, son to the earl of Airly, who was very highly esteemed by Montrose, and was, besides, odious to the rebels, both for his own and his father's courage and power. And, as he was a declared enemy to Argyle, both on account of the ancient animosities that subsisted betwixt the families, and some recent injuries they had received from Argyle, he was, therefore, accused of the same crime with Crawfurd, and condemned to the same punishment. The council of Edinburgh made choice of these two noblemen from among the prisoners, and set them at liberty, earnestly imploring them to use their interest with the lord governor in their behalf, and assist their deputies in obtaining their request, thereby to preserve a city, already sore afflicted with the avenging hand of heaven; at the same-time wishing destruction to themselves and their posterity, if ever they should prove unmindful of the favour, or ungrateful to their benefactors.

"These two noblemen cheerfully undertook this office, to the great satisfaction of the whole city, and, having joined the delegates, went out to meet the master of Napier. In his way towards Edinburgh, Napier had released his father and spouse, Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, and his sisters, from the prison of Linlithgow, to which they had been sent by the covenanters from the castle of Edinburgh; and, now being attended with this agreeable company and by the city delegates, Mr Napier returned directly to his uncle.

"Montrose was transported with joy at the sight of his dearest friends Crawfurd and Ogilvy, whom he met with the tenderest embraces of friendship, having been so long deprived of their company and assistance. He congratulated them on their safety and deliverance, and gave them all the respect and accommodation possible, as a consolation, in some degree, for their long confinement. On the other hand, they expressed the utmost gratitude to him, and extolled him as their avenger and deliverer; both parties thus seeming to vie with one another in mutual expressions of their affection and esteem.

"The city delegates were then admitted to audience; they made a free surrender to him of the town, and humbly deprecated his vengeance and implored his pardon and forgiveness, promising, in name of the whole inhabitants, an inviolable fidelity and obedience for the future, and committing themselves and all their concerns to his patronage and protection, which they humbly entreated he would grant them. They promised also, immediately to release all the prisoners in their custody, and desired him to assure himself that any thing else he should desire of them should be instantly complied with. The town, they said, had been almost depopulated by a dreadful plague, so that no supplies of men could be expected from it; but they were ready to contribute all they could to defray the expense of what troops he might raise in other places. Above all, they most earnestly implored him to intercede for them with their most gracious and merciful king, to obtain his pity and pardon, and that he would not condemn the whole city for the crime of rebellion, in which they had been involved by the craft and example of a few seditious men, armed with power and authority. Montrose gave them reason to hope for the royal forgiveness; and the only conditions he required of them, were, sacredly to observe their loyalty and allegiance to his majesty for the future; to renounce all correspondence with the rebels, whether within or without the kingdom: the castle of Edinburgh, which he well knew was then in their power, he required they should surrender to the king's officers; and that, as soon as the delegates returned to the city, all the prisoners should be immediately set at liberty, and sent to his camp."

Although the commissioners agreed to these conditions, and promised to perform them, the only one they ever fulfilled was that which stipulated the release of the prisoners, who were immediately on the return of the commissioners sent to Montrose's camp,—in the non-fulfilment of which conditions they were guilty of a piece of deceit, which, says Wishart, "was agreeable to their usual perfidy and ingratitude." Indeed, it was scarcely to be expected from the character of the times, that the citizens of Edinburgh, who had all along been warm partizans of the covenanting interest, would show a readiness to comply with stipulations which had been extorted from their commissioners, under the circumstances we have mentioned.

While at Bothwell Montrose received different communications from the king, who was then at Oxford. The most important of these were two commissions under the great seal, one appointing Montrose Captain-general, and Lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and conferring on him full powers to raise forces, punish state offenders, and make knights, &c. and the other authorising him to summon a parliament to meet at Glasgow, to settle the affairs of the kingdom. The bearer of these important documents was Sir Robert Spottiswood, formerly president of the court of session, and who now acted as secretary of state for Scotland. As a person so well known as Sir Robert, could not travel by any of the ordinary roads without risk of apprehension, he took a circuitous route from Oxford, passing through Wales, and from thence crossing over to the Isle of Man, he took shipping and landed in the West Highlands. From Lochaber he proceeded down into Athole, whence he was conducted by a party of Athole-men to Montrose, at Bothwell Moor.

The instructions brought by Sir Robert Spottiswood, regarding the holding of a parliament and the matters connected therewith, were in the meantime superseded by orders from the king of a later date, brought by a more direct route. By these he was directed to march immediately to the borders, where he would, it was said, be joined by the earls of Roxburghe, Traquair and Home, and the other royalist nobility of the Southern shires at the head of their numerous vassals and tenants, as well as by a body of horse which his majesty would send from England, and that with these united forces, he should watch the motions of General David Leslie, who was advancing to the north with a body of six thousand cavalry. In fact, Leslie, who had acquired great celebrity by his conduct in the battle of Long Marston Moor, had reached Berwick in the beginning of September, having been called thither on his road to Hereford by the covenanting nobility, who had taken refuge there after the battle of Kilsyth.

Pursuant to raising his camp for the Tweed, Montrose reviewed his army on the third of September, on which occasion Sir Robert Spottiswood delivered to him the commission, appointing him his majesty's lieutenant-governor for Scotland, and general of all his majesty's forces, "in a respectful manner under the royal standard."* Montrose, on receiving this and the other commission, delivered them to Archibald Primrose, who had acted as clerk to the committee of estates, and had lately joined Montrose, to be proclaimed to the army. After these commissions had been read, Montrose addressed his army in a short and feeling speech, in the course of which he took occasion to praise their bravery and loyalty, and expressed great affection for them. In conclusion, addressing Macdonald, his major-general, he bestowed upon him the tribute of his praise, and by virtue of the power with which he had been invested, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Macdonald, in presence of the whole army. Little did Montrose imagine, that the man whose services he was now so justly rewarding had resolved immediately to abandon him, and, under the pretence of avenging some injuries which his friends had sustained at the hands of Argyle four years before, to quit for ever the service of his royal master.

Montrose's ranks had, before the review alluded to, been thinned by private desertions among the Highlanders, who carried off with them all the booty they had been able to collect ; but as soon as Montrose announced his intention, in terms of the instructions he had received from the king, to march south, the Highlanders in a body demanded liberty to return home, for a short time, to repair their houses which had been reduced to ruins by the enemy, and to provide a stock of provisions for their wives and families during the ensuing winter. To induce Montrose to comply the more readily with their request, they promised to return to his camp within forty days, and to bring some of their friends along with them. As Montrose saw that the Highlanders had formed a determined resolution to depart, and that consequently any attempt to retain them would be unavailing, he dissembled the displeasure he felt, and after thanking them in the king's name for their services, and entreating them to return to him as soon as possible, he granted them leave of absence with apparent good will. But when Sir Alaster Macdonald also announced his intention to return to the Highlands, Montrose could not conceal his chagrin, and strongly remonstrated against such a step. "Montrose, (says Guthry,) dealt most seriously with him to have staid until they had been absolute conquerors, promising then to go thither himself, and be concurring with him in punishing them, (Argyle and his party) as they deserved; and withal told him, that his separating at this time must be the occasion of ruin to them both. But all was to no purpose; he would needs be gone, and for a reason enlarged himself in reckoning up the Marquis of Argyle's cruelties against his friends who, as he said, did four years ago draw his father and brother to Inverary upon trust, and then made them prisoners; and since, (his friends having retired to the Isles of Jura and Rachlin, for shelter) sent Ardkinlass and the captain of Skipness, to the said isles to murder them, which, (said he) they did without mercy, sparing neither women nor children. With such discourses he justified his departure, and would not be hindered." Macdonald, accordingly, after returning thanks to Montrose in a formal oration for the favours he had received, and pledging himself for the early return of the Highlanders, departed for the Highlands on the day of the review, accompanied by upwards of three thousand Highlanders, the *elite* of Montrose's army, and by one hundred and twenty of the best of the Irish troops, whom he had selected as a body guard.

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* Wishart.

The desertion of such a large body of men, consisting of the flower of his army, was a subject of the deepest concern to Montrose, whose sole reliance for support against the powerful force of Leslie, now depended upon the precarious succours he might obtain on his march to the south. Under such circumstances a commander more prudent than Montrose would have hesitated about the course to be pursued in such an unlooked for emergency, and would probably have either remained for sometime in his position, till the levies raising in the south should assemble, or retreated across the Forth, and there awaited for reinforcements from the north; but the ardent and chivalrous feelings of Montrose so blinded him, as to make him altogether disregard prudential considerations, and the splendour of his victories had dazzled his imagination so much, as to induce him to believe that he had only to engage the enemy to defeat them.

Accordingly, on the day following the departure of the Highlanders, viz. the fourth of September, Montrose began his march to the south; but he had not proceeded far, when he had the mortification to find himself also abandoned by the earl of Aboyne, who not only carried off the whole of his own men, but induced the other horsemen of the north, who were not of his party, to accompany him. Of the Gordons, Sir Nathaniel Gordon appears to have been the only individual of that name who remained behind. The cause of such a hasty proceeding on the part of the earl of Aboyne, does not sufficiently appear; but it seems probable, that his lordship had taken some offence at Montrose, who, according to a partizan of the Gordon family, arrogated to himself all the honour of the victories which the earl had greatly contributed to obtain.*

The army of Montrose was now reduced to a mere handful of men, consisting only of about two hundred gentlemen who had joined him at Bothwell, and seven hundred foot, chiefly Irish.† Yet he resolved to proceed on his march and reached Cranstoun-Kirk in Mid-Lothian, on Saturday the sixth of September, where he received intelligence that General David Leslie had arrived at Berwick with a great body of cavalry. He encamped at Cranstoun-Kirk with the intention of remaining there over the Sunday, and hearing Dr Wishart preach; but having, the following morning, been put in possession of a correspondence between Leslie and the heads of the covenanters, at Berwick, which developed their plans, without waiting for sermon, he quickly raised his camp and advanced into Strath-gala. A more imprudent step than this cannot be well conceived, as Montrose threw his little band into the jaws of Leslie who was laying ready to pounce upon him. In his march along Gala-water, he was joined by the marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy at the head of a small party, the remains of a larger body which had been diminished by desertion: Montrose was waited upon at Galashiels by the earl of Traquair, who professed the most fervent attachment to the king, and promised to obtain information for him respecting Leslie's movements, and in proof of his sincerity, sent his son Lord Linton with a troop of well mounted horse who joined him the following day.

From Galashiels Montrose marched to Kelso, where he expected to be joined by the Earls of Home and Roxburghe, and their vassals; but on his arrival there, he was surprised to find that these two noblemen had taken no measures to raise the levies they had promised. He, therefore, resolved to pay them a visit, to compel them to fulfil their engagements; but anticipating such a step, they had allowed themselves to be made voluntary prisoners by a party of Leslie's horse and carried to Berwick. Roxburghe, whom Wishart calls "a cunning old fox," was the contriver of this artful scheme, which, while it secured him and his colleague Home the favour of the covenanters, was intended to induce the king to believe that they were suffering for their loyalty.

This act of perfidy opened the eyes of Montrose to the danger of his situation, and made him instantly resolve to retrace his steps, so as to prevent his retreat to the north being cut off by David Leslie, who had by this time crossed the Tweed. He, therefore, marched from Kelso westward to Jedburgh, and from thence to Selkirk where he arrived on the twelfth of September, and encamped that night in a wood, called Hareheadwood, in the neighbourhood of the town at the head of a long and level piece of ground called Philiphaugh, on the north bank of the Ettrick. Montrose himself, with his horse, took up his quarters in the town.

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* Gordon's Continuation, p. 528.

† Guthry's Memoirs, p. 159.

The position thus selected by Montrose was well calculated to prevent his being taken by surprise, as Leslie, from the direction he had necessarily to advance, could only approach it by coming up the open vale of Philiphaugh ; but unfortunately, Montrose did not, on this occasion, take those extraordinary precautions which he had been accustomed to do. It had always been his practice hitherto, to superintend in person the setting of the night watches, and to give instructions himself to the sentinels, and to the scouts he sent out, to watch the motions of the enemy ; but having important letters to write to the king, which he was desirous of sending off before the break of day by a trusty messenger, he entrusted these details to his cavalry officers, whom he exhorted to great vigilance, and to take care that the scouts kept a sharp outlook for the enemy. Montrose had the utmost confidence in the wisdom and integrity of his officers, whose long experience in military affairs, he had many times witnessed ; and as there seemed to be no immediate danger, he thought that, for one night at least, he could safely leave the direction of affairs to such men.

While occupied during the night preparing his despatches for the king, Montrose received several loose reports, from time to time, respecting the alleged movements of the enemy, of which he sent due notice to his officers, but he was as often assured, both by the reports of his officers and of the scouts, that not a vestige of an enemy was to be seen. Thus the night passed without any apparent foundation for the supposition that the enemy was at hand, and to make assurance doubly sure, some of the fleetest of the cavalry were sent out at break of day to reconnoitre. On their return, they stated that they had examined with care, all the roads and passes for ten miles round, and solemnly averred, that there was not the least appearance of an enemy within the range they had just scoured. Yet singular as the fact may appear, Leslie was lying at that very time at Melrose, with four thousand horse, within six miles of Montrose's camp.

It appears that on the day of Montrose's march from Jedburgh, general Leslie, who had a few days before crossed the Tweed at Berwick, held a council of war on Gladsmuir in East Lothian, at which it was determined that he should proceed towards Stirling to cut off Montrose's retreat to the Highlands, whither it was supposed that he meant instantly to retire, for the purpose of obtaining reinforcements. But the council had scarcely risen, when letters were brought to Leslie, communicating to him the low and impaired state of Montrose's forces, and his design of marching into Dumfries-shire to procure an accession of strength. On receiving this intelligence, Leslie abandoned his plan of marching northward, and ordering his army to turn to the left, he immediately marched to the south, and entering the vale of Gala, proceeded to Melrose, where he took up his quarters for the night, intending to attack Montrose's little band next morning, in the hope of annihilating it altogether. Who the traitor was who made the communication in question to the covenanting general, is a point which has never been ascertained. Both Wishart and Guthry suspect that the earl of Traquair was the guilty person, and they rest their conjecture upon the circumstance of his having withdrawn during the night, (without acquainting Montrose,) the troop of horse under his son, Lord Linton, but this is not sufficient, of itself, to infer such a criminal act.

But the most extraordinary and unaccountable circumstance which preceded the battle of Philiphaugh, was this, that although Leslie was within six miles of Montrose's camp, neither the scouts nor the cavalry, who are stated to have scoured the country four miles beyond the place where Leslie lay, could discover, as they reported, any traces of him. Did the scouts deceive Montrose, or did they not proceed in the direction of Leslie's camp, or did they confine their perambulations within a more limited range? These are questions which it is impossible to answer with any degree of certainty. But what is to be said of the cavalry who having made their observations at day-break, and confessedly several miles beyond the enemy's camp, returned as luckless as the midnight scouts? The only plausible answer that can be given to this question is, either that they had not visited the neighbourhood of Melrose, or that a thick mist, which prevailed on the morning of the thirteenth of September, had obscured the enemy from their view. However, be this as it may, certain it is that owing to the thickness of the fog, Leslie was enabled to advance, unobserved, till he came within half a mile of Montrose's head quarters. On the alarm occasioned by this sudden and unexpected appearance of the enemy, Montrose instantly sprung upon the first horse that he met, and galloped off to his camp. On his arrival, he fortunately found that all his men, though the hour was very early, had risen, but considerable disorder prevailed in the camp in consequence of preparations they were making for an immediate march into Dumfries-shire in terms of instructions they had received the previous evening. The cavalry, however, were quite dismounted, some of the officers were absent, and their horses were scattered through the adjoining fields taking their morning repast. Short as the time was for putting his small band in a defensive position, Montrose acted with his accustomed presence of mind, and before the enemy commenced his attack, Montrose had succeeded in drawing up his men in order of battle, in the position which they had occupied the preceding night. Nothing but self-preservation, on which the cause of the king, his master, was chiefly dependant, could have justified Montrose in attempting to resist the powerful force now about to assail him. With about a thousand foot and five hundred horse, the greater part of which was composed of raw and undisciplined levies hastily brought into the field, and lukewarm in the cause, he had to resist the attack of a body of about six thousand veteran troops, chiefly English cavalry, who had distinguished themselves at the battle of Marston-moor, who, though they could make no addition to their laurels by defeating such a handful of men, may be supposed to have been especially desirous of annihilating the remains of an army which had been so long formidable and victorious.

The covenanting general began the battle by charging Montrose's right wing, consisting of horse, with the great body of his cavalry; but so firmly was the charge received by the brave cavaliers with Montrose at their head, that the assailants were forced to retire with loss. A second charge met a similar fate. Thus foiled in their attempts on the right, they next attacked Montrose's left wing, consisting of foot, which, after a gallant resistance, retired a little up the face of the hill, where it was posted, to avoid the attacks of the cavalry. While this struggle was going on on the left, a body of two thousand of the covenanting foot which had made a circuitous rout, appeared in the rear of the right wing, which they attacked. The right wing not being able to resist this force, and apprehensive that a new attack would be made upon them by the enemy's cavalry, and that they would thus be surrounded and perhaps cut to pieces, fled from the field. The foot who had taken up a position on the side of the hill, being thus abandoned to their fate, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war after a slight resistance; but horrible to tell, they were afterwards shot by orders of the covenanting general, at the instigation, it is said, of some presbyterian ministers, who declared that no faith should be kept with such persons.

Montrose was still on the field with about thirty brave cavaliers, and witnessed the rout of one part of his army and the surrender of another, with the most poignant feelings of regret. He might have instantly retreated with safety, but he could not brook the idea of running away, and, therefore, resolved not to abandon the post of honour, but to fight to the last extremity, and to sell his life as dearly as possible. It was not long before he and his noble band were nearly surrounded by the enemy, who kept pressing so hard upon him, and in such numbers, as almost to preclude the possibility of escape. Yet they did not venture to attack Montrose and his brave associates in a body, but in detached parties, every one of which was successively repulsed with loss. As the enemy grew tired of attacking him, and seemed to be more intent upon plundering his baggage than capturing his person, Montrose saw that the danger was not so great as he supposed, and, therefore, he began to reflect upon the folly of sacrificing his life so long as a ray of hope remained. He had lost a battle no doubt; but in this there was no dishonour when the disparity of his force with that of the enemy was considered. Besides he had lost few of his men, and the Highlanders, on whom he chiefly relied, were still entire, and were ready to take the field as soon as he appeared again among them. And as to the effect which such a defeat might be supposed to have upon the adherents of the king, who were still numerous and powerful, it could be easily removed as soon as they saw him again at the head of a fresh force. That he could only expect to retrieve the present state of affairs by escaping from the present danger and raising new troops; but that if he rashly sacrificed his life the king's affairs might be irretrievably ruined. These reflections being seconded by the marquis of Douglas and a few trusty friends, who implored him not to throw away a life so valuable to the king and to the country, Montrose resolved to consult his safety by an immediate flight. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his troop, he cut his way through the enemy, without the loss of a single man. They were pursued by a party of horse, some of whom they killed, and actually carried off one Bruce, a captain of horse, and two standard-bearers, with their ensigns, as prisoners. Montrose went in the direction of Peebles, which he entered about sun-set, and here he was joined by different straggling parties of his men who had escaped.

Montrose lost in this engagement very few of his horse, but a considerable part of his foot was destroyed. He carried off, as we have seen, two of the enemy's standards, and fortunately preserved his own, two in number, from the enemy. That belonging to his infantry was saved by an Irish soldier of great bravery, who, on seeing the battle lost, and the enemy in possession of the field, tore it from the pole and wrapping it round his body, which was without any other covering, nobly cut his way through the enemy sword in hand. He overtook Montrose at Peebles, and delivered the standard into his hands the same night. Montrose rewarded his bravery by appointing him one of his life-guard, and by committing the standard to his future charge.

It was to the honourable William Hay, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, a youth of a martial and enterprising spirit, that Montrose was indebted for the preservation of his second ensign belonging to the horse. Mr Hay had been appointed to the honourable post of standard-bearer, after the battle of Alford, instead of Mr Douglas, son of the earl of Morton, who had been seriously wounded in that engagement. This noble youth fled to the south carrying the royal ensign along with him, and, after concealing himself for some time about the English borders, he in company with Robert Touris of Inverleith, who had served as a captain in the French service, went in disguise to the north, where he joined Montrose, and delivered the royal standard into his hands.

Montrose passed the night at Peebles, where he was joined by most of his horse and part of his infantry; but some of his officers who had mistaken their way, or fled in a different direction, were seized by the country people, and delivered over to Leslie. Among these were the earl of Hartfell, the lords Drummond and Ogilvie, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, the honourable William Murray, brother to the earl of Tulliebardine, Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharity, colonel Nathaniel Gordon and Mr Andrew Guthry son of the bishop of Moray.* Montrose did not tarry long in Peebles, from which he departed early the following morning, and crossing the Clyde at a ford shown him by Sir John Dalziel, where he was, to his great joy, joined by the earls of Crawfurd and Airly, and other noblemen who had effected their escape by a different route, he proceeded rapidly to the north, and entered Athole, after despatching the marquis of Douglas and the earl of Airly into Angus, and Lord Erskine into Mar, to raise forces. Montrose then sent letters to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the earl of Aboyne, requesting them to join him without delay, and to bring with them all the forces they could muster, to enable him to enter on a new campaign.

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* Guthry's Memoirs, p. 161.

As soon as the members of the committee of estates, who had taken refuge in Berwick, heard of Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh, they joined Leslie's army, which they accompanied to Edinburgh, and there concocted those measures of revenge against the unhappy royalists who had fallen into their hands, which they afterwards carried into execution. The first who suffered were Colonel O'Kean, to whose distinguished bravery at the battle of Fyvie, we have already alluded, and Major Laughlane, another brave officer. Both these were hanged, without trial, upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. Perhaps the circumstance of being Irishmen, appeared a sufficient reason in the eyes of their murderers for despatching them so summarily, but they were, nevertheless, the subjects of the king, and as fully entitled to all the privileges of war as the other prisoners. This hatred of the Irish by the covenanters was not confined to the cases of these individuals. Having in their march westward to Glasgow fallen in, near Linlithgow, with a body of helpless Irish women and children, who, in consequence of the loss of their husbands and fathers at the battle of Philiphaugh, were now seeking their way home to their own country, they were all seized by orders of the heads of the covenanters, and thrown headlong by the brutal soldiers over the bridge of Avon into the river below. Some of these unfortunate beings, who had sufficient strength left to reach the banks of the river, were not allowed to save themselves from drowning, but after being beaten on the head and stunned by blows from the butt ends of muskets and by clubs, were pushed back into the stream, where they all perished.*

The covenanting army continued its march to Glasgow, where a convention of the estates was held to determine upon farther measures. To testify their gratitude to Leslie, they granted him a present of fifty thousand merks and a gold chain, and they also voted the sum of twenty-five thousand merks to Middleton, the second in command, for his services.†

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* Sir George Mackenzie's Vind. vol. ii. 348.—Gordon's History of the family of Gordon vol. ii. 490, 491.

† Guthry, p. 163.

CHAPTER XIX.

Montrose retires into Athole—Marches north to meet Lord Aboyne—Ineffectual attempts of Montrose to induce Huntly to join him—Joined by Lord Aboyne, who soon deserts him—Execution of Sirs William Rollock, and Philip Nisbet, and Ogilvie, younger of Inverquharity—March of Montrose into the Lennox—Returns to Athole—Death and character of Lord Napier—Return of Montrose to the north—Marches on Inverness—Defeat of the Campbells at Callander by the Athole men—Meeting of the Covenanting Parliament at St Andrews—Condemnation and execution of Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Captain Guthry, and Mr Murray—Escape of Lord Ogilvie—Ineffectual attempts of Montrose to reduce Inverness—Town of Fraserburgh burnt by the Earl of Crawford—March of General Middleton to Aberdeen—And to Inverness—Retreat of Montrose from Inverness—Capture of Aberdeen by Huntly—Abandoned by him—Return of Middleton—The King escapes to the Scots army—Montrose ordered by the King to disband his army—Corresponds with the King—Meeting between Montrose and Middleton—Montrose disbands his army at Rattray—Embarks for the continent, and arrives at Bergen in Norway.

Montrose appeared among his Athole friends at a time the most unfavourable for obtaining their aid. Many of them were engaged in the occupation of the harvest, securing, for the support of themselves and their families, the scanty and precarious crops which were then upon the ground, and which, if neglected to be cut down in due time, might be destroyed by unfavourable weather. It was, besides, little more than a month since they had left him at Bothwell muir for the purpose partly of repairing the depredations which had been committed by Argyle's men upon their houses, and the interval which had since elapsed had not been sufficient for accomplishing their object. Yet, notwithstanding of these drawbacks, Montrose succeeded in inducing about four hundred of the men of Athole to join him immediately, and to follow him to the north in quest of additional reinforcements; and he obtained a promise that, on his return, the whole of the Athole Highlanders would join him in a body.

While in Athole, Montrose received promises both from Lord Aboyne and Sir Alexander Macdonald, that they would speedily join him with considerable reinforcements; but, growing impatient at Aboyne's delay, he resolved to proceed north himself to ascertain in person the cause of it, and to urge that nobleman to fulfil his promise. Crossing, therefore, the Grampians, he marched with great haste through Aberdeenshire, and had an interview with Lord Aboyne, whom he expected to rouse from his apathy. Montrose, however, soon perceived, that whatever Aboyne's own intentions were, he was thwarted by his father, the marquis of Huntly, who, on hearing of Montrose's success at Kilsyth, had left his retreat in Strathnaver, where he had passed a year and a half in absolute supineness, and returned to his own country. The marquis envied and hated Montrose, and although a royalist in his heart, he did not care to expose the crown and monarchy to danger to gratify his spleen and vanity, as he could not endure to see a man whom he looked upon as his inferior in rank, monopolize the whole power and authority in Scotland.

"He was," says Bishop Wishart, "a man equally unfortunate and inconsiderate; and, however much he would seem, or was really attached to the king, yet he often betrayed that interest through a pride and unaccountable envy he had conceived against Montrose, whose glory and renown he endeavoured rather to extenuate than make the object of his emulation. He durst not venture to depreciate Montrose's actions before his own people, who had been eye-witnesses of them, and were well acquainted with his abilities, lest it might be construed into a sign of disaffection to the king himself. However, he gave out that he would take the charge of commanding them himself during the remainder of the war; and in that view he headed all his own vassals, and advised his neighbours, not without threats if they acted otherwise, to enlist under no other authority than his own. They remonstrated how they could be answerable to disobey Montrose's command, who was appointed by the king his deputy-governor and captain-general of all the forces within the kingdom. Huntly replied, that he himself should in no way be wanting in his duty to the king; but, in the meantime, it tended no less to their honour than his own that it should appear to the king and the whole kingdom how much they contributed to the maintenance of the war; and this, he said, could never be done, unless they composed a separate army by themselves. He spoke in very magnificent terms of his own power, and endeavoured as much as possible to extenuate that of Montrose. He extolled immoderately the glory and achievements of his ancestors, the Gordons; a race, worthy indeed of all due commendation, whose power had for many ages been formidable, and an overmatch for their neighbours; and was so even at this day. It was therefore, he said, extremely unjust to ascribe unto another, meaning Montrose, the glory and renown acquired by their courage, and at the expense of their blood. But, for the future, he would take care, that neither the king should be disappointed of the help of the Gordons, nor should they be robbed of the praise due to their merit."

By this insidious reasoning, Huntly succeeded in blinding the greater part of his clan as to his real intentions; but there were some honourable men among them who saw through the disguise of the marquis, and who justly appreciated the talents of Montrose. They perceived the great danger to which the king's affairs would be exposed by such selfish conduct, and they did every thing in their power to induce him to alter his resolution. It was, however, in vain that they represented to him the danger and impropriety of dividing the friends of the king at such a crisis when union and harmony were so essentially necessary for accomplishing the objects they had in view, and when, by allowing petty jealousies to interfere and distract their councils, they might ruin the royal cause in Scotland. Huntly lent a deaf ear to all their entreaties, and instead of adopting the advice of his friends to support Montrose, by ordering his vassals to join him, he opposed him almost in every thing he proposed by underhand means, although affecting a seeming compliance with his wishes. Seeing all their efforts fruitless, those friends who had advised Huntly to join Montrose, declared that they would range themselves under Montrose's banner as the king's lieutenant regardless of consequences, and they kept their word.

The author of the history of the family of Gordon, endeavours to defend Huntly from the charges of Wishart, and having given one side of the question, it is but justice also to state what that author has to say in defence of his chief. "Here that author (Wishart) gives Huntly a very bad character. Envy is an action or rather passion of the mind. He pretends to have known the very secret thoughts of his mind; he speaks very doubtfully of his loyalty, and that his mind began to be alienated from the king. He would need to have been well acquainted with him, when he knew the secrets of his mind, none of them appearing by any overt act. Huntly was immoveable and constant in his loyalty even to and in his death, as the same author acknowledges in another place, which I will have occasion to notice hereafter. Then he makes Huntly to have had very senseless speeches to his friends, full of boasting of the glory and great actions of his ancestors, his own great power; and that it was unjust that the honour gotten at the expense of their blood should be put to another man's score; and a great deal more of such idle stuff, needless to be repeated. Now, this author was not an ear-witness to those speeches, nor does he name any person who told him of them; and, therefore, in all justice, they must be esteemed as his own, and for these reasons, in no construction can be put upon Huntly; and so I do not think myself obliged to take any further notice of them. Only, I must be allowed to think it not a little strange, that such a pious and loyal author should give so bad a character of Huntly here, who in another place hereafter is pleased to give him so great a one."*

Among other reasons which induced Montrose to take the speedy step he did of marching north himself, was a report which had reached him that the king was to send from England a large body of horse to support him, and he was most anxious to collect such forces as he could to enable him to be in a condition to advance to the south, and unite with this body. In fact, the king had given orders to Lord Digby and

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* Vol. ii. 495.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale to proceed to Scotland with a body of fifteen hundred horse; but they were, unfortunately, completely defeated, even before Montrose's departure to the north, by Colonel Copley at Sherburn, with the loss of all their baggage. Digby and Langdale, accompanied by the earls of Carnwath and Nithsdale, fled to Skipton, and afterwards to Dumfries, whence they took shipping to the Isle of Man.*

Notwithstanding the evasions of the marquis of Huntly, Montrose succeeded in inducing the earl of Aboyne to join him at Drumminor, the seat of Lord Forbes, with a force of fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse, all of whom appeared to be actuated by the best spirit. To remove every unfavourable impression from the mind of Montrose, Aboyne assured him with great frankness, that he and his men were ready to follow him wherever he should be pleased to lead them, that they would obey his orders; and that his brother, Lord Lewis, would also speedily join him, as he soon did, with an additional force.

On receiving this reinforcement, Montrose turned his face to the south, and marched towards Mar, where he was to be joined by forces which Lord Erskine had raised there; but he had not proceeded far, when Lord Lewis Gordon, under some pretence or other, returned home with a considerable party of horse, promising to return to the army the following day. The desertion of Lord Lewis had a most pernicious influence upon the remainder of Aboyne's men, who, before the army had reached Alford, were greatly diminished by desertion. As the remainder showed great unwillingness to march forward, and as the desertions continued, Aboyne requested leave of absence, alleging as his reason, that his father had expressly commanded him to return to defend his possessions against a party of the enemy who were in lower Mar, and who were threatening an attack. The demand of Aboyne excited the astonishment of Montrose, who remonstrated with him, and gave many reasons to induce him to remain. He showed that Aboyne's apprehensions of danger were groundless, as, with the exception of a few troops of the enemy's horse quartered in Aberdeen, there were no other forces in the north which could disturb his father's possessions, and that these horse were too weak to attempt any thing—that by marching south the seat of war would be transferred from the north country, and that, in this way, the marquis of Huntly would be relieved altogether of the presence of the enemy—that it would be impossible to join the royalist forces, which were on their way from England, without crossing the Forth, and that it was only by adopting the latter step that they could ever expect to rescue their brave friends from the fangs of the covenanters, and save their lives.

Aboyne did not attempt to answer these reasons, which were urged with Montrose's peculiar energy, but he requested him to send some persons who had influence with his father to acquaint him with them Donald, Lord Rae, at whose house Huntly had lived during his exile in Strathnaver, and Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, Huntly's son-in-law, both of whom had been indebted to Montrose for their liberty, were accordingly sent by him to the marquis of Huntly, as the most likely persons he could select to induce Huntly to allow Aboyne to remain with the army. But all their arguments and entreaties were to no purpose. Lord Rae was so heartily ashamed at the failure of his mission, that he declined to return to Montrose; and Irvine who brought some evasive letters from Huntly, frankly declared to Montrose, that he could obtain no satisfactory explanation from his father-in-law of his real intentions, farther, than that he remained fixed in his resolution that Aboyne should return home immediately. After declaring that he parted from Montrose with reluctance, and promising to join him within a fortnight with a force even larger than that which he had lately brought, Aboyne left the army and returned to his father.

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* Eachard's Hist. of England, vol. i. 538.

Montrose then continued his march through Braemar and Glenshee into Athole, where he obtained an accession of force. He next proceeded to Strathearn, where he was met by two messengers, who arrived by different routes, with orders from the king, desiring Montrose to join Lord George Digby, near the English border, as soon as possible. These messengers were Captain Thomas Ogilvy, younger of Pourie, and Captain Robert Nisbet. On receiving these commands, Montrose immediately sent these messengers north to the marquis of Huntly, to acquaint him with the king's wishes, in the expectation that the use of his majesty's name would at once induce him to send Aboyne south with reinforcements.

While Montrose lay in Strathearn waiting for reinforcements, intelligence was brought to him that the covenanters were about to imbrue their hands in the blood of his friends who had been taken prisoners after the battle of Philiphaugh. The committee of estates, which had accompanied the covenanting army to Glasgow, had now determined upon this bold and illegal step, for which hitherto, with the recent exceptions of O'Kean and Laughlane, no example had been set by either of the belligerent parties in Scotland since the commencement of the war. They had wisely abstained from staining the scaffolds with blood, but from different motives. Montrose, acting agreeably to the understood wishes of the king, which were congenial with his own disposition, not to hurry matters to extremities with his Scottish subjects, refrained from inflicting capital punishment, and, as we have seen, often released his prisoners on parole. The heads of the covenanters had been deterred by fear alone from carrying their bloody purposes into execution; but considering that they had now nothing to fear, they soon appeared in their true colours. That the measures of Charles were unconstitutional and oppressive, cannot be denied, and that he endeavoured to circumvent the parties opposed to him by duplicity and cunning, is a point equally certain; but there can be no question that, being king *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, he had a right, so long as he held the reins of government, to exercise all the power of the executive in the protection of his person and throne. With the covenanters, however, the case was widely different. They, indeed, struggled for the existence of their religious liberties, but they had no right to assume judicial powers, by consigning to the block those who, from a principle of duty, had taken up arms in defence of their sovereign. But a period of civil war is not the time for attending to such distinctions.

Besides the committee of the estates, a committee of the kirk held sittings in Glasgow at the same time, which sittings were afterwards transferred to Perth, where, after deposing some ministers who were considered disaffected to the covenant, because they had not "mourned" for Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, they "concerned" themselves, as Guthry observes, about "the disposition of men's heads." Accordingly, thinking the committee of estates remiss in condemning and executing the prisoners, they appointed Mr William Bennet, who acted as Moderator in the absence of Mr Robert Douglas, and two others of their number, to wait upon the committee of estates, and remonstrate with them for their supineness. Guthry relates, that the deputation reported on their return, in his own hearing, that some of the lords of the committee slighted the desire of the committee of the kirk, and that they were likely to have obtained nothing had not the earl of Tulliebardine made a seasonable speech to this effect, "that because he had a brother among those men, it might be that their lordships so valued his concurrence with them in the good cause, that for respect of him they were the more loth to resolve upon the question. But that, as for himself, since that young man had joined with that wicked crew, he did not esteem him his brother, and therefore declared that he would take it for no favour if upon that account any indulgence was granted him."*† This fratricidal speech made those members of the committee, who had disliked the shedding of blood, hang down their heads, according to Bennet's report, and the committee, thereupon, resolved that ten of the prisoners should be executed, viz. the earl of Hartfell, the Lord Ogilvie, Sir Robert Spottiswood, the Honourable William Murray, brother to the Earl of Tulliebardine, Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharity, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon. Adjutant Stewart, and Captain Andrew Guthry.

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* Memoirs, 164.

† This report fortunately appears to be belied by the following entries in Balfour's Annals, 17th and 19th January, 1646. "The earl of Tulliebardine humbly petitions the House that they would be pleased to pardon his brother, William Murray's life, in respect he averred on his honour, that he was not *compos mentis*, as also within age." "The earl of Tulliebardine again this day gave in a humble petition to the House for prolonging the execution of that sentence pronounced against his brother." Vol. iii. 362, 363.

Apprehensive, however, that Montrose might still be in a condition to avenge the blood of his friends, the committee did not venture to carry their sentence into immediate execution upon any of them; but hearing of the division between Montrose and Huntly, and the desertion of the Gordons, they thought they might now safely venture to immolate a few victims at the shrine of the covenant. Accordingly three of the prisoners were ordered for execution, viz. Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, chief of that name, and Alexander Ogilvie, younger of Inverquharity, a youth not quite eighteen years of age, who had already given proofs of genius. This excellent young man was sacrificed to gratify the malignant animosity of Argyle at the Ogilvies. Sir William was executed at the market cross of Glasgow, upon the twenty-eighth day of October, and Sir Philip and Ogilvie suffered at the same place on the following day. Wishart relates a circumstance connected with Sir William Rollock's condemnation, which exhibits a singular instance of the ferocity and fanaticism of the times. He says, that the chief crime laid to Sir William's charge was, that he had not perpetrated a deed of the most villanous and atrocious nature; for having been sent by Montrose, after the battle of Aberdeen, with some dispatches to the king, he was apprehended by the enemy, and would undoubtedly have been immediately executed, but for Argyle, who used all his endeavours to engage him to assassinate Montrose, and who at length, by threatening him with immediate death, and promising him, in case of compliance, very high rewards, prevailed on him to undertake that barbarous office, for which, however, he secretly entertained the utmost abhorrence; and having thereby obtained his life and liberty, he returned straight to Montrose and disclosed the whole matter to him, entreating him at the sametime, to look more carefully to his own safety; as it could not be supposed that he, Sir William, was the only person who had been practised upon in this shameful manner, or that others would equally detest the deed, but that some persons would undoubtedly be found who, allured with the bait, would use their utmost industry and pains to obtain the promised reward.* Another instance of fanaticism is related by Guthry, of David Dickson the "bloody preacher," who, on witnessing the execution of Nisbet and Ogilvie, was heard to utter this barbarous expression—"the work goes bonnyly on," an expression which afterwards, became, proverbial.

About the time this tragedy was performing, Montrose crossed the Forth and entered the Lennox with a force of three hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, and took up his quarters on the lands of Sir John Buchanan, an ardent covenanter, whence he sent out his cavalry every day, who hovered about Glasgow, and plundered the neighbouring country without opposition, although the covenanters had a force of about three thousand cavalry in Glasgow and the neighbourhood. When

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* Wishart, p. 223.

Montrose heard of the execution of his friends his heart was filled with the most poignant grief, and he longed for a suitable opportunity to avenge their deaths, but he was too weak to venture upon an immediate attack. He sent repeated messages from his present head-quarters to Sir Alexander Macdonald to join him; but after hovering several weeks about Glasgow, like a hawk ready to pounce upon its quarry, he had the mortification to find, that Macdonald had no intention of ever again returning to him, and that his expectations of being joined by the earl of Aboyne were to be equally disappointed.

Under these untoward circumstances, therefore, and as the winter, which turned out unusually severe, was far advanced, Montrose resolved to retire into the north where he could remain undisturbed. With this view he began his march from the Lennox on the nineteenth of November, and crossing the hills of Monteith, which were covered with snow to a considerable depth, he entered Strathearn, and crossing the Tay, marched into Athole. Here Montrose received the melancholy news of the death of his brother-in-law Archibald Lord Napier of Merchiston, whom he had left behind him in Athole on account of indisposition, a man, says Bishop Wishart, "not less noble in his personal accomplishments than in his birth and descent; a man of the greatest uprightness and integrity, and of a most happy genius, being, as to his skill in the sciences, equal to his father and grandfather, who were famous all the world over for their knowledge in philosophy and mathematics, and in the doctrine of civil prudence far beyond them." Montrose had been accustomed from his earliest years to look up to this gifted nobleman with feelings of reverential and filial awe, nor were these feelings impaired as he advanced in life. He was interred in the Kirk of Blair with becoming solemnity by Montrose.

When Montrose arrived in Athole, he there found Captain Ogilvie and Captain Nisbet, who had just returned from the north to give an account of their embassy to the Marquis of Huntly. They reported that they found him quite inflexible in his determination not to send assistance to Montrose, that he had spoken disdainfully to them, and even questioned the authenticity of the message which they brought from the king. It was truly grievous for Montrose to see the cause for which he had fought so long, and for which he had encountered so many personal risks, thus endangered by the wilful and fatal obstinacy of an individual who had abandoned his country and his friends in the most trying circumstances, and cowardly skulked in Strathnaver, without showing any inclination to support the tottering diadem of his sovereign. But Montrose did not yet despair of bringing the marquis to a due sense of his duty, and as he considered that it was more expedient, in the present conjuncture, to endeavour to soothe the wounded pride of the marquis than to use the language of menace, he sent Sir John Dalziel to Huntly with a message of peace and reconciliation; intending, if necessary, as soon as circumstances permitted, to follow him, and enforce by his personal presence, at a friendly conference, which Sir John was requested to ask from the marquis, the absolute necessity of such a reconciliation.

As Dalziel was quite unsuccessful in his mission, and could not prevail upon Huntly to agree to a conference with Montrose, the latter hastened to put into effect his intention of paying a personal visit to Huntly, "that nothing might be unattempted to bring him to a right way of thinking," and "by heaping favours and benefits upon him, force him even against his will, to a reconciliation, and to co-operate with him in promoting the king's affairs."* Montrose accordingly left Athole with his army in the month of December, and marching into Angus, crossed the Grampians, then covered with frost and snow, and arrived by rapid marches in Strathbogy before Huntly was aware of his movements. To avoid Montrose Huntly immediately shut himself up in his castle of Bog of Gicht, on the Spey, but Montrose having left his head-quarters with a troop of horse, unexpectedly surprised him very early in the morning before he had time to secret himself. Instead of reproaching Huntly with his past conduct, Montrose spoke to him in the most affable manner, and apparently succeeded in removing his dissatisfaction so far, that a plan for conducting the future operations of the army was agreed upon between them. The reduction of the garrison of Inverness, which, though strong and well fortified, was but scantily stored with provisions, and an attempt to induce the earl of Seaforth to join them, were the leading parts of this plan. Accordingly, while Montrose was to march through Strathspey, on his way to Inverness, it was agreed that Huntly should also advance upon it by a different road along the sea coast of Murrayshire, and thereby hem in the garrison on both sides.

In prosecution of this design, Montrose proceeded through Strathspey, and sat down before Inverness, waiting for the arrival of Huntly. When marching through Strathspey, Montrose received intelligence that Athole was threatened with a visit from the Campbells—a circumstance which induced him to despatch Graham of Inchbrakie and John Drummond, younger of Balloch, to that country, for the purpose of embodying the Athole Highlanders, who had remained at home, in defence of their country. The inhabitants of Argyle, on hearing of Sir Alexander Macdonald's arrival in their country, after the battle of Kilsyth, had fled to avoid his vengeance, and concealed themselves in caverns or in the clefts of the rocks; but being compelled by the calls of hunger to abandon their retreats, they had been collected together by Campbell of Ardkinlass to the number of about twelve hundred, and had attacked the Macgregors and Macnabs for favouring Montrose. Being joined by the Stuarts of Balquidder, the Menzieses, and other partisans of Argyle, to the number of about three hundred, they meditated an invasion of Athole, and had advanced as far as Strathample, with the intention of carrying their design into execution, when intelligence was brought to Inchbrakie of their approach. Inchbrakie and Balloch had by this time collected a body of seven hundred able-bodied men, and, with this force, they immediately proceeded to meet the Campbells. These had laid siege to Castle Ample; but, on being apprised of the advance of the Athole-men, they retired to Monteith, whither they were hotly pursued by the Athole-men, who overtook them at Callander, near the village of Monteith. After crossing the river Teith, they halted and prepared for battle, having previously stationed a large party of musketeers to guard the ford of the river.

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* Wishart, p. 227.

Having ascertained the strength and position of the Campbells, Inchbrakie ordered a hundred of his men to advance to the ford, as if with the intention of crossing it, in order to draw the attention of the Campbells to this single point, while, with the remainder of his men, he hastened to cross the river by another ford, higher up, and nearer the village. This movement was immediately perceived by the Argyle-men, who, alarmed at such a bold step, and probably thinking that the Athole-men were more numerous than they really were, abandoned their position, and fled with precipitation towards Stirling. As soon as the Athole party, stationed at the lower ford, saw the opposite bank deserted, they immediately crossed the river and attacked the rear of the retiring Campbells. They were soon joined in the pursuit by the party which had crossed the higher ford; but, as the Athole-men had performed a tedious march of ten miles that morning, they were unable to continue the pursuit far. About eighty of the Campbells were killed in the pursuit. They loitered about Stirling for some time in a very pitiful state, till visited by their chief, on his way to Ireland, who, not knowing how to dispose of them, led them into Renfrewshire, under the impression that as the inhabitants of that district were friendly to the covenant, they would be well received; but the people of Renfrewshire, instead of showing sympathy for these unfortunate wanderers, threatened to take arms and cut them down, unless they departed immediately. The marquis, thereupon, sent them into the Lennox, and quartered them upon the lands of Lord Napier and other "malignants," as the royalists were called.*

The support of General Leslie's army being heavily felt by the people, complaints were made to the committee of estates for retaining such a large body of men in Scotland, without any necessity, and whose habits and mode of living were so different from those of the inhabitants of North Britain. The committee sent Leslie back to England, retaining only a small brigade under General Middleton, to watch the motions of Montrose.

The covenanters, emboldened by recent events, had summoned a parliament, without any authority from the king, to meet at St Andrews, and which accordingly assembled on the twenty-sixth of November, sixteen hundred and forty-five; and, that the ministers might not be behind their lay-brethren in zeal for the blood of the "malignants," the general assembly of the church also met at the same time and place. It is truly melancholy to find men, under the pretence of religion, demanding the lives of their countrymen as a sacrifice which they considered would be well-pleasing to God; yet, whilst every well disposed mind must condemn the fanaticism of the covenanters, it must be remembered that the unconstitutional attempts of the king to force protestant episcopacy upon them—a system which they detested,—the severe losses which they had sustained from the arms of Montrose, and the dread of being subjected to the yoke of prelacy, and punished for their resistance, had aroused them to a state of phrenzy, over which reason and religion could have little control.

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* Guthry, p. 172.

As a preparative for the bloody scenes about to be enacted, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, on the day the parliament met, addressed the house in a long harangue, in which he entreated them to "unity amongst themselves, to lay all private respects and interests aside, and to do justice on delinquents and malignants; showing that their dallying formerly had provoked God's two great servants against them—the sword and plague of pestilence—which had ploughed up the land with deep furrows: he showed that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten, and that God, who was the just Judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood which lay before his throne, crying for vengeance on these bloodthirsty rebels, the butchers of so many innocent souls. He showed, likewise, that the times required a more narrow and sharp looking into than formerly, in respect that the house of parliament was become at this present like to Noah's ark, which had in it both foul and clean creatures, and therefore he besought the estates there now convened by God's especial permission and appointment, before that they went about the constitution of that high court of parliament, that they would make a serious search and inquiry after such as were ears and eyes to the enemies of the commonwealth, and did sit there as if there was nothing to say to them; and, therefore, he humbly desired that the house might be adjourned till to-morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, and that the several estates might consider what corrupted members were amongst them, who had complied with the public enemy of the state, either by themselves or by their agents or friends."*

On the fourth of December, a petition was presented to the parliament from the prisoners confined in the castle of St Andrews, praying to be tried either by their peers, the justice-general, or before the whole parliament, and not by a committee, as proposed; and they very properly objected to Sir Archibald Johnston, who had prejudged their case, from sitting as a judge; but the house, "in one voice," most iniquitously rejected the petition, reserving, however, to the prisoners still to object to Sir Archibald before the committee, "if they had not any personal exception against his person."*

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* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 311, 312.

As the ministers considered the parliament tardy in their proceedings against the royalists, the commissioners of the general assembly presented, on fifth December, a remonstrance, praying them "for justice upon delinquents and malignants who had shed the blood of their brethren," and, on same day, four petitions and remonstrances to the same effect were presented to the parliament, from the provincial assemblies and from the shires of Fife, Dumfries, Merse, Teviotdale, and Galloway, by a body of about two hundred persons. The parliament, says Balfour, by their president, returned this answer—that they had taken their "*modest* petitions and *seasonable* remonstrances very kindly, and rendered them hearty thanks, and wished them to be confident that, with all alacrity and diligence, they would go about and proceed in answering the expectations of all their reasonable desires, as they might themselves perceive in their procedure hitherto; and, withal, he entreated them, in the name of the house, that they would be earnest with God to implore and beg his blessing to assist and encourage them to the performance of what they demanded."†

Notwithstanding the entreaties of the ministers to proceed with the condemnation of the prisoners, the parliament postponed proceedings till the seventeenth of January; but, as a peace offering, they ordered, in the mean time, some Irish prisoners, composed partly of those who had been taken at Philiphaugh, and who had escaped assassination, and partly of stragglers who had been picked up after that battle, and who were confined in all the different prisons of the kingdom, especially in those of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Perth, to be executed without trial, "conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms."‡ A more illegal act it is scarcely possible to conceive, but in these times even the forms of justice were set aside.

The committee of estates, when sitting in Glasgow, had condemned the earl of Hartfell and Lord Ogilvie to death, along with Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvie; but, for some reason or other, their execution was deferred. So that, with the exception of Adjutant Stuart, who escaped while under the charge of General Middleton, there remained only four persons of any note for condemnation, viz. Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Sir Robert Spottiswood, the honourable Wm. Murray, and Captain Guthry. It appears from the parliamentary register of Sir James Balfour, that these four prisoners pleaded exemption from trial, or rather from condemnation, on the ground of "quarters;" but after three hours' debate, on the tenth of January, the parliament overruled this defence; and the committee having, of course, found them all "guilty of high treason against the states of the kingdom," they fixed the sixteenth of that month for taking into consideration the punishment to be inflicted upon the prisoners.

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* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 323.

† Ibid. p. 325.

‡ Ibid. p. 341.

The first case taken up on the appointed day, was that of Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, who, after a debate of three hours' duration, was sentenced to be beheaded at the cross of St Andrews, on Tuesday, the twentieth of January, at twelve o'clock, noon, and his lands and goods were declared forfeited to the public. The lord chancellor declined voting. Similar sentences were pronounced upon the honourable William Murray and Captain Guthry, by a plurality of votes, a few of the members having voted that they should be imprisoned during life. Mr Murray's brother, the earl of Tulliebardine, absented himself. These three fell under an act passed the preceding year, declaring that all persons who, after having subscribed the covenant, should withdraw from it, should be held as guilty of high treason. But the case of Sir Robert Spottiswood, who had not subscribed the covenant, not falling within the scope of this ex-post-facto law, the "committee" had stated in a special report the grounds on which they found Sir Robert guilty of high treason, namely, 1st, that he had advised, docketed, signed, carried, and delivered to Montrose the commission appointing him "lieutenant-governor and captain-general" of all his majesty's forces in Scotland; and 2dly, that he had been taken in arms against the country at Philiphaugh. After a lengthened debate, the parliament decided that both these charges were capital offences, and accordingly Sir Robert was condemned by a large majority to lose his head.* The four prisoners were, on the following day, brought up for judgment, and received sentence "on their knees severally."†

It was the intention of the parliament to have ordered the earl of Hartfell and Lord Ogilvie to be executed along with the other prisoners; but on the evening of the nineteenth of January Lord Ogilvie effected his escape in the following way. Pretending sickness he applied for, and obtained, though with considerable difficulty, liberty to his mother, lady, and sister, to visit and attend him in prison. On entering his chamber the sentinels retired out of respect to the ladies; and, as soon as the door was shut, his lordship jumped out of bed, and attired himself in his sister's clothes, who, on undressing, took the place of her brother in bed, and put on his night-cap. After spending some time together to prevent suspicion, the two other ladies and his lordship, after opening the door ajar so as to be seen by the guards, pretended to take a most affectionate and painful leave of the unfortunate bed-ridden prisoner, and drawing the door after them, passed the sentinels without interruption. This happened about eight o'clock in the evening; and as horses had been prepared for his lordship and two companions who were waiting to escort him, he immediately mounted, and was out of all danger before next morning, when the cheat was discovered. The escape of Lord Ogilvie highly incensed Argyle, who hated the Ogilvies, and who, it is said, longed for the death of his lordship. He could not conceal the chagrin he felt on the occasion, and even had the audacity to propose that the three ladies should be immediately punished; but the Hamiltons and Lord Lindsay, who, on account of their relationship to Lord Ogilvie, were suspected of being privy to his escape, protected them from his vengeance. The escape of Lord Ogilvie was a fortunate occurrence for the earl of Hartfell, for whose life it is alleged the Hamiltons thirsted in their turn; and to disappoint whom Argyle insisted that the earl's life should be spared, a concession which he obtained.*

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* Balfour, iii. 359—61.

† Ibid.

Of the four prisoners Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, "a man, (says Wishart,) of excellent endowments both of body and mind," was the first that suffered. He had been long under the ban of the church for adultery; but on signing a paper, declaratory of his repentance, he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication. He died expressing great sorrow for the vices and follies of his youth; but vindicated himself for the part he had taken in the troubles of his country, professed the most unshaken loyalty to his king; and declared that if there were any thing in the instrument he had signed which might be construed as dishonourable to the king, or repugnant to his authority, he completely disowned it.

Colonel Gordon was followed to the scaffold by Sir Robert Spottiswood, a man of the most spotless integrity, and one of the most profound scholars of the age. He was the eldest son of Archbishop Spottiswood, and had, by his rare endowments and great merit, been noticed with distinction by king James and his successor Charles. James conferred on him the order of knighthood, and made him a privy councillor, and Charles promoted him to the high situation of lord president of the court of session; and, upon the desertion of the earl of Lanark to the covenanters, the king appointed him principal secretary of state for Scotland instead of that nobleman. This appointment drew down upon him the hatred of the leading covenanters, but still there were some among them who continued to respect him on account of his worth and shining talents, and when the vote was taken in parliament whether he should suffer, the earls of Eglintoun, Cassillis, Dunfermline, and Carnwath, voted that his life should be spared; and the lord chancellor and the earl of Lanark, by leave of the house, declined voting. "Though many liked not his party, they liked his person, which made him many friends even among the covenanters, insomuch, that after his sentence was read, some of the nobility spoke in his behalf, and entreated the house to consider the quality and parts of that excellent gentleman and most just judge, whom they had condemned, and begged earnestly his life might be spared. But an eminent knowledge and esteem, which, in other cases, might be a motive to save a criminal, was here only the cause of taking an innocent man's life—so dangerous is it, in a corrupt age, to be eminently constant and virtuous. The gentlemen who spoke were told that the authority of the established government was not secure while Sir Robert's life was spared. Whereupon the noblemen who presided at the meeting of the estates at Glasgow, and in the parliament at St Andrews, openly declared, when they signed the respective sentences, that they did sign as preses, and in obedience to the command of the estates, but not as to their particular judgment."*

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* Wishart, p. 238; Guthry, p. 168.

After he had mounted the scaffold, still reeking with the blood of Colonel Gordon, Sir Robert surveyed the terrific scene around him with singular composure, which, added to his appearance, which was naturally grave and dignified, filled the breasts of the spectators with a feeling of compassion. Sir Robert had intended to have addressed the people, and had prepared a written speech for the occasion;† but on turning round to

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* Life prefixed to Sir Robert's work, titled "Practicks," folio, printed in 1706.

† This speech is too long for insertion, but the most interesting parts of it are here given.

"You will expect to hear from me somewhat of the cause for which I am brought hither at this time to suffer in this kind; which I am bound to do, for clearing the integrity of mine own proceedings, vindicating his majesty's just and pious intentions, and withal to undeceive you that are muzzled in ignorance, and made to believe that you are tied in conscience, to set forward this unnatural rebellion, masked under the cover and pretext of propagating religion, and maintaining of public liberty.

"You have perceived by the fact which hath gone before, viz., tearing of my arms, &c., that I stand here adjudged to die by this pretended parliament, as a traitor to the states, and enemy to my native country. This is a treason unheard of before in this kingdom; against the states, a thing of a new creation, which, I believe, there be some would have erected in opposition to the just and lawful authority of the king, under which we and our predecessors have been so many hundreds of years governed.

"To come to the particulars of my treasonable demeanour, as they term it, the main one is, that I did bring down a commission of lieutenancy from his Majesty to the lord marquis of Montrose, with a proclamation for indicting a parliament by the king's authority, wherein the lord marquis was the commissioner. Not to excuse myself upon the necessity laid upon me to obey his majesty's command in a business of that nature, in regard of the charge I had about him; I cannot so far betray mine own conscience, as to keep up from you my judgment of the thing itself; seeing it may both tend to the justifying of the king's part, and your better information, for lack whereof I know many are entangled in this rebellion unwittingly; and who knoweth but God, in his merciful providence, hath brought us hither, to be the instruments of freeing you from the manifold delusions that are made use of to insnare you.

"I say, then, it was just and necessary to his majesty to grant such commissions, and, by consequence, an act of duty in me to perform what he was pleased to command me.

"It is known well enough what contentment his majesty gave to the kingdom at his last being here, both in the affairs of church and policy; notwithstanding whereof the world seeth what meeting he hath got from us. When this rebellion first burst out in England, all that he desired of us was only to stand neutral, and not to meddle between him and his subjects there. Of which moderate desire of his little reckoning was made. But on the contrary, at the request of these rebels, by the power of their faction amongst us, an army was raised and sent into England, to assist them against their own native king.

"His majesty being reduced to this extremity, what expedient could he find so fair and easy, as to make use of the help of such of his loyal subjects as he knew had such unparalleled disloyalty in horror and detestation? Amongst whom, that matchless mirror of all true worth and nobility, the lord marquis of Montrose, having offered himself, it pleased his majesty to give him a subaltern commission first; which he having executed with such unheard-of success, that his memory shall be had in honour for it, in all ages, address the spectators, he was prevented from proceeding by the provost of St Andrews, formerly a servant of Sir Robert's father, who had been instigated to impose silence upon him by Robert Blair, one of those ministers who, to the scandal of religion, had dishonoured their profession by calling out for the blood of their countrymen. Blair's motive in occasioning this interruption is said to have arisen from a dread he entertained that Sir Robert would expose the designs of the covenanters, and impress the bystanders with an unfavourable opinion of their proceedings. Sir Robert bore the interruption with the most unruffled composure, and, as he saw no chance of succeeding, he threw the manuscript of his speech amongst the crowd, and applied himself to his private devotions. But here again he was annoyed by the officious impertinence of Blair, who rudely asked him whether he (Blair) and the people should pray for the salvation of his soul? To this question Sir Robert answered, that he indeed desired the prayers of the people; but knowing the blood-thirsty character of the man he was addressing, who had come to tease him in his last moments, he told him that he "would have no concern with his prayers, which he believed were impious, and an abomination unto God; adding, that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged the nation, this was certainly by far the greatest, greater than even the sword, fire, or pestilence; that for the sins of the people God had sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets."* This answer raised the fury of Blair, who assailed Sir Robert with the most acrimonious imputations, and reviled the memory of his father by the most infamous charges; but Sir Robert was too deeply absorbed in meditation to regard such obloquy. Having finished his devotions, this great and good man, after uttering these words, "Merciful Jesus! gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs who have run before me in this race," laid his neck upon the fatal block, and in an instant his head was severed from his body.

After Sir Robert Spottiswood's execution, Captain Guthry, son of the

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his majesty, for the better furthering of his own service, and to countenance and encourage him the more in it, gave an absolute one, and, independent, thereafter; which is that I delivered into his hands by his majesty's command. Here withal, his majesty, pitying the miseries of this poor kingdom, occasioned by the rebellious stubbornness of a few factious spirits, thought fit to give a power to the said lord marquis to call a parliament in his own name, to try if by that means a remedy might be found against the present evils.

"And in all this, I see not what can be justly upon his majesty, or upon me his servant, who have done nothing against any authorised law of the kingdom, but have served him faithfully, unto whom by trust and natural allegiance I owe so much."

The day before his execution Sir Robert wrote a letter to the marquis of Montrose offering the "last tribute of his service," and expressing a hope that "the king's cause" would be advanced by his death. He encouraged the marquis to go on and crown the work he had "so gloriously" begun, and recommended to him to pursue the course he had hitherto followed, "by fair and gentle carriage, to gain the people's affection to their prince, rather than imitate the barbarous inhumanity" of his adversaries. Sir Robert concluded by recommending his orphans and his "brother's house" to his care.

* Wishart, p. 212.

ex-bishop of Moray, was next led to the scaffold. The fierce and unfeeling Blair, who had already officiously witnessed, with the most morbid complacency, the successive executions of Colonel Gordon and Sir Robert, not satisfied with reviling the latter gentleman in his last and awful moments, and lacerating his feelings by heaping every sort of obloquy upon the memory of his father, vented the dregs of his impotent rage upon the unfortunate victim now before him; but Guthry bore all this man's reproaches with becoming dignity, and declared that he considered it an honour to die in defence of the just cause of his sovereign. He met his death with the fortitude of a hero and the firmness of a Christian.

In consequence of an application to the parliament by the earl of Tulliebardine, the execution of his brother, William Murray, was delayed till the twenty-third day of January. The case of this unfortunate young man excited a strong feeling of regret among the covenanters themselves, and some writers have not scrupled to blame the earl as the cause of his death, that he might succeed to his patrimony. Some countenance is afforded to this conjecture from the circumstance that the earl not only made no exertions to save his brother from condemnation, but that he even absented himself from parliament the day that his brother's case came to be discussed, when, by his presence or his vote, he might have saved his brother's life. Nor is this supposition, it is contended, in any shape weakened by the attempt he afterwards made to get off his brother; for he must have known that the parliament had gone too far to retract, and could not, without laying itself open to the charge of the grossest partiality, reprieve Mr Murray, and allow their sentence to be carried into execution against the other prisoners. If true, however, that the earl delivered the speech imputed to him by Bennet, there can be no doubt of his being a participator in the death of his brother, but, it would be hard to condemn him on such questionable authority. To whatever cause it was owing, Mr Murray was not, during his last moments, subjected to the annoyances of Blair, nor was he prevented from delivering the following speech to the persons assembled to witness his execution. He spoke in a loud tone of voice as follows: "I hope, my countrymen, you will reckon that the house of Tulliebardine, and the whole family of Murray, have this day acquired a new and no small addition of honour; that a young man, descended of that ancient race, has, though innocent, and in the flower of his age, with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness, delivered up his life for his king, the father of his country, and the most munificent patron and benefactor of that family from which he is sprung. Let not my honoured mother, my dearest sisters, my kindred or my friends, lament the shortness of my life, seeing that it is abundantly recompensed by the honour of my death. Pray for my soul, and God be with you."*

Many prisoners, but of less note, still remained to be disposed of; but the parliament, either averse to shed more blood, or from other considerations, took no steps against them. The committee of the kirk, however, being actuated by other motives, pressed the parliament to dispose of some more of the "malignants;" but the bloody zeal of these clerical enthusiasts was checked by the better sense of the parliament; and in order to get rid of their importunities for blood, a suggestion was made to them by the leading men in parliament to lay before them an "overture," proposing some more lenient mode of punishment. The "godly" brotherhood soon met, but a considerable difference of opinion prevailing as to the nature of the punishment to be submitted to parliament in the proposed overture, the moderator asked David Dickson what he thought best to be done with the prisoners, who answered "in his homely way of speaking, 'shame them and herry (plunder) them.'" This proposal being adopted was made the subject of an overture, which was accordingly presented to parliament; and to meet the views of the ministers, a remit was made to a large committee, which was appointed to meet at Linlithgow, the twenty-fifth of February, to fix the amount of the fines to be imposed upon the different delinquents.

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* Guthry, p. 245.

While the proceedings before detailed were going on at St Andrews, Montrose was ineffectually endeavouring to reduce the garrison of Inverness, the acquisition of which would have been of some importance to him. Had the marquis of Huntly kept his promise, and joined Montrose, its capture might have been effected; but that nobleman never made his appearance, and as Inverness was thus left open on the side which it was intended he should block up, the enemy were enabled to supply themselves with provisions and warlike stores, of which they stood in great need. Huntly, however, afterwards crossed the Spey, and entered Moray with a considerable force; but instead of joining Montrose, who repeatedly sent for him, he wasted his time in fruitless enterprises, besieging and taking a few castles of no importance.

As Huntly, who envied the military glory of Montrose, probably did not think that the capture of a few obscure castles was sufficient to establish his pretensions as Montrose's rival, he resolved to seize Aberdeen, and had advanced on his way as far as Kintore, where he was met by Ludovick Lindsay, earl of Crawford, who had retired from the Mearns, where he had been stationed with Montrose's horse, on hearing of the approach of the parliamentary army under the command of General Middleton towards Aberdeen. This intelligence was quite sufficient to induce the marquis to desist from his enterprise. Lindsay then marched into Buchan, and burnt the town of Fraserburgh. He, thereafter, went to Banff, but was compelled to retire hastily into Moray with some loss in February sixteen hundred and forty-six, by a division of Middleton's army under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery and Major David Barclay.*

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* Gordon's Continuation, p. 531.

About this time intelligence was brought to Montrose that General Middleton had arrived at Aberdeen with a force of six hundred horse and eight hundred foot. He now renewed his entreaties to Huntly to join him immediately, that they might either reduce Inverness or march jointly upon Aberdeen and attack Middleton; but the jealousy or vanity of Huntly would not permit him to accede to Montrose's request. This refusal exasperated Montrose to such a degree that he resolved to have recourse to force to compel compliance, as he could no longer endure to see the authority of the sovereign, whose deputy he was, thus trampled upon and despised. As he had already brought over the Earl of Seaforth to his side, who had induced the heads of some of the principal clans to form a confederation for obtaining a national peace, he was fully in a condition to have reduced Huntly to obedience; but the sudden advance of Middleton prevented Montrose from making the attempt.

Wishart relates rather an incredible story respecting an alleged piece of treachery on the part of Lord Lewis Gordon on this occasion. He states that, as Montrose had no reliance on Huntly, and as he "began now to think it high time to look more carefully to his own safety, lest Huntly's malice might at last carry him the length even to betray him," he sent three troops of horse to the fords of the Spey to watch the motions of the enemy, with orders, if they approached, to send him immediate intimation of their movements. This body, it is said, occupied the most convenient stations, and watched with very great diligence for some time, till Lord Lewis, who then kept the castle of Rothes, having contrived his scheme of villany, assured the officers who commanded the horse, that the enemy was very far distant, and had no intention to pass the river; he, therefore, advised them to cease watching, and having invited them to the castle where they were sumptuously entertained by him, plied with wine and spirits, and detained till such time as Lord Middleton had crossed the Spey with a large army of horse and foot, and penetrated far into Moray, he dismissed his guests with these jeering remarks—"Go, return to your general Montrose, who will now have better work than he had at Selkirk." Such a statement carries its own condemnation upon the face of it, for even supposing that Montrose's officers had acted the stupid part imputed to them, they would certainly not have forgotten their duty so far as to order their men to abandon their posts.

It was in the month of May, sixteen hundred and forty-six, that General Middleton left Aberdeen at the head of his army, on his way to Inverness. He left behind him in Aberdeen a regiment of horse, and another of foot, for the protection of the town, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery. Middleton made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness on the ninth of May, driving before him the few troops of horse which Montrose had stationed on the Spey to watch his motions. On being warned of Middleton's approach, Montrose drew his troops together, and took up a position at some distance from the town; but having ascertained that Middleton was strong in cavalry, he hastily crossed the river Ness Middleton, thereupon, despatched two regiments of cavalry after him, who attacked his rear, cut off some of his men, and captured two pieces of cannon and part of his baggage. Montrose continued his retreat by Beauly into Rosshire, whither he was pursued by Middleton, who, however, suffered some loss in the pursuit. As Montrose's forces were far inferior, in point of numbers, to those of Middleton, he avoided coming to an engagement, and as Seaforth's men, who had joined Montrose at Inverness, under their chief, began to desert him in great numbers, and as he could not depend on the population by which he was surrounded, Montrose turned to the right, and passing by Lochness, marched through Strathglass and Stratherrick to the banks of the Spey. Middleton did not follow Montrose, but went and laid siege to the castle of the earl of Seaforth in the chanonry of Ross, which he took after a siege of four days. He behaved towards the countess of Seaforth, who was within the castle, with great politeness, and restored it to her after taking away the ammunition which it contained.*

The absence of Middleton from Aberdeen afforded Huntly an opportunity of accomplishing the design which he formerly entertained, till scared by the approach of Middleton from the south, of taking Aberdeen, and accordingly he ordered his men to march from Deeside to Inverury, where he appointed a general rendezvous to be held on the tenth of May. Colonel Montgomery being aware of his motions, beat up his quarters the same night at Kintore with a party of horse, and killed some of his men. But Montgomery was repulsed by Lord Lewis Gordon, with some loss, and forced to retire back to Aberdeen. The marquis appeared at the gates of Aberdeen at 12 o'clock on the following day, with a force of fifteen hundred Highland foot and six hundred horse, and stormed it in three different places. The garrison defended themselves with courage, and twice repulsed the assailants, in which contest a part of the town was set on fire; but a fresh reinforcement having entered the town, under Lord Aboyne, the attack was renewed, and Montgomery and his horse were forced to retire down to the edge of the river Dee, which they crossed by swimming. The covenanting foot, after taking refuge in the tolbooth and in the houses of the Earl Marischal and Menzies of Pitfoddles, craved quarter and surrendered at discretion. Although the city of Aberdeen had done nothing to incur Huntly's displeasure, he allowed his Highlanders to pillage it. About twenty officers were taken prisoners, among whom were Colonels Hurry, Barclay, and David Leighton, besides Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, and other country gentlemen, particularly of the name of Forbes; but they were also released next day on their parole of honour not to serve against the king in future. There were killed on the side of the covenanters, Colonel William Forbes,

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* Gordon's continuation, p. 523.

Captain Lockhart, son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and three other captains of foot, besides a considerable number of privates; but Huntly lost only about twenty men in whole.*

As Huntly's force was considerably reduced by the return of the Highlanders, who had accompanied him, to their own houses, with the booty which they had collected in Aberdeen, and, as he was apprehensive of the immediate return of Middleton from the north, Huntly remained but a short time in Aberdeen. Marching up the north bank of the Dee, he encamped in Cromar; but the sudden appearance of Middleton, who, on hearing of Huntly's advance on Aberdeen, had retraced his steps and re-crossed the Spey, made him retire into Mar, where he was followed by Middleton, who, in some slight skirmishes, cut off some of his men; but Middleton discontinued the pursuit and returned to Aberdeen, which he found had suffered severely from Huntly's visit.

After an ineffectual attempt by Montrose to obtain an interview with Huntly at the bog of Gicht, whither he had gone after Middleton's return to Aberdeen, Montrose resolved to make a tour through the Highlands, in the hope that he would be able, by his personal presence, and by promising suitable rewards, to induce the clans to rise in defence of their sovereign; but with the determination, in case of refusal, to enforce obedience to his commands. This resolution was not taken by Montrose, without the concurrence of some of his best friends, who promised to aid him by every means in their power, in carrying it into effect. In pursuance of his design, Montrose was just about setting out on his proposed journey, when, on the last day of May, a messenger arrived with a letter † from the king, requesting him to disband his forces, and to retire, himself, to France, where he would receive "further directions." After the disastrous battle of Naseby, which was fought on the fourteenth day of June, sixteen hundred and forty-four, between the English royalists and the parliamentary forces, the campaign in England, on the part of the king, "presented little more than the last and feeble struggles of an expiring party." ‡ The king had been enabled, in consequence of the recall of the horse, which had reached Nottingham, on their way to Hereford, under General David Leslie, after the battle of Kilsyth, to drive the parliamentary infantry back from the siege of Hereford; but the surrender of Bristol to the forces of the parliament, on the tenth of September, and the defeat of the royalists at

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* Gordon's Continuation, p. 533.

† MONTROSE,—I am in such a condition as is much fitter for relation than writing, wherefore I refer you to this trusty bearer, Robin Ker, for the reasons and manner of my coming to this army; as also what my treatment hath been since I came, and my resolutions upon my whole business. This shall, therefore, only give you positive commands, and tell you real truths, leaving the *why* of all to this bearer. You must disband your forces, and go into France, where you shall receive my further directions. This, at first, may justly startle you, but I assure you, that, if for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me your most assured, constant, real, and faithful friend,

Newcastle, May 19, 1646. CHARLES R.

‡ Lingard, vol. vi. p. 530, 4to.

Chester, on the twenty-third of the same month, completed the ruin of the king's affairs. Having shut himself up in Oxford, for the last time, in November following, Charles, after the discovery of the secret treaty with the catholics of Ireland, which had been entered into by the earl of Glamorgan, endeavoured to negotiate with the English parliament in the expectation that if he could gain either of the parties (the presbyterians and independents) over to his side, by fair promises, he would be enabled to destroy both.* That negotiation, however, not succeeding, a separate negotiation was set on foot, through the medium of Montrevil, the French envoy, with the Scots army before Newark, the leaders of which offered an asylum to the king on certain conditions. At length Charles, undetermined as to the course he should pursue, on hearing of the approach of the parliamentary army, under Fairfax, left Oxford at midnight, on the twenty-seventh of April, sixteen hundred and forty-six, in the disguise of a servant, accompanied by Mr Ashburnham and Dr Hudson, a clergyman, and, after traversing the neighbouring country, arrived at Southwell on the fifth of May, where he was introduced by Montrevil to the earl of Leven, the commander of the Scots army, and the officers of his staff. The arrival of the king seemed to surprise the officers very much, although it is generally supposed that they had been made previously aware of his intentions by Hudson, who had preceded him, and they treated him with becoming respect, the commander tendering his bare sword upon his knee;† but when Charles, who had retained Leven's sword, indicated his intention to take the command of the army, by giving orders to the guard, that crafty veteran unhesitatingly thus addressed him:—"I am the older soldier, Sir: your majesty had better leave that office to me." ‡ The king was, in in fact, now a prisoner. As soon as the intelligence reached the capital, that the king had retired to the Scots camp, the two parliamentary factions united in accusing the Scots of perfidy, and sent a body of five thousand horse to watch their motions; but the Scots being desirous to avoid hostilities, raised their camp before Newark, and hastily retired to Newcastle, carrying the king along with them.

On arriving at Newcastle, the king was waited upon by the earls of Lanark and Callander, and Lord Balmerino, who paid their respects to him. As Callander was understood to be favourably inclined to the king, Lanark and Balmerino were desirous to get rid of him, and accordingly they prevailed upon his majesty to send Callander back to Edinburgh with a letter, which they had induced his majesty to write to the committee of estates, expressive of his desire to comply with the wishes of the Scots parliament, and containing instructions to them to order Montrose, Huntly, and Sir Alexander Macdonald to disband their forces. And it was also at the desire of these two noblemen that the king wrote the letter to Montrose referred to.

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* Ibid. 513—"I am not without hope that I shall be able to draw either the presbyterians or independents with me, for extirpating the one or other, that I shall be easily king again." Carte's Ormond, iii. 462.

† Kirkton.

‡ Rushworth, vi.

After Montrose had read this letter he was filled with deep amazement and concern. All those visionary schemes for accomplishing the great object of his ambition, which a few minutes before had floated in his vivid imagination, were now dispelled. He was now placed in one of the most painful and difficult situations it is possible to conceive. He had no doubt that the letter had been extorted from the king, yet he considered that it would neither be prudent nor safe for him to risk the responsibility of disobeying the king's orders. Besides, were he to attempt to act contrary to these instructions, he might thereby compromise the safety of the king, as his enemies would find it no difficult affair to convince the army that Montrose was acting according to private instructions from the king himself. On the other hand, by instantly disbanding his army, Montrose considered that he would leave the royalists, and all those friends who had shared his dangers, to the mercy of their enemies. In this dilemma, he determined to convene a general meeting of all the principal royalists to consult as to how he should act—a resolution which showed his good sense, and kind and just feeling towards those who had been induced by his means to risk their lives and fortunes in the cause of the king. Notwithstanding the many slights which had been put upon him by the marquis of Huntly, Montrose, anxious to preserve a good understanding with him, sent Sir John Hurry and Sir John Innes, two gentlemen the most unexceptionable he could select, to Huntly, to invite him to attend the proposed meeting, and that there might not appear any idea of dictation on the part of Montrose, the time and place of meeting was left to Huntly's own choice. But this haughty nobleman answered that he himself had received orders similar to those sent to Montrose, which he was resolved to obey immediately, and, therefore, he declined to attend any meeting on the subject.

In this situation of matters, Montrose considered that his best and wisest course would be to keep his army together till he should receive another communication from the king, in answer to a letter which he sent by a messenger of his own, in which he begged his majesty to acquaint him of the real situation of matters, whether he considered his person safe in the hands of the covenanters, and if he could be of any farther service to him. Montrose begged also to be informed by the king, if he persevered in his resolution to disband an army which had fought so bravely in his defence, and that at a time when his enemies, in both kingdoms, were still under arms; and if so, he wished to be instructed by his majesty as to the course he should pursue, for the protection and security of the lives and fortunes of those brave men, who had encountered so many dangers, and had spent their blood in his defence, as he could not endure the idea of leaving such loyal subjects to the mercy of their enemies.* The king returned an answer † to this letter, by the former messenger, Ker, in which he assured him that he no less esteemed his willingness to lay down arms at his command, "for a gallant and real expression" of his zeal and affection to his service than any of his former actions; but he hoped that Montrose had not such a mean opinion of him, that for any particular or worldly respects he would suffer him (Montrose) to be ruined,—that his only reason for sending Montrose out of the country was that he might return with greater glory, and, in the meantime, to have as honourable an employment as he (the king) could confer upon him,—that Ker would tell him the care he had of all Montrose's friends, and his own, to whom, although he could not promise such conditions as he would have wished, yet they would be such, all things considered, as were most fit for them to accept. "Wherefore," continues his majesty, "I renew my former directions, of laying down arms, unto you, desiring you to let Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seaforth, and Ogilvy, know, that want of time hath made me now omit to reiterate my former commands unto you, intending that this shall serve for all; assuring them, and all the rest of my friends, that, whensoever God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service."

These 'conditions,' which consisted of several articles, and in the drawing up of which the king probably had no concern, were far from satisfactory to Montrose, who refused to accede to them. He even refused to treat with the covenanters, and he sent back the messenger to the king to notify to him, that as he had acted under his majesty's commission, he would admit of no conditions for laying down his arms, or disbanding his army, which did not come directly from the king himself, but that if his majesty imposed conditions upon him, he would accept of them with the most implicit submission. The king, who had no alternative but to adopt these conditions as his own, put his name to them and sent back the messenger with them, with fresh instructions to Montrose to disband his army forthwith under the pain of high treason. Besides Ker, the king despatched another trusty messenger to Montrose with a private letter‡ urging him to accept of the conditions offered, as in the event of his refusal to break up his army, his majesty might be placed "in a very sad condition," such as he would rather leave Montrose to guess at than seek himself to express. From this expression, it would appear that Charles already began to entertain some apprehensions about his personal safety. These commands of the king were too peremptory to be any longer withstood, and as Montrose had been informed that several of the leading royalists, particularly the marquis of Huntly, Lord Aboyne, and the earl of Seaforth, were negotiating with the estates in their own behalf, and that Huntly and Aboyne had even offered to compel Montrose to lay down his arms in compliance with the orders of the king, he immediately resolved to disband his army.

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* Wishart, p. 262.

† June 15, 1646.

‡ July 16, 1646.

As Middleton had been intrusted by the committee of estates with ample powers to negotiate with the royalists, and to see the conditions offered to Montrose implemented by him in case of acceptance, a cessation of arms was agreed upon between Montrose and Middleton; and in order to discuss the conditions, a conference was held between them on the twenty-second day of July, on a meadow, near the river Ilay, in Angus, where they "conferred for the space of two hours, there being none near them but one man for each of them to hold his horse."* The conditions agreed upon were these, that with the exception of Montrose himself, the earl of Crawford, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Sir John Hurry, all those who had taken up arms against the covenanters would be pardoned on making their submission, and that Montrose, Crawford, Hurry, and Graham of Gorthy, should transport themselves beyond seas, before the last day of August, in a ship to be provided by the estates. This arrangement was ratified by the commitee of estates, but the committee of the kirk exclaimed against it, and petitioned the committee of estates not to sanction it.

Preparatory to disbanding his army, Montrose appointed it to rendezvous at Rattray, in the neighbourhood of Cupar-Angus, at which place, on the thirtieth day of July, he discharged his men, after addressing a feeling and animated oration to them, in which, "after giving them due praise for their faithful services and good behaviour, he told them his orders, and bid them farewell, an event no less sorrowful to the whole army than to himself; and, notwithstanding he used his utmost endeavours to raise their drooping spirits, and encourage them with the flattering prospect of a speedy and desirable peace, and assured them that he contributed to the king's safety and interest by his present ready submission, no less than he had formerly done by his military attempts; yet they concluded, that a period was that day put to the king's authority, which would expire with the dissolution of their army, for disbanding of which, they were all convinced the orders had been extorted from the king, or granted by him on purpose to evite a greater and more immediate evil. And, upon whatever favourable conditions their own safety might be provided for, yet they lamented their own fate, and would much rather have undergone the greatest fatigue and hardships than be obliged to remain inactive and idle spectators of the miseries and calamities befalling their dearest sovereign. Neither were their generous souls a little concerned for the unworthy and disgraceful opinion which foreign nations and after ages could not fail to conceive of the Scots, as universally dipt in rebellion, and guilty of defection from the best of kings. Their sorrow was likewise considerably augmented by the thoughts of being separated from their brave and successful general, who was now obliged to enter into a kind of banishment, to the irreparable loss of the king, the country, themselves, and all good men, at time when they never had greater occasion for his service: And fallin down upon their knees, with tears in their eyes, they obtested him, tha seeing the king's safety and interest required his immediate departur from the kingdom, he would take them along with him to whateve corner of the world he would retire, professing their readiness to live, t fight, nay, if it so pleased God, even to die under his command And not a few of them had privately determined, though at the eviden risk of their lives and fortunes, to follow him without his knowledge, an even against his inclination, and to offer him their service in a foreig land, which they could not any longer afford him in their own distressed native country."*

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* Guthry, p. 179.

Such is the account of the affecting farewell between Montrose an the few remaining brave and adventurous men who had shared with hi in all the dangers and vicissitudes of the battle-field, as related by warm partizan of fallen royalty; yet there is no reason for supposin that he has given an exaggerated view of the feelings of the warlik and devoted band at parting, under existing circumstances, with thei beloved commander who had so often led them to victory, and whos banishment from his native country they regarded as the death-blow t their hopes.

Upon the dissolution of Montrose's army, the Scots officers and soldiers retired to their respective homes, and the Irish troops marche westward into Argyle, whence they embarked for their own country being accompanied thither by the earl of Crawford, who from thenc went to Spain. Montrose, along with the few friends who were to follow him abroad, took up his abode at his seat of Old Montrose, ther to wait the arrival of the vessel destined to convey them to the continen The day fixed for Montrose's departure was the first of September, an he waited with impatience for the arrival of the expected vessel; but a the month of August was fast expiring without such vessel making it appearance, or any apparent preparation for the voyage, Montrose' friends applied to the committee of the estates for a prorogation of th day stipulated for his departure, but they could obtain no satisfactor answer.

At length, on the last day of August, a vessel for the reception of th marquis entered the harbour of Montrose, in which he proposed immediately to embark, but he was told by the shipmaster, "a violent an rigid covenanter," that he meant to careen his vessel before going t sea, an operation which would occupy a few days. In the course o conversation, the shipmaster bluntly stated to his intended passenger that he had received express instructions to land them at certain port The behaviour of the captain, joined to the information he had con municated, and the fact that several English ships of war had been seen for several days off the coast, as if watching his embarkation and departure, of which fact he had received private information from some friends, created a strong suspicion in Montrose's mind that a plan had been laid for capturing him, and induced him to consult his own safety and that of his friends, by seeking another way of leaving the kingdom. He accordingly sent some trusty persons to the other harbours in the north to search for and engage any foreign vessel they might fall in with to be ready, on a day to be fixed, to carry out to Norway such passengers as might present themselves; but such a plan was considered so hopeless by Montrose's friends, who still remained with him, that they advised him, as the best course which could be pursued under such dangerous circumstances, to retire to the Highlands, to collect his forces again, and trust to the chances of war; but he was opposed to such a proposal, principally on the ground that such a step on his part would be imputed to the king, whose life might thereby be endangered. The anxiety of Montrose and his followers was speedily relieved by the arrival of intelligence, that a small vessel belonging to Bergen, in Norway, had been found in the neighbouring harbour of Stonehaven; and that the master had engaged, on being promised a handsome freight, to be in readiness, against an appointed day, to sail with such passengers as should appear.

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* Wishart, p. 264-5.

Accordingly, after sending off Sir John Hurry, John Drummond of Balloch, Graham of Gorthy, Dr Wishart, and a few other friends by land to Stonehaven, on the third day of September sixteen hundred and forty-six, he himself left the harbour of Montrose in a small boat, disguised as the servant of James Wood, a clergyman, who accompanied him; and the same evening went safely on board the vessel, into which his friends had embarked, and setting sail with a fair wind, arrived in a few days at Bergen, in Norway, where he received a friendly welcome from Thomas Gray, a Scotsman, the governor of the castle of Bergen.*

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* Wishart.

END OF VOL. I.

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